Université Lumière Lyon 2
École Doctorale Lettres Langues Linguistique et Arts
Laboratoire Dynamique du Langage

A grammar of Cuwabo

(Mozambique, Bantu P34)

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(Mozambique, Bantu P34)

Thèse de doctorat en Sciences du Langage dirigée par G. PHILIPPSON

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Glosses

cl.1, cl.2 …	noun class 1, 2, etc	HYP	hypothetical
1sg/1pl	first person	IDEO	ideophone
2sg/2pl	second person	IMP	imperative
3sg/3pl	third person	IPFV	imperfective
Ø	toneless	INF	infinitive
ACC	accusative	INSTR	instrumental
AGR	agreement	INT	intensive
a.k.a	also known as	intd.	Intended
APPL	applicative	INTER	interjection
AUX	auxiliary	IT	itive
BEN	benefactive	itr.	intransitive
C	consonant	L1	first language
CAUS	causative	lit.	literally
CB	common bantu	LOC	locative
CE	counterexpectational	MS	macrostem
CF	counterfactual	NAR	narrative
CJ	conjoint	NC	Nasal-Consonant
CMP	complementiser	neg	negation, negative
COM	comitative	NGO	Non-Governmental
COMM	comment		Organisation
CON	connective	NTR	neuter
COP	copula	OBJ	object
DEF	definite	OM	object marker
DEM	demonstrative	OCP	obligatory contour principle
DJ	disjoint	PASS	passive
excl.	exclamation	p.c.	personal communication
DUR	durative	PB	Proto-Bantu
FOC	focus	PFV	perfective
Fi	final vowel	pfx	prefix
FUT	future	PL, pl.	plural
H	high (tone)	PL	predicative lowering
HTD	high tone doubling	PLA	plural addressee
HAB	habitual	POSS	possessive

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PRO	pronoun	SIT	situative
PST	past	SM	subject marker
PTG	Portuguese	SG, sg.	singular
REC	reciprocal	TAM	tense, aspect, mood
RECIP	recipient	TOP	topic
RED	reduplication	tr.	transitive
REFL	reflexive	V	vowel
REL	relative	vd	voiced
RES	resumptive	VH	vowel harmony
S	Sonorant	vl.	voiceless
SBJ	subjunctive	vs.	versus
SEQ	sequential		

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Introduction

1.1 Preface

This dissertation presents a descriptive grammar of Cuwabo, a Bantu language spoken by more than 800,000 people in the north-eastern part of Mozambique. It is hoped that the present study, including a large amount of first-hand data on the language, will contribute to a better knowledge in general of this under-documented Bantu area. It is further hoped that some of the language's most interesting characteristics can be used in typological and comparative studies.

This grammar is organised into twelve chapters (including this introductory chapter and the conclusion). As expected, most of them are devoted to the linguistic description of Cuwabo. Still this first introductory chapter aims to present some background information on the Cuwabo people and their language. A brief sociolinguistic profile as well as the dialectal situation will be provided, followed by a few words on the genetic classification of the language. Due to the lack of reliable published works on Cuwabo, this study is based on first-hand data collecting on the field. A whole section will thus be devoted to the fieldwork context (introducing the Cuwabo speakers I worked with) and the methodology applied in the data collection and treatment. Finally, I present the orthographic conventions and the notation system used throughout the dissertation.

Following this introductory chapter, two chapters are dedicated to the phonology of the language. More specifically, chapter 2 is devoted to segmental phonology, and presents a detailed account of consonants, vowels, syllable structure, and different phonological processes occurring in certain morphological environments. Chapter 3 describes the tones and intonation. Both nominal and verbal tone patterns will be analysed, as well as the different tone processes.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the noun morphology and the noun phrase structure. In chapter 4 about nouns, the extensive noun class system, typical of Bantu, is explained, as well as the derivational processes at play in the formation of nouns. The noun plays an important role in the agreement system of the dependant parts of the sentence. Within the noun phrase, constituents like the connective particle, demontratives, possessives, adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, and personal pronouns are linked to the head noun through noun class agreement. These noun phrase constituents are discussed in chapter 5.

The most pervasive and characteristic morphological feature of verbs in most Bantu languages is their agglutinative morphology. In chapter 6, verbal morphology is treated, both at the derivational and inflectional levels. Special attention will be given to verbal extensions, functioning as valency-changing mechanisms. An overview of the constitution of the verb template will thus be provided.

Chapter 7 discusses the minor word classes, most of which constitute miscellaneous uninflected parts of speech. These include a few particles and clitics, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, prepositions and conjunctions.

Chapter 8 is devoted to the different inflected verb forms and more particularly their tense-aspect-mood system (including negation). Both independent and dependent tenses[1] are discussed. The first are used to form simple or main clauses, hence their "independent" status, whereas the latter contribute to the formation of subordinate or "dependent" clauses. Among the independent tenses, the formal distinction between the so-called conjoint and disjoint verb forms is discussed. With regard to dependent tenses, distinction is made between those which are inflected and those which are uninflected. Attention is finally paid to analytical tenses and defective verbs.

The last three chapters address syntactic issues. Chapter 9 presents a description of the basic clause structure, involving verbal and non-verbal predication. The study of verbal predication is here restricted to simple clauses and discusses the grammatical relations conveyed by the different sentence constituents, as well as verb valency. Note that no chapter is devoted to complex clauses, since their discussion is scattered across both chapter

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[1] In this study, "tense" is used in term of form rather than meaning.

7 (with the "conjunctions" section) and chapter 8 (through the description of the dependent tenses). Chapter 10 looks into the relative constructions in close interaction with question formation. Chapter 11 investigates word order and information structure in Cuwabo. Preverbal and postverbal constituents will be examined, as well as their interaction with the morphological marking on the verb, distinguishing conjoint and disjoint tenses.

Finally, chapter 12, as a conclusive chapter, presents an overview of the main typological characteristics of Cuwabo, briefly addressed (whenever relevant) in a genetic and areal perspective.

Following these descriptive chapters, the Appendix contains seven Cuwabo texts glossed and translated into English, which provide a good sampling of language use and allow to illustrate in context many of the grammatical items presented in the descriptive chapters.

This work is not written in any particular theoretical framework but has somewhat benefited from concepts and notions attributed to the "basic linguistic theory" (Dixon 2010-2012), widely used in language description. For each grammatical item under discussion, several examples are provided so that the reader can get a full picture of the language. Whenever relevant, similarities or differences with neighbouring languages are raised throughout the study.

1.2   The Cuwabo people

Cuwabo is a Bantu language spoken by 834.073 native speakers, among whom 710.121 are settled in the Zambezia province (according to the estimates of the 2007 census made by the *Instituto Nacional de Estatística*-INE)[2]. If we compare with the number of speakers estimated for the 1980 census, namely 664.089 (Padronização I 1989: 50), the Cuwabo-speaking community has increased by more than 20%. This is explained by the demographic growth attested throughout the whole country. Most speakers are located around Quelimane in the southern part of Zambezia province, to the north of the Zambezi river, North-East Mozambique, as shown in Map 1. In this region of the globe, the climate is tropical with temperatures hovering around 30° C during the rainy season (November-April) and 20° C during the dry season (May-October). During the rainy season, most of the lowland areas around Quelimane are prone to floods.

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[2] In turn, Ethnologue (Lewis *et al.* 2014) reports 947.000 Cuwabo speakers in 2006.

Map 1 Cuwabo speaker area (source: Monika Feinen)
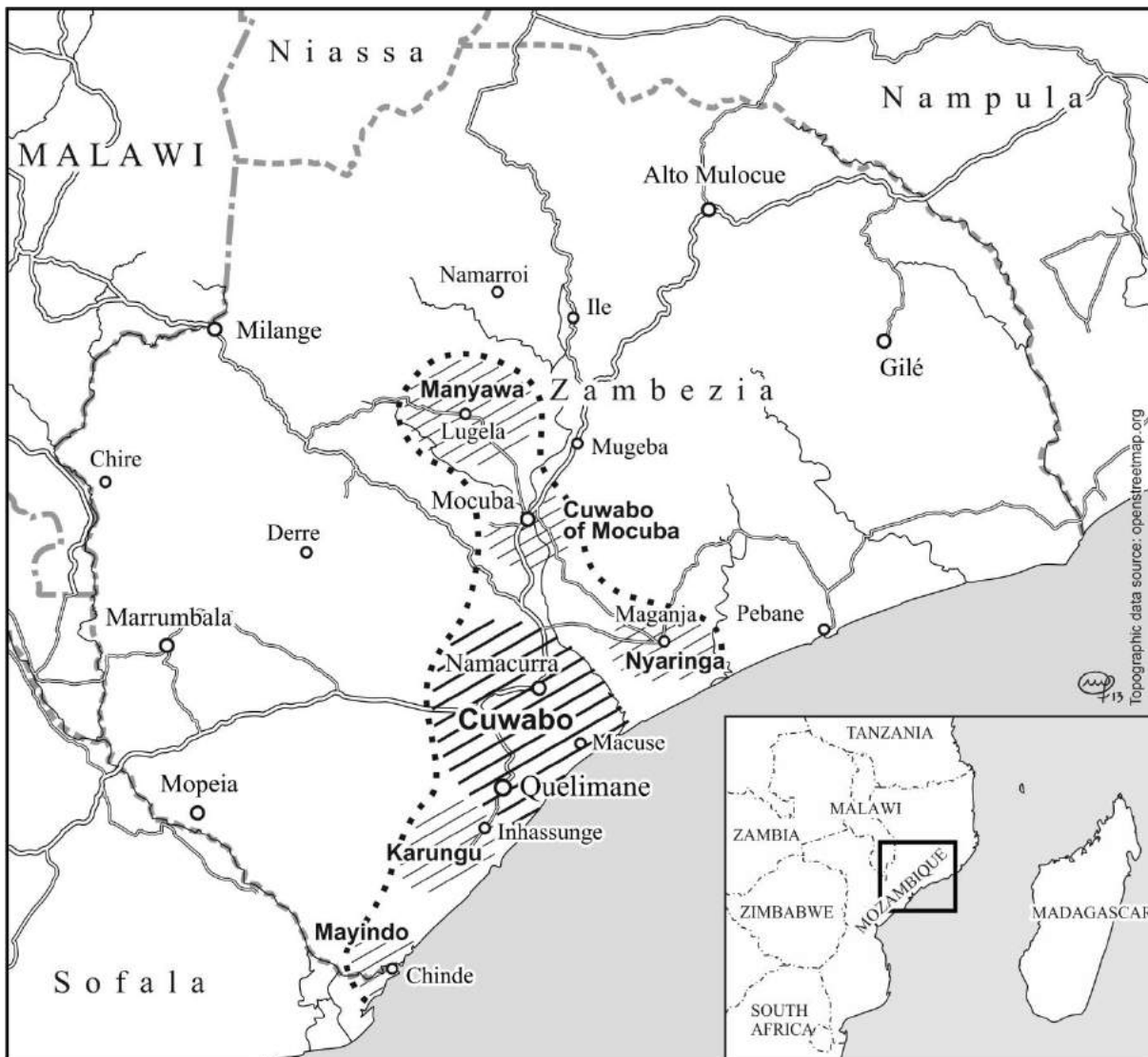
Very little is known of Cuwabo history, especially with regard to the pre-colonial period, i.e. before 1498, the year Vasco de Gama's expedition landed at the port of what would be later called Quelimane. Before the Portuguese's arrival, Quelimane was originally a Swahili trade settlement which progressively became a slave market (Chisholm 1911: 750). This Arab settlement progressively became a city when the Portuguese settled during the 16th century. In 1530, it officially received the name of São Martinho de Quilimane. Later in 1763, it was raised as an administrative seat, before receiving the status of city on 21 August 1942. With the colonial presence, the slave trade increased drastically, to such a point that in the 18th century, the port of Quelimane is considered one of the bigger slave markets (Capela 2002, Chisholm 1911: 750) in eastern Africa. During the colonial period (16th-20th centuries), Portuguese progressively settled along the Zambezi river by establishing a system of *prazos*. *Prazos* constitute vast areas of land administered by private individuals closely linked with

the Portuguese crown[3]. As can be expected, the local populations (including the Cuwabo) suffered much influence from the European invader, to such an extent that they are not part of the different censuses made by the Portuguese in the course of the 19th century[4] on 'uncivilised' (*não-civilisados*) populations. The assimilation process of the local populations is also explained by the "lightening" of their skins: in course of time, numerous children were indeed born from mixed (and often illegitimate) unions between Europeans and native wives. These children would be considered as Portuguese descendants (Maugham 1910). In this respect, it is interesting to note that Southern Mozambicans (at least those whom I met in Maputo) tend to attribute to the Cuwabo people two characteristics directly associated with the European presence: first, they are whiter than other Mozambican peoples; second, they developed a sharper interest in money. Zambezia was indeed the receptacle of several great companies, such as the Zambezi Company and the Luabo Company. The main exports consisted of copra (i.e. dried coconut kernels), ground-nuts, sugar, sesame, india-rubber, wax, ivory and beans (Chisholm 1911: 750).

Since Mozambique's independence in 1975, the economic base of the region has remained centred on the production of copra. Large coconut plantations are established all around Quelimane, especially in Madal (with the Norwegian 'Madal' company) and Macuse (with the French 'Boror' company). After the civil war (1977-1992) ended, some of these powerful companies collapsed (Boror), while others (Madal) were rebuilt and are still operative nowadays. However, the coconut industry has been struggling for more than ten years with the lethal yellowing disease, a mycoplasma infection that attacks the palm, turning the leaves yellow and killing the palm in a short space of time. Although infected palms are cut and burnt, the disease keeps spreading, and so far no cure has been found. Besides the production and trade of copra, the most important business sectors developed in South Zambezia are shrimp trawling, forestry activities (logging and sawmill), and resource extraction industries such as mining. However, these big industries do not yield a high degree of return to the local communities, except difficult and low income jobs. The Cuwabo economy is thus not directly affected by these foreign companies. Instead, most Cuwabo are farmers who live in small villages. Their main means of subsistence are the cultivation of rice and cassava. They also raise poultry, and more rarely goats. Those who live along the coast also practice fishing. In contrast, those who live inland are more prone to hunting game like guinea fowls, wild pigs, certain species of rats and snakes. Small-scale trading on the market or along the road is also commonly seen. Several NGOs are currently promoting the planting of beans or sweet potatoes for individual consumption, which

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[3] More details on the Portuguese occupation and penetration of the Zambezia territory and the *prazo* system can be found in Newitt (1973) and Maugham (1910).

[4] Author's investigation made at the *Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas* (INE) of Maputo.

represents a healthier source of food. The soil is of sandy type, and thus not as fertile as the interior, hence maize is not much cultivated on the coast. Although the Cuwabo population is heavily agrarian, the youngest generations aspire to economic and social development and commonly try their luck in urban centres.

In political terms, the Cuwabo have evolved a decentralised traditional system of government, in which the central authority of a village is called *mwéne* 'chief'. The *mwéne* promulgates and administers law and order in a specific area under his jurisdiction. He usually has the power to act upon economic and religious matters, as well as all forms of cultural and social practices.

Officially, Cuwabo declare themselves to be either Christians (Catholic or Evangelical) or Muslims, but in practice, these foreign religious missions have not succeeded overall in eradicating ancestral beliefs, often regarded as "heathen" practices. As a result, shamanic consultations, rituals to ward off illness, taboos linked with food or women menstruations, traditional music and dance, to mention the most conspicuous ones, are still widely practised, especially in rural areas, which suffered less influence from these missions.

Traditionally, both young Cuwabo men (*ápâli*) and women (*ánábúru*) were required to attend an initiation school before they would be considered 'men' and 'women'. This initiation generally implied a three-month withdrawal period in the bush, during which each initiate would be instructed in the traditions and customs of the Cuwabo people. The final step of male initiation, called *ǹlúga*, involved circumcision. The noun used to refer to an uncircumcised man, *nańttûba*, is also perceived as an insult. On the other hand, female initiation, called *mwáli*, would consist in instructing the girls how to be good wives and give pleasure to their husbands, as well as respect certain behaviour during days of menstruation. No physical intervention is applied on the female body, except a process of extension of the vagina's small lips by means of some plant-based ointment. For an in-depth discussion of the Cuwabo female initiation rite, the reader is referred to Schulien (1923). Today, these traditional practices, especially male initiation, are dying out with the pressure of modernisation, and circumcision is often performed at the hospital. Furthermore, knowledge of traditional medicine (in this respect, see Carvalho 2009) is being progressively replaced by dependency on the public health service.

At the cultural level, the most conspicuous manifestations are the playing of traditional music (based on xylophones and drumming) and dancing. Many different dancing performances are reported, such as *mugórôro, jíri, ekwétte, márombó, mutténgo, séddo, múttulú, yalúla, maddúnya, bákáyáwu, mukúbûla, mámbîlra* and *mazóka*. Most of them are publically performed in Quelimane to commemorate 'the city day' (*o dia da cidade*), every 21 August. Another public celebration occurs in February, during the school break to

celebrate the carnival. In this respect, Quelimane is sometimes referred to as *pequeno Brasil* 'small Brazil'. Regarding clothing, most Cuwabo people wear occidental clothing, except women who wear the *capulana*, a colourful African fabric.

Today the city of Quelimane is the provincial capital of Zambezia and, although its aside location on the *Bons Sinais* river is economically less attractive nowadays, it still functions as a major town in the country, with a main hospital (and another larger one in project near Namwinho). It also has a public university (*Universidade Pedagógica de Quelimane*), and a national airport. Many NGOs are located in Quelimane.

1.3   The Cuwabo language

1.3.1   Dialectal variation

At this stage, no dialectological study within Cuwabo is available. It is thus difficult to make strong assumptions about its dialectal variation. Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014) distinguishes five dialects: central Cuwabo, Karungu, Mayindo, Marale[5], and Nyaringa, whereas Cuwabo speakers themselves also identify Manyawa spoken around Lugela (see Map 1). When one refers to Cuwabo, the central Cuwabo variety spoken around Quelimane first comes to mind. It is so called because it corresponds geographically to the traditional homeland of the Cuwabo people, and it also enjoys a high degree of intelligibility for speakers of other varieties. In comparison, Karungu, spoken in the district of Inhassunge, and Mayindo, spoken in the village of Chinde within the Zambezi delta, are said to contain more Sena-like features because of their geographic proximity with Sena speakers. The Nyaringa variety spoken in Maganja da Costa is in turn influenced by Makhuwa (especially regarding phonology), in the same way as Manyawa spoken in Lugela is influenced by Lomwe due to its embeddeding within Lomwe-speaking area. From what I heard, the Cuwabo spoken in Mocuba seems very similar with central Cuwabo and both varieties shade gradually into each other to such an extent that is seems impossible to draw a line of demarcation between them. This similarity is well evidenced by the way the Mocuba variety is designated: people only refer to it as 'Cuwabo of Mocuba'.

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[5] According to my main consultant Sérgio, Marale is spoken in Mopeia and is more related to Sena than to Cuwabo.

Although the dialect situation is probably more complex than the one presented here, the aforementioned varieties are assumed to be variants of one language, since they are bound by some degree of mutual intelligibility. This study is based on central Cuwabo, upon which most of the early missionary linguists have based their analysis. I also collected elicited data on three other varieties (Mayindo, Karungu, and Cuwabo of Mocuba), but analysing them in order to provide short descriptions would have been too ambitious a goal for the present study.

As expected, Cuwabo is not limited to the geographic area described above and illustrated in Map 1. Due to the high degree of social and geographical mobility of the Cuwabo people, the language has spread to many parts of Mozambique, especially Maputo, the capital of the country, where there are important Cuwabo communities.

1.3.2   Sociolinguistic profile

In this section, an overview of the sociolinguistic profile of the language is drawn. When studying the vitality of a language, several parameters have to be taken into consideration, including language acquisition (which deals with the question of intergenerational transmission), language use, language attitude and linguistic policies. These criteria, which are to some extent intertwined, are part of the list set out by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) for endangered languages (UNESCO 2003).

Time did not permit me to carry on an in-depth sociolinguistic survey in the area. Still, by interviewing a few people on the basis of a questionnaire outlining the aforementioned criteria, I quickly came to the conclusion that, for most of these criteria, a distinction needs to be made between the city of Quelimane and the surrounding villages.

1.3.2.1   Language acquisition, language use and language attitude

Quelimane has long been populated by immigrants from the surrounding region as well as from India and more recently China. The resulting cosmopolitan atmosphere of this town led to the use of a common language, Portuguese. As an indicator, out of the 834.073 Cuwabo speakers reported in 2007 (INE), 68.683 live in the city of Quelimane, and it is likely that since then, this number has further decreased due to a break in transmission. Among 20- and 30-year-old generations, Cuwabo may be heard, especially when they address older people, but Portuguese largely predominates. As for younger generations (subsuming adolescents and children) whose parents are generally fluent Cuwabo speakers, the language is neither

used nor understood, mostly because their parents decided not to transmit it. The monolingual instruction at school reinforces the hegemonic position of the European language. As a matter of fact, Cuwabo mother-tongue speakers tend to be looked down upon, because of the low social prestige suffered by the depreciated language. Interestingly, Cuwabo speakers refer to their language as *kaáfiri*. This term, originally derived from the Arab *kafir* 'unfaithful, unbeliever', presumably reached North Mozambique through borrowing from Swahili *kafiri*. Reminiscent of the colonial period, it has long been used by the Europeans to refer to the inhabitants of Southern Africa. By extension, the term also applied to the native 'indigenous languages', considered as 'dialects'. The term *dialect* is not to be taken in its traditional meaning, i.e. a variety of a language, but is rather as a derogatory connotation (Lopes 1997: 15, Katupha 1994: 91). Cuwabo is thus not perceived as a 'language' as Portuguese is. Inversely Portuguese (and more and more English) is a language of wider communication and thus perceived as a way of social elevation. And among younger people who speak Portuguese as L1, English is now understood as the language for further opportunity. Quelimane is thus the perfect evidence of the following statement by Lopes (1997: 27): "many families and children have primarily (if not solely) become Portuguese-speaking Mozambicans." This means that the number of mother-tongue speakers in Quelimane is progressively decreasing.

Whereas Portuguese has remained a mostly urban language, Cuwabo is predominantly spoken in the rural region. Outside the city of Quelimane, the language is used by all the generations and the intergenerational transmission does not seem compromised. This distinction between a urban language and rural languages is actually a widespread tendency of Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique. In this respect, Stroud (2008: 74) states that "Bantu languages, spoken predominantly in the rural regions of Mozambique, are still the mother tongues of the majority (about 75 per cent) of the population." Cuwabo is still learnt as a first language and still spoken as the language of every-day communication, although it is punctuated by many Portuguese loans. In fact, Cuwabo is the language spoken in all domains but the classrooms. And it happens that school teachers who do not speak Cuwabo are frustrated by the lack of fluency in Portuguese among school-age children. Children are usually monolingual until they enter school at about 6 years old, when they are initiated to Portuguese. The older illiterate people generally have a poorer command of Portuguese, although most understand it, probably as a result of the increase of radio broadcast media through the communities. However, the valuation *vis-à-vis* Portuguese is equivalent to the one observed in Quelimane, i.e. it is regarded as a language of success, power and social prestige.

With respect to genders, men tend to speak better Portuguese than women, probably because they have more external contacts for professional reasons. It seems that many

Cuwabo people have emigrated outside the Cuwabo area to join and live in bigger urban centers, especially the capital Maputo.

1.3.2.2   Language policies

Mozambique is a multilingual country, with more than 20 Bantu languages spoken over the territory. Interestingly, apart from European languages (Portuguese and to a lesser extent English), only the Bantu linguistic sub-group is represented in the country. With Independence in 1975, Mozambique adopted language policies in which the language of the former colonising power, Portuguese, was assigned the role of a unifying *lingua franca* for the recently born nation, used for both official communication and education. However, and partly because no school network was developed across the country during the colonial period, the 1980 census reveals that the majority of Mozambicans could neither read nor speak in Portuguese. More precisely, Katupha (1994: 92-93) indicates the following figures: "Portuguese is spoken by 24.4% of the population comprising 1.2% who speak it as their mother tongue and a further 23.2% who are bilingual, the remaining 75.6% of the population speaking no Portuguese at all." Twenty-seven years later, in the 2007 census, Portuguese is spoken by half of the population, of which 10% claim it as a first language. These numbers, in parallel with the population growth, reveal a substantial increase in terms of number of Portuguese speakers. However, and as shown in the preceding section, Portuguese remains essentially an urban language. In the rural areas, it constitutes a second language, typically acquired at school, or through radio broadcasts.

So far, no official document lays out a language policy as such in Mozambique. However, in practice, different policies have applied, mostly depending on the socio-political context, starting from the unifying-language approach (through Portuguese) when the country became independent, to a more modern approach prescribing cultural and linguistic diversity. This new approach, based on the principle of unity in diversity, embraces the recognition and promotion of different languages spoken across the country. The underlying idea is also that Mozambican languages may serve as mediators enhancing the country's development. As a result, Article 9 of the Mozambican constitution[6], further supported by following legal provisions, states its commitment to the recognition and the promotion of the different national languages.

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[6] Artigo 9 (Línguas nacionais) : "O Estado valoriza as línguas nacionais como património cultural e educacional e promove o seu desenvolvimento e utilização crescente como línguas veiculares da nossa identidade." (source: www.mozambique.mz/pdf/constituicao.pdf)

It is in this favourable climate that discussions and seminars arose, aiming at exploring the possibilities of using national languages in education. The underlying assumption, evidenced by high rates of school failure, is that the use of Portuguese as the exclusive language of instruction prevents most Mozambican pupils from learning. The implementation of a L1-medium of instruction in initial schooling thus appeared as a potential solution to this problem, in that it would boost the socialisation of the monolingual child. A few bilingual education experiments were launched in the 1990s, under the project called PEBIMO (*Projeto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique*), and in spite of a series of constraints and limitations, they were regarded as successful, with higher passing rates overall and better interaction in the classroom (see Benson 2000). Faced with this success, the choice of a bilingual program was officially introduced in 2003. According to INDE (2008), bilingual schools have gone from 14 in 2003, to 81 in 2008, and the prospect for 2010 was about 200.

Cuwabo is part of the 16 Mozambican languages now in use as an initial schooling media. However, it seems that bilingual education has not been adopted with a wide interest across the Cuwabo-speaking communities and the local authorities, since there are so far only two bilingual schools in the villages called Múgógódda and Gogóni (near Maquival). This report goes against the tendency observed above by the INDE (2008), and seems to confirm the low prestige of the language. Furthermore, bilingual education is a new phenomenon in Mozambique, and changing attitudes toward local languages may be a time-consuming process (and challenge). So far, learning materials written in Cuwabo comprise two books, one in Cuwabo and one in mathematics, and although Sérgio, my main consultant, has reported a certain numbers of misleading typos or even linguistic errors, it should be considered as a good start.

In parallel, broadcast media (TV and radio) have participated in the linguistic policies. *Radio Moçambique* now broadcasts programs in twelve Mozambican languages (Stroud 2008: 85), including Cuwabo. In addition, a few programs involving local languages have been launched in cooperation with both governmental and NGO action. A few years ago, my consultant Sérgio was contracted by the NGO *Visão Mundial* to translate into Cuwabo the 24 episodes from a Portuguese *radionovela* entitled *O vento da vida* ('The wind of life'). At the same time, the *Instituto de Comunição Social* of Quelimane also set up a radio program of several episodes about the lethal yellowing disease of the coconut palms. But this kind of language campaign remains very sporadic.

The religious sphere is another (more traditional) domain where Cuwabo is used. In fact, Christian churches constitute one of the most active institutions with respect to the use of local languages, both in their oral and written form. To my knowledge, the only printed

'literary' texts which exist in Cuwabo, stem from religious texts, comprising a complete bible and evangelical texts.

To conclude, in terms of absolute number of speakers and intergenerational language transmission, the vitality of Cuwabo can be viewed as stable and does not seem threatened, at least in the rural areas and in the short or medium term. However, the situation could rapidly change, in case an intergenerational break in transmission would occur on the part of the young rural generations, as has already happened in Quelimane. Other factors such as the existence of materials for language education and literacy, the institutional language policies, and the use of the language in existing domains and its response to new domains and media are not so encouraging although some efforts are noted. Now, considering community member's attitudes towards their own language, the picture looks less optimistic, in that Cuwabo speakers generally do not have a high regard for their language.

1.4   Genetic classification

Cuwabo is a southern East Bantu language spoken in northern Mozambique. It is thus part of the Bantoid branch of the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. According to Guthrie's (1967-71) classification, the language is coded as P34, belonging to the P30 Makhuwa group. Its closest relatives in this classification are Makhuwa (P31), Lomwe (P32) and Ngulu (P33), although no relevant distinction between the three has been pointed out so far to support such a classification. In fact, Ngulu refers to a variety of Lomwe (spoken by Lomwe immigrants in Malawi), and both Lomwe and Makhuwa are generally considered to form a linguistic continuum (Kisseberth 2003)[7]. As can be seen in Map 2, Lomwe and Makhuwa are spoken in the western and northern parts of the Cuwabo-speaking area. They form the most important linguistic group in Mozambique with more than 5 million speakers (INE 2007). Cuwabo is further bordered to the south by Sena, genetically classified in another sub-group numbered N44.

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[7] In this study, whenever the distinction between Lomwe and Makhuwa is not relevant, the generic term 'Makhuwa' will be used.

Map 2 Cuwabo, Lomwe-Makhuwa and Sena (source: Monika Feinen)

In Guthrie's classification, Cuwabo belongs to the Makhuwa group. Still, Guthrie's zones constitute geographic rather than genetic groups. And Kisseberth, in his 2003 paper about Makhuwa, makes the following assumption:

> *"There is a strong possibility that Chuabo is not actually a 'sister' language to Makhuwa in the 'family-tree' model of language development, but rather a product of extensive language contact between a Makhuwa speech variety and some language of the central region of Mozambique such as Sena. Careful documentation of Chuabo remains a research desideratum." (Kisseberth 2003: 546)*

It is the question of how Cuwabo is to be located within the typological and genetic map of eastern Bantu languages that motivated me to embark on field research on this language.

Such an ambitious question though can only find elements of answer on the basis of detailed grammatical descriptions depicting phonological and lexical data (traditionally used for comparative purpose), but also covering morphological and syntactic analysis of the languages considered for comparison. Although Makhuwa benefits from a few reliable descriptions (Katupha, Kisseberth and van der Wal's works), a larger-scale comparative analysis of all its dialects (covering an extensive area in the north of Mozambique) is still missing. First attempts have been made in Kisseberth and Cassimjee (unpublished) and Kisseberth and Guérois (2014), but on very specific topics dealing respectively with a comparative lexicon and verb tonology. For the present study, I most often refer to van der Wal (2009)'s description of Makhuwa-Enahara. Regarding Cuwabo, it has been largely ignored so far by previous scholarship, which is all the more surprising since it is part of the Mozambican languages with the highest number of native speakers (Firmino 2006, INE 2007). The lack of relevant linguistic material on Cuwabo was an obvious additional motivation to undertake this present grammar. Finally, Sena is another under-documented language, hence the difficulty in establishing reliable elements of comparison. I used three different sources Torrend's *Grammatica do chisena* (1900), Anderson's *introductory Grammar of the Sena language* (1897) and the more recent *Contrastive analysis of two standardised varieties of Sena* by Funnell (2004).

Although the so-called P30 languages share many distinctive features (suggesting a common ancestry), they also display a few significant structural differences. Whenever relevant, the main similarities and differences will be mentioned throughout this work. When information is provided, comparison with Sena will also be drawn. Albeit the present research does not constitute a comparative study of these languages, some clues about inheritance and convergence processes within this geographical area are sporadically proposed. It seems that Makhuwa and Cuwabo share a certain number of innovations which had a divergence effect *vis-à-vis* other Bantu languages. At the same time, both are embedded into a linguistic area which implies constant contact with other Bantu languages. As might be expected, in such zones of linguistic interface, languages involved by contact are prone to convergence effects. All these questions will be superficially retaken in the conclusion chapter, where they should be considered as a topic of further investigation.

1.5   Previous works on the language

While Cuwabo is one of the most widely spoken languages in Mozambique, it has been little studied, and only a few written works have been published on the language. Most of them

were written in Portuguese and constitute out-of-date grammars dating back from the beginning or middle of the twentieth century. Some of these works are exclusively on Cuwabo, others include Cuwabo and other languages (Dupeyron 1900). As expected, most of the authors were missionaries whose studies were limited to bilingual or multilingual word lists and short elementary grammars. Generally, the description and the terminology employed tend to pattern with the tradition of European languages, considered as the prototype of grammars. Furthermore, not only examples are not morphologically glossed, but they are also rendered into a free translation, which (compared to a word-for-word-like translation) complicates the linguist's task to identify the underlying structures of the language, especially in longer sentences and constructions. Another major drawback common to all these previous works is the lack of both discussion and marking of the prosodic features and more particularly the tones.

The earliest published material which presents a list of Cuwabo words stems from the beginning of the 20th century and is written by the missionary Pedro Dupeyron (1900): *Pequeno vademecum da Língua Bantu na provincia de Moçambique, ou breve estudo da Língua Chi-Yao ou Adjaua (comparada com os dialectos de Sena, Tete e Quelimane)*. As far as I am aware, this word list represents the oldest source of published data in Cuwabo.

A next episode of documentation entitled *Língua de Quelimane: gramática, leitura, vocabulário* was provided by the Capuchin friar Macário Reichmut (1947). Unfortunately, I could not find any copy of this work.

Another descriptive work was provided by the Italian Capuchin friar Leone Enrico Zeni in 1966: *Gramática da língua Ecwabo*. This grammar presents some basic elements of the language phonology and morphosyntax. Although it certainly represents the most substantial and reliable description, it is far from covering all the aspects of a descriptive grammar.

Later in 1983, António Pires Prata wrote *A influéncia da língua portuguesa sobre o suahíli e quatro línguas de Moçambique*, which provides a considerable list of Cuwabo lexicon borrowed from Portuguese.

A major and extensive lexical work is Festi and Valler's *Dicionário etxuwabo-português* (1995), with a great number of entries, usually illustrated with examples. Although it is detailed and contains a reliable lexicon, a major flaw of the dictionary is the absence of tone and vowel length annotation. Furthermore, the orthography used (presented below in section 1.7) does not reflect the current conventions.

Finally, SIL linguists have been producing several short studies about Cuwabo, including lexicon and very condensed synopsis of grammars. Again, tones and long vowels are not mentioned, and as a matter of fact, most of these different works, listed below, constitute

slightly modified versions of one and a same work, that I consider too superficial to be taken into account.

– *Levantamento linguístico da Zambézia leste, Moçambique: uma pesquisa da língua Chwabo e as suas variantes*, Jim Vinton and Virginia Vinton (1999).

– *A linguistic survey of the Chuwabu language cluster.* Jim Vinton and Virginia Vinton (2001).

– *Levantamento linguístico da Língua Chuwabu e suas variantes.* Jim Vinton and Virginia Vinton (2003).

– *Guia do leitor da língua Txuwabo.* Virginia Vinton (2003).

– *Uma breve gramática da língua xuabo*, by João António Sulude, Cipriano José Buramo (2003).

– *Algumas notas gramaticais sobre Ecuwabo*, by Cipriano José Buramo, João António Sulude, and Jim Vinton (2009).

– *Sidda eredda enraviwa muraruwani.*[8] Ângelo Cipriano Uareino, Manuel Felizardo Figredo, Tenente Artur Assada, João Antônio Sulude, and Cipriano José Buramo (2003). Núcleo dos Pastores.

– *Chuwabu: a language of Mozambique*, in the Ethnologue. Lewis, M. Paul (ed.). 2009. SIL International.

A final (non-linguistic) work is worth mentioning, namely the Bible, entitled *Bíblia: malebo okoddela (a bíblia em língua Etxuwabo)*, which covers both the Old and New Testament, translated by the Capuchin friars of Quelimane in 2004. Because it tends to follow a literal translation from the original version (probably Portuguese), the resulting text in Cuwabo is often made of sentence structures which do not sound natural or familiar to a native speaker. I once asked one of my consultant (Fransisco) to read a passage from the holy book, and it turned out to be a very difficult task for him.

To conclude, the present study is the first major treatment of Cuwabo.

1.6   Fieldwork and methodology

Due to the previous lack of linguistic data, the grammar presented here is based on linguistic fieldwork, conducted around Quelimane, from June to September 2011, July to September

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[8] AIDS, a disease which is spread by adultery (my translation).

2012, and July to September 2013. Such periods correspond to the dry season in Mozambique. They are definitely the best months to be in the field. The first field trip served both to getting familiar with the area and collecting basic linguistic data, in order to start working on the phonology. Most of my time was spent in Quelimane. But I did travel within the district to collect the data from different consultants.

1.6.1   Primary language consultants

The term consultant is used throughout this study to refer to the different native speakers of Cuwabo who acted as a source of data for linguistic analysis. All my consultants are Cuwabo mother-tongue speakers born in the Quelimane area. During my different fieldwork periods, I was able to rely on the cooperation of the Cuwabo speakers listed in Table 1.

Table 1   Cuwabo consultants

Name	Birth place	Birth date	Profession	Languages spoken
Guilherme Moniz Rofino	Maquival	5/3/1941	teacher	Cuwabo and Ptg
Fransisco Dove	Namwinho	1930s	farmer	Cuwabo and Ptg
João Amaral	Mussuluga	12/8/1932	-	Cuwabo and Ptg
Guida Jantar	Quelimane	1954	homemaker	Cuwabo and Ptg
Dina Abuque	Quelimane	-	homemaker	Cuwabo and Ptg
Sérgio Fernando Arthur	Macuse	1975	teacher	Cuwabo and Ptg
Fernanda Fernando Arthur	Macuse	1965	homemaker	Cuwabo and Ptg
Frederico (Costa António Arthur)	Macuse	1972	-	Cuwabo and Ptg
Helena Cesar	Macuse	-	homemaker	Cuwabo and Ptg
Agostinho Primeiro	Namacurra	8/8/1969	doctor	Cuwabo and Ptg

All these consultants are bilingual in Portuguese. Most are used to speak Cuwabo at home but were taught Portuguese at school. Guilherme particularly has a high proficiency in Portuguese since he attended a school held by Portuguese missionaries, until he himself became a teacher in the village of Maquival. Most of them remained around their place of birth, except Sérgio who was in born in Macuse but has been living in Quelimane for a few years now and Agostinho who settled in Italy in 1989.

I worked with Guilherme, Fransisco, João, Guida and Dina during the first fieldwork. They all have contributed in recording word lists, sentence lists and texts. Interestingly, the strong Portuguese influence on Cuwabo was easily perceived with both Guida and Dina, who live in Quelimane. Unfortunately, none of these consultants would be reliable enough to help me with the work of transcription. Only at the end of this first trip period did I meet

Sérgio, who would turn my main consultant from the second field trip on. As I worked more extensively with him, I will discuss him in further detail.

Sérgio, despite his young age, is reputed to be a most knowledgeable speaker of what people keep calling "o Cuwabo puro", i.e. "pure Cuwabo". He is a school teacher in the morning, follows a computer science course at the *Universidade Pedagógica* of Quelimane in the afternoon, but he got to be famous in the Quelimane area thanks to a radio program he hosts in Cuwabo every Saturday morning about rarely used Cuwabo words. His aim is to collect the audience's definitions and/or explanations of these words and put them together in a Cuwabo dictionary. He is one of the few Cuwabo speakers I met who refers to his language with pride and enthusiasm. Although Sérgio never used Portuguese until he started school at six years old, he is very fluent in the colonial language. He also normally understands the different Cuwabo dialects and is able to distinguish lexicon specifically used in each variety. I first contacted him at the end of my first fieldwork to present him my project. This was very fortunate since he turned out to be an excellent consultant and a very considerate friend. As soon as my second fieldwork period, we started to work together, almost on a day to day basis, whenever his time-schedule permitted. On the occasion of the 1-month death ceremony for his father, I had the opportunity to visit all his family in Macuse, a coastal village difficult to access. In addition to my participating in the event, I could record stories told by Fernanda (Sérgio's sister), Frederico (Sérgio's cousin) and Helena (a neighbour). Such stories constitute the basis of the present grammatical description. Interestingly, Macuse is considered by many Cuwabo people as the cradle of the best-spoken and "purest" (as they say) Cuwabo. Such recognition is probably explained by the fact that the Capuchin friars supposedly based their writing of the Bible on the Cuwabo spoken in Macuse (although I did not try to check the veracity of this information).

Unfortunately I could not find any Cuwabo native speaker in Lyon. However, I recently got the chance to know Agostinho, the last consultant cited in Table 1, whom I regularly exchanged with via some telecommunication software during the last months of my PhD study. Agostinho was born in Namacurra but moved to Italy in 1989, when he was twenty, to study medicine. Nowadays, despite an unavoidable loss of fluency, he uses Cuwabo with his two daughters and also on the phone with his Mozambican relatives. Exchanging with Agostinho has been significantly helpful, especially in the critical writing period, during which new doubts always arise.

1.6.2   Discourse data

The corpus on which this research is based consists of both elicitation and spontaneous speech, recorded in the field.

Elicitation was used as the initial method of data collection for the present study. It was administered by means of questionnaires, dealing with lexicon and grammatical constructions which supposedly involve specific morphosyntactic features. Such ready-made questionnaires are thus based on direct translation: the consultant is asked 'how do you say …?'. Because such questionnaires are far from exhaustive, I had to develop new questionnaires in accordance with my progressive findings on the language. As I progressively acquired a better intuition of the language, I was also able to resort to non-translational elicitation (Samarin 1967: 77) and ask Sérgio 'can you say … in Cuwabo?'. I could in this way fill out paradigms and also test the grammaticality of specific linguistic structures.

Although elicitation is a useful and necessary method of data collecting, especially since it allows focusing on specific aspects or phenomena in the language, a grammatical description cannot rely solely on elicited data. Spontaneous speech is a required complement in that it allows to observe a variety of linguistic structures otherwise not (or rarely) obtained through elicitation. Spontaneous speech also has the advantage of providing a contextual and informational background which usually help in determining the semantic and pragmatic load of a given sentence or structure. A great number of oral discourse consisting of traditional or personal stories and conversations was recorded in the field. However, and merely for lack of time, only a part was made available for the analysis. As a result, this study relies on a sample of seven stories (one of which lasts 20 minutes), which were transcribed, glossed and translated into Portuguese with the help of my main consultant Sérgio. Over time, he became accustomed to my work methods and also to my questions. And as my understanding of the language kept improving, transcribing, glossing and translating soon became less laborious. For the purpose of this study, the seven stories upon which the analysis is drawn are presented in the Appendix.

The language of communication with all my consultants was Portuguese. I usually had no difficulty in understanding the Mozambican Portuguese, and my Brazilian accent was not a problem for inter-comprehension, except for the older people, in which case I tried to minimise it the best I could.

My settlement in Quelimane had both benefits and drawbacks. The main and decisive benefit was the access to power. This allowed me to process a significant part of the linguistic data right away. Because of the mixed status of the population, I rarely had the

chance of overhearing long conversations in Cuwabo. I could have chosen to be immersed in the language on a day to day basis by settling in Macuse for instance. I would have acquired a certain level of proficiency in Cuwabo, and I would have been involved in the community life. But being able to work on my laptop on a daily basis was a little luxury that I deliberately opted for.

The data was recorded in a stereo WAV format using a Zoom H2 handy digital stereo voice recorder, and then transferred to my computer for further analysis. The acoustic analysis was carried by means of the software PRAAT, and I used the SIL software FleX both as a lexical database and a tool for morphological analysis. My database counts almost 4500 words. Most of it is in accordance with Festi and Valler's *Dicionário Etxuwabo-Português* (1994).

1.7   Orthographical conventions

Different spellings exist for the word Cuwabo: (e)Txuwabo, (e)Chwabo, (e)Cuabo, (e)Cwabo, (e)Chuabo, (e)Chuwabo. In the US Bantuist tradition, the class 7 prefix *ci-* or *e-* (depending on the languages) is commonly added to refer to the language. I deliberately chose the European tradition, where such a prefix is omitted.

Cuwabo has no solid writing tradition. In trying to solve orthographic issues, an alphabet standardisation committee was formed in order to draft and publish the following document: *Padronização da ortografia de línguas moçambicanas*. This committee was formerly known under the acronym NELIMO (*Núcleo de Estudos de Línguas Moçambicanas*), but has since then merged with the *Centro de Estudos de Línguas Moçambicanas* of the University Eduardo Mondlane of Maputo. Since the first report was published in 1989, two more subsequent works have been written in 2000 and 2011, bringing slight modifications. In Table 2 below, a comparison between the first standardisation report (1989) and the third one (2011) is provided.

On the two rightmost columns, I give first the writing system used by Festi and Valler (F&V) in their 1994 Cuwabo-Portuguese dictionary, and then my own proposal, which largely reflects the orthography advocated by the last committee's proposal.

Table 2   Comparison of Cuwabo writing systems

Phoneme	Padr.I (1989)	Padr.III (2011)	F&V (1994)	This work
/i/ - /ii/	i	i - ii	i	i - ii
/e/ - /ee/	e	e - ee	e	e - ee
/a/ - /aa/	a	a - aa	a	a - aa
/o/ - /oo/	o	o - oo	o	o - oo
/u/ - /uu/	u	u - uu	u	u - uu
/p/	p	p	p	p
/b/	b	b	b	b
/t̪/	t	t	t	t
/d̪/	d	d	d	d
/ʈ/	tt	tt	th	tt
/ʈh/	th	tth	-	-
/ɖ/	dd	dd	dd	dd
/c/	c	c	tx	c
/ɟ/	j	j	j	j
/k/	k	k	k	k
/g/	g	g	g	g
/ʔ/	h	h	h	h
/mb/	-	-	mb	mb
/nd̪/	-	-	nd	nd
/ɳɖ/	-	-	ndd	ndd
/ɲɟ/	-	-	nj	nj
/ŋg/	-	-	ng	ng
/f/	f	f	f	f
/v/	v	v	v	v
/ð/	dh	dh	dh	dh
/s/	s	s	s	s
/z/	z	z	z	z
/m/	m	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n	n
/ɲ/	ny	ny	ny	ny
/ŋ/	ñg	ng'	ñg	ñg
/l/	l	l	l	l
/r/	r	r	r	r
/ɽ/	lr	lr	rh	lr
/w/	w	w	w	w
/y/ (= /j/)	y	y	y	y

As can be seen, in most cases, the practical orthography symbols were developed following a one-to-one relationship between phonemes and phonetic symbols. Among the different previous writing systems, only the last standardisation report from 2011 reports the existence of a vowel length distinction in Cuwabo. According to the first standardisation report, *"todas as vogais sofrem um alongamento, geralmente na penúltima sílaba"* (1989: 50)[9]. Without denying that penult vowel lenghtening may have once existed in the language (note that this process is not attested synchronically), it is very unlikely to switch within 20 years from a system whereby long vowels are phonetically triggered at the right boundary of a prosodic unit, to a system with a distinctive vowel length. The absence of phonemic long vowels in the first reports should thus be regarded as an error of analysis. The absence of long vowels is also one of the main lacuna of Festi and Valler's Dictionary.

In comparison with the 2011 standardisation report, my orthography proposal takes into account the prenasalised stops, since they constitute phonemes in Cuwabo. I also note the velar nasal /ŋ/ as <ñg> and not as <ng'>, mostly to avoid ambiguity with the numerous apostrophes used in my transcriptions whenever resyllabification processes occur on the surface across word boundaries (e.g. in ordinary speech, *námwáli óddu* 'this girl' surfaces as *námwál' uúddu*). Another difference between the standardisation reports and the writing system I am proposing deals with the aspiration of the retroflex stop. Whereas the reports regard the sound sequence [ʈh] (as in *múʈʰu* 'person') as a phoneme, I assume that aspiration is not a distinctive feature in Cuwabo, and rather analyse [ʈh] as an allophonic variant of the phoneme /ʈ/ (see section 2.1.1).

Throughout this grammar, Cuwabo words and sentences are written according to the practical orthography I am proposing in Table 2, except in cases where a phonetic transcription is specifically required for phonological purposes.

1.8   Notation

Throughout this study, each example generally has a four-tier presentation, as illustrated below.

> *kurúmáanj' ooneelóómwerela vañlúgúni*   {maria.47}
> kurúmáanje   o-naa-ilá-ómwerela   va-ñlúgú=ni
> 1a.bee.sp   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land   16-5.stone=LOC
> 'the bee.sp will land on a stone'

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[9] "all the vowels are affected by lengthening, generally on the penult syllable" (my translation).

In the first tier, the sentence is written as it is heard, i.e. including every surface morpho-phonological process. It thus directly reflects the way the sentence was uttered by the native speaker. At the end of this line, the source is indicated between curly brackets {…}. If the example stems from a story, the source is coded as follows: the first component indicates the story from which the sentence is issued (here 'maria'); the following numeral component (here .47) identifies the sentence within the text so that the reader can easily pinpoint it in the Appendix. If the example stems from direct elicitation involving translation from Portuguese, the source appears as {elic.} (for 'elicitation'); if the example was created by the speaker as a result of all kind of stimuli, it is indicated as {semi-elic.} (for 'semi-elicited' data). For instance, I asked my main consultant Sérgio to create series of sentences for each tense attested in the language. Although such sentences are somewhat oriented-like, they certainly look more 'natural' and more related to the day to day language than sentences translated from Portuguese.

The second line is the segmentation tier, which provides a detailed account of the morphological structure of the utterance. A hyphen is used to separate each morpheme. The verb Final vowel (Fi) *-a* is also preceded by a hyphen, when separated from the verbal root by a derivational extension. Otherwise, it is analysed as being included in the verbal stem as in *ómwerela* 'to land' above. For the segmentation of clitics, an equal sign (=) is used, as shown with the locative clitic =*ni* in *vañlúgúni* 'on a stone'. For each example throughout this study, whenever possible, the relevant information has been underlined in bold for ease of identification.

The third line is the gloss tier, where every Cuwabo morpheme is given either a lexical meaning (e.g. 'bee', 'land' or 'stone'), or a somewhat conventionalised metalinguistic abbreviations in capital letters deciphered on the preliminary pages xvii-xviii (e.g. FUT for 'future', AUX for 'auxiliary', LOC for 'locative'). Numbers refer to the Bantu noun class system. Note that most of the abbreviations used for glossing the Cuwabo segments in this work follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules[10] with a few alterations when needed.

Finally, a translation into English is provided. It should not be considered as a free or idiomatic translation, since it rather tends to respect the construction found in Cuwabo. Whenever deemed necessary, a literal translation is also given in parenthesis. Such a 'word-for-word' translation is often more meaningful for a linguistic study.

Throughout this study, a single word preceded by an asterisk (*) corresponds to a reconstruction from Common Bantu (CB), based on Guthrie (1967-71). Such words are in principle further followed by Guthrie's code (e.g. *-bégú 'seed' CS 85). The same asterisk

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[10] Available online at http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html

(*) is also conventionally used to indicate ungrammaticality. In this case, it usually applies to a whole clause or sentence, and is thus easily distinguishable from its use when linked with lexical recontructions.

2

Segmental phonology

The analysis of Cuwabo phonology is divided into two chapters: the first (Chapter 2) investigates the sound inventory and phonological alternations, while the second (Chapter 3) discusses basic tonal structures as well as tonal alternations.

More specifically, the present chapter describes the various sound units that constitute the phonological system of Cuwabo, as well as the major phonological alternations. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively review the consonant system and the vowel system, including a discussion of the phonetic realisation of the different phonemes, as well as their phonemic status and distribution. These primary sections are followed by section 2.3 which deals with the syllable structure and word shapes, and section 2.4 which treats resyllabification phenomena, including an extended description of vowel sequences. Tones and tonal processes, another major topic of Cuwabo phonology, are analysed in chapter 3.

As this chapter focuses on phonological segments, every Cuwabo example is first given in (italicised) practical orthography, followed by a transcription in phonetics symbols (enclosed in slants /…/ when phonemic distinctions are presented, and in brackets […] for phonetic realisations). I generally adopted the phonetic transcription suggested by the International Phonetic Alphabet except for the palatal glide [j], that I transcribe by [y], as Africanist scholars usually do. Note that in the remaining chapters, for ease of reading, only practical orthography will be used.

2.1   Consonants

Cuwabo counts 31 consonants, all given and arranged in Table 3 according to their articulatory properties. The phonemes are presented in the orthography used throughout the rest of the thesis. Their corresponding phonetic symbols are given in square brackets where they differ from the symbols used in the practical orthography. The elements between parentheses represent less common phoneme types.

The consonant inventory displays contrasts in manner of articulation between stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids and glides. A voicing contrast exists for both stops and fricatives, where *vl.* stands for 'voiceless' and *vd* for 'voiced'.

Table 3   Cuwabo consonant phonemes

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	pre-palatal	velar	glottal
vl. stop	p	t [t̪]		tt [ʈ]	c [c/tʃ]	k	(h) [ʔ]
vd stop	b	d [d̪]		dd [ɖ]	j [ɟ/ʤ]	g	
prenas. stop	mb	nd [nd̪]		ndd [ɳɖ]	nj [ɲɟ/nʤ]	ng [ŋg]	
vl. fricatives	f		s		(sh) [ʃ]		
vd fricatives	v	dh [ð]	z				
nasals	m		n		ny [ɲ]	(ñg) [ŋ]	
liquids			l, r	(lr) [ɽ]			
glides	w				y		

Table 3 makes it clear that the stops and the nasals (including the prenasalised stops) form a major subsystem with up to five contrasting places of articulation: bilabial /p, b, mb, m/, dental/alveolar /t̪, d̪, nd̪, n/, retroflex /ʈ, ɖ, nɖ/, (pre)-palatal /c, ɟ, nɟ, ɲ/ and velar /k, g, ŋg, ŋ/. The voicing contrast differentiates Cuwabo from other P30 languages, which normally include voiceless and aspirated stops, but not voiced stops (Katupha 1991, van der Wal 2009). The remaining consonant phonemes also are robust, except the (voiceless) glottal stop /ʔ/, the voiceless post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, the retroflex liquid /ɽ/, and the velar nasal /ŋ/, which are far less frequent.

Evidence of the phonemic status of these consonants together with their phonetic description will be given in the following subsections. We will see that Cuwabo consonant phonemes are in principle very regular in their phonetic realisation, usually maintaining their place, manner and voicing properties independent of the environment, but that some (free) variation can still be found according to the speakers consulted. I also try, whenever possible, to provide examples which exhibit the larger array of consonant distribution, namely root-initially and root-internally.

2.1.1   Apical stops

Cuwabo apicals have two places of articulation, dental [d̪, t̪] and retroflex [ɖ, ʈ], whose occurrence is not conditioned by any specific environment in the words in which they are found. Minimal (or near minimal) pairs in (2.1) and (2.2) illustrate their phonemic distinction.

(2.1)   /t̪/ - /ʈ/ distinction

wiíta	[o-ít̪a]	'found'	vs.	*wiítta*	[o-íʈa]	'spill'
pwéte	[pwét̪e]	'challenge'	vs.	*pwetté*	[pweʈé]	'rhinoceros'
etólo	[e-t̪ólo]	'winnow'	vs.	*ǹttólo*	[ǹ-ʈólo]	'dried well'
ó-tugá	[ó-t̪ugá]	'inquire'	vs.	*o-ttúga*	[o-ʈúga]	'fast'

(2.2)   /d̪/ - /ɖ/ distinction

wiída	[o-íd̪a]	'hide'	vs.	*wiídda*	[o-íɖa]	'hate'
óvádéha	[ó-vád̪éʔa]	'bump'	vs.	*ováddéla*	[o-váɖêla]	'be strong to'
ógúdúla	[ó-gúd̪úla]	'collide with'	vs.	*ofúddûla*	[o-fúɖûla]	'make fall'

It is however interesting to note that the dental apicals, be they voiced or not, are far less commonly attested than their retroflex counterparts.

Several observations regarding the phonetic realisation of Cuwabo apicals are noteworthy. First, the dental stops /d̪, t̪/ have free alveolar variants [d, t], as illustrated in (2.3).

(2.3)   [d̪, t̪] and [d, t] free variation

dála 'hunger'	► [d̪ála] or [dála]		*ódúdúra* 'wound'	► [ó-d̪úd̪úra] or [ó-dúdúra]
ǹsíto 'fence'	► [ǹ-sít̪o] or [ǹ-síto]		*otíba* 'dig out'	► [o-t̪íba] or [o-tíba]

Since dental stops are articulated with the tip of the tongue placed at the juncture between the upper teeth and the alveolar ridge, the acoustic conflation between both places of articulation, dental and alveolar, is not surprising.

Second, the voiceless retroflex stop /ʈ/ can be heard as an aspirated [ʈʰ] before the high vowels /i, u/, as shown in (2.4).

(2.4)   [ṭ] and [ṭʰ] allophonic variation

muttétte	[mu-ṭéṭe]	'monument'	vs.	*ńttîtti*	[ń-ṭʰîṭʰi]	'hair'
ottéttékula	[o-ṭéṭékula]	'liven up'	vs.	*ottíttîma*	[o-ṭʰíṭʰîma]	'thunder'
múttôtto	[mú-ṭôṭo]	'nail'	vs.	*ttúttú*	[ṭʰúṭʰu]	'fish.sp'
óttóttómúwa	[ó-ṭóṭómúwa]	'crackle'	vs.	*ottúttúmedha*	[o-ṭʰúṭʰúmeða]	'rise to'

Unlike Makhuwa, the aspiration is not phonological in Cuwabo, but seems to be a phonetic consequence of the highness of /i, u/. As far as I know, /ṭ/ is the only consonant with allophonic variation. Furthermore, speakers vary in the degree of audible aspiration of this stop.

Dental and retroflex stops cannot co-occur within a stem. Many examples in my database manifest this 'dental-retroflex incompatibility' (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000). (2.5) shows combinations of two dental stops only, while (2.6) shows combinations of two retroflex stops.

(2.5)   Dental stops combination

ódídéla	[óḓóḓéla]	'persist'	*ótidá*	[óṯiḓá]	'pound'
oténtedha	[oṯéńṯeða]	'cackle'	*mutéde*	[muṯéḓe]	'dress'
ódáánda	[óḓáán͡ḓa]	'not articulate'	*ótááta*	[óṯááṯa]	'mash'
otáda	[oṯáḓa]	'plan'	*otóta*	[oṯóṯa]	'hunt'
mútûtu	[múṯûṯu]	'corncob'	*mútundú*	[múṯun͡ḓú]	'leech'

(2.6)   Retroflex stops combination

naáddînddi	[naáḍîn͡ḍi]	'bird.sp'	*nańttîddi*	[nańṭîḍi]	'weed.sp'
eddéddêre	[eḍéḍêre]	'desert'	*óréttétta*	[óréṭéṭa]	'thresh'
ottándda	[oṭán͡ḍa]	'create'	*kattúnddu*	[kaṭún͡ḍu]	'big bundle'
óddoddá	[óḍoḍá]	'grab'	*ósóttótta*	[ósóṭóṭa]	'torture'
ttómôddo	[ṭómôḍo]	'hippopotamus'	*eddúunddu*	[eḍúun͡ḍu]	'grasshopper

Interestingly, this dental-retroflex incompatibility is not restricted to stops, but affects every dental and retroflex sounds, including the dental fricative /ð/ (2.7), and the retroflex flap /ṛ/ (2.8).

(2.7)

édhîdhi	[éðîði]	'owl'	*múdhîdhi*	[múðîði]	'time'
ódháádha	[óðááða]	'drown'	*ótadhá*	[óṯaðá]	'hoe'
ńdhâdhu	[ńðâðu]	'lung'	*odhávûdha*	[oðávûða]	'wash fast'
mútóódha	[mútóóða]	'wart'	*múdhóódho*	[múðóóðo]	'ant.sp'

(2.8)   *obínddûlra*   [obíɳɖûɽa]   'be pregnant'   *óttámbílra*   [óʈámbíɽa]   'get, obtain'

      ttéwêlra   [ʈéwêɽa]   'loincloth'   *osálrápitta*   [osáɽápiʈa]   'fake'

      ńddálra   [ńɖáɽa]   'cellar'   *malróndda*   [maɽóɳɖa]   'trading'

      muttólro   [muʈóɽo]   'parcel'   *ddonddólri*   [ɖoɳɖóɽi]   'slobber'

      ǹlrúwâtti   [ǹɽúwâʈi]   'ankle ring'   *ovúnddûlra*   [ovúɳɖûɽa]   'stir'

Only one exception to the dental-retroflex restriction has been reported from my database: *oddúddúmadha* [oɖúɖúmaða] 'leave home'.

2.1.2   Bilabial and velar stops

There are three robust bilabial stops in Cuwabo: /p, b, mb/, which require no particular comment. Their phonemic status is established by the following minimal pairs.

(2.9)   /p/ - /b/ - /mb/ distinction

      olápa   [o-lápa]   'be tall, long'

      olába   [o-lába]   'work'

      múlâmba   [mú-lâmba]   'baobab tree'

The voiced plain stop /b/ sometimes gets implosive [ɓ]. This free variant is especially evidenced by Guilherme in sporadic words, as shown in (2.10), and does not bear a phonemic status in the language.

(2.10)   [b, ɓ] free variation

      mucésâ oḿfwányúwa oɓára   ▸ from   *bára*   [bára] 'beach, sea'

      'the sand is found at the sea'

Both velar stops /k/ and /g/ are also very robust consonants. Their phonemic contrast is shown in (2.11).

(2.11)   /k/ - /g/ distinction

      ókápúla   [ó-kápúla]   'hear say'   vs.   *ógábúla*   [ó-gábúla]   'break'

      ofúkûwa   [o-fúkûwa]   'gush'   vs.   *ofúgûwa*   [o-fúgûwa]   'open' (itr.)

2.1.3   Glottal stop

The glottal consonant [ʔ] seems more and more marginal in the language and is normally replaced by a glide (whose nature mostly depends on the quality of the surrounding vowels, see section 2.4.1.4 below). The causative extension *-ih* is a good illustration. It can be pronounced [iʔ], but [iy] is most frequently heard.

(2.12)   [ʔ/y] free variation in the causative extension *-ih*

ójihá	'feed'	▸	[ójiʔá]	or	[ójiyá]
óbúrúcíha	'make get out'	▸	[óbúrúcíʔa]	or	[óbúrúcíya]
weéddíha	'lead, guide'	▸	[weéɗîʔa]	or	[weéɗîya]

Inside noun roots, [ʔ] is rare, but still attested, and always allows a glide variant (2.13)a or simply falls between two short identical vowels (2.13)b.

(2.13)   [ʔ/w/y] free variation inside roots

a.	*mwíihí*	'belt.sp'	▸	[mwíiʔí]	or	[mwíiyí]
	míhêgu	'antilopes'	▸	[míʔêgu]	or	[míyêgu]
	mahúzi	'hairs'	▸	[maʔúzi]	or	[mawúzi]
	muhágo	'intestinal worm'	▸	[muʔágo]	or	[muwágo]
	muhóre	'young hen'	▸	[muʔóre]	or	[muwóre]
b.	*níhimó*	'tribe'	▸	[níʔimó]	or	[níimó]
	mahála	'gift'	▸	[maʔála]	or	[maála]
	namávúhulela	'prophet'	▸	[namávúʔulela]	or	[namávúulela]

The same variation occurs within verbs (2.14), when /ʔ/ is in root-initial position, but a third pattern is also possible, in which /ʔ/ (or [w]) gets deleted. This consonant deletion gives rise to vowel sequences, in which the first round mid-vowel, issued from the infinitive prefix, becomes a labial glides followed by the second vowel which lengthens (see section 2.4.1 for an analysis of vowel sequences).

(2.14)   [ʔ/w] free variation inside roots + resyllabification

o-hílêya	'faint'	▸	[oʔílêya]	or	[owílêya]	or	[wiílêya]
o-héla	'put'	▸	[oʔéla]	or	[owéla]	or	[weéla]
o-hába	'bathe'	▸	[oʔába]	or	[owába]	or	[waába]
ó-hogá	'asfixiate'	▸	[óʔogá]			or	[óogá]
ó-huwá	'slough'	▸	[óʔuwá]			or	[úuwá]

The glottal stop seems to be a case of style which may vary from one speaker to the other (usually more used by the older people). Speakers always accept it even if they usually

make use of a glide instead, which makes the discourse more fluid from an articulatory point of view.

2.1.4 Prenasalised stops

Prenasalised stops are complex consonants, which involve a nasal-stop sequence. Unlike most Makhuwa dialects, Cuwabo has five prenasalised stops in its consonant inventory: bilabial /mb/, dento-alveolar /nd̪/, retroflex /ɳɖ/, palatal /ɲɟ/, /velar/ ŋg/. In the orthography used in this study, the bilabial nasal is represented by an <m>, while the dento-alveolar, the retroflex, the palatal and the velar nasals are represented by an <n>. These prenasalised stops are produced at the same place of articulation as the series of corresponding stops. A particularity of Cuwabo prenasalised stops is that the second constituent is always voiced. A voiceless stop can be preceded by a nasal, but in this case, each consonant is a segment which maintains a phonemic status, and the nasal is moraic (see section 2.3.1.2 below). In order to avoid any ambiguity between nasal-voiced consonant sequence and nasal-voiceless consonant sequence, in the first one the two segments are joined by a tie bar [◠] in the following glosses.

Although such sequences involve two consonants, they behave like single segments in that they are treated as phonemes, as shown in the minimal pairs in (2.15), comparing prenasalised stops to plain stops.

(2.15)   /NC/ - /C/ distinction
a. *okúmba*   [o-kúm͡ba]   'blow away'   vs.   *ókumá*   [ó-kumá]   'be fat'
b. *ólandá*   [ó-lan͡dá]   'lick'   vs.   *ǹláda*   [ǹ-láda]   'hand'
c. *opóndda*   [o-pón͡ɖa]   'knead'   vs.   *m̀pódda*   [m̀-póɖa]   'green grass'
d. *nikánje*   [ni-kán͡ɟe]   'mat.sp'   vs.   *mukáje*   [mu-káɟe]   'fish.sp'
e. *ofúnga*   [o-fúŋ͡ga]   'strengthen'   vs.   *ófuná*   [ó-funá]   'want'

Furthermore, the two components of the prenasalised consonants are homorganic: the pre-nasal consonant always shares the same place of articulation as the following consonant.

Prenasalised consonants in Cuwabo, as in Bantu, generally form a complex nasal-stop onset as shown in (2.16), in which dots are used to divide syllable boundaries, and represented in (2.17).

(2.16)   *nímbâzi*   [ní.m͡bâ.zi]   'scar'

   ólandá   [ó.la.n͡d̪á]   'lick'

   tténddéerí   [t̪é.n͡d̪ée.rí]   'star'

   oránjûla   [o.rá.ɲ͡ɟû.la]   'profit'

   óddóónga   [ó.d̪óó.ŋ͡ga]   'drip'

(2.17)   Prenasalised consonants representation
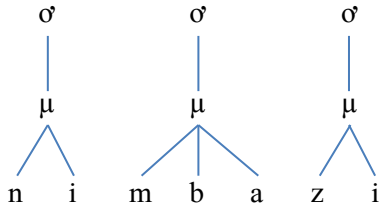
   Regarding their distribution, prenasalised stops as monomorphemic elements are rarely attested in word-initial position. In such a position, a syllabic split usually occurs, and the nasal is considered moraic in most cases (see section 2.3.1.2 below). (2.18) provides the complete list of prenasalised stops in word-initial position in Cuwabo.

(2.18)   NC in word-initial position

mbúzi	[m͡búzi]	'goat'	*mbwáwûru*	[m͡bwáwûru]	'coffin'
mbáva	[m͡báva]	'thief'			
ngóme	[ŋ͡góme]	'fence'	*ngómi*	[ŋ͡gómi]	'stones wall'
ngómwa	[ŋ͡gómwa]	'barren person'	*ngóvi*	[ŋ͡góvi]	'tragedy'
ngóyo	[ŋ͡góyo]	'eel'	*ngwára*	[ŋ͡gwára]	'current'
ngwécu	[ŋ͡gwécu]	'frailty'	*ngwílri*	[ŋ͡gwíɽi]	'spinning top'

   Prenasalised consonants are also found in stem-initial position (2.19), but they more commonly occur as the second or following consonant of the stem (2.20). As one might expect they are barred from the final position.

(2.19)   NC in stem-initial position

nímbâzi	[ní-m͡bâzi]	'scar'	*múmbu*	[mú-m͡bu]	'ear of bean'
andákôka	[a-n͡dákôka]	'suspender'	*mandárádara*	[ma-n͡dárádara]	'wasp.sp'
énddáálra	[é-n͡d̪ááɽa]	'nest'	*munddúura*	[mu-ŋ͡d̪úura]	'ashes'
mwínji	[mwí-ɲ͡ɟi]	'hunting dog'			
mungúri	[mu-ŋ͡gúri]	'rhizome.sp'	*níngûza*	[ní-ŋ͡gûza]	'bark's side'

(2.20)   NC in stem-internal position

ezímba	[e-zímba]	'elephantiasis'	*pénêmbe*	[pénêmbe]	'monitor lizard'
mútundú	[mú-tundú]	'leech'	*samúgwírindi*	[samúgwírindi]	'bell'
nibóndde	[ni-bóɳɖe]	'mat'	*nikánáanddó*	[ni-kánáaɳɖó]	'crab.sp'
máanjé	[má-anjé]	'water'	*finyínji*	[fiɲíɲɟi]	'gizzard'
kabánga	[kabáŋga]	'drink.sp'	*piríngîzi*	[piríŋgîzi]	'trunk'

The preference for word-internal rather than initial position is attested in many languages (Herbert 1986: 91)

Furthermore a distributional constraint prevents a prenasalised stop to co-occur with any other prenasalised stop within a word. This restriction suggests the application of Meinhof's Rule found in many Eastern Bantu languages (Meeussen 1962). According to this rule, a NC cluster is simplified to a nasal segment when another NC cluster occupies C2 position. (Meinhof 1932: 183). This is verified in Cuwabo with the examples given in (2.21), which did not maintain the two NC clusters present in the CB words. Instead, the first NC cluster changed to a velar nasal.

(2.21)   CB   Cuwabo

*N-gɔ̀mbè	'cattle'	*ñgómbe*	[ŋómbe]
*N-yàmbɔ̀	'bait'	*ñgámbo*	[ŋámbo]
*N-gàŋgà	'trad. healer'	*ñgánga*	[ŋáŋga]

Other examples for which a proto form is not available, but which clearly reveal the non-co-occurrence of two NC clusters within a word, are provided in (2.22).

(2.22)   a. *neémbêle*   [neémbêle]   'lizard.sp'
         b. *kánúúnddu*   [kánúúɳɖu]   'cigarette'
            nánddwe   [náɳɖwe]   'frog'
         c. *kalráñgângo*   [kaɽáŋâŋgo]   'ladder'
            maníngo   [ma-níŋgo]   'body'

The only exceptions to this restriction rule on prenasalised co-occurrence are a few reduplicated words given in (2.23).

(2.23)   a. *ebémbêmbe*   [e-bémbêmbe]   'dawn'
         b. *mandárándara* [ma-ndárándara] 'wasp.sp' (cl.6)
         c. *engwíróngwiro* [e-ŋgwíróŋgwiro] 'clarity'
            engáyíngayi   [e-ŋgáyíŋgayi]   'enraged dog'
            singáníngo   [siŋgáníŋgo]   'miracle'
            onóngónongo   [o-nóŋgónoŋgo]   'skill'

mutóngónongo	[mu-tóŋgónoŋgo]	'peak'
vísángusángu	[ví-sáŋgusáŋgu]	'imitation art'

Consider now the fricative phonemes. Table 3 shows that they display fewer articulatory positions than the stops, contrasting labial /f, v/, dental /ð/, alveolar /s, ʃ/ and affricates /tʃ, ʤ/, here noted as palatal stops /c, ɟ/. In this respect, Cuwabo follows the overall tendency of languages to count fewer fricatives than stops in their phonemes inventories (Creissels 1989: 57).

2.1.5   (Labio)-dental fricatives

The labial fricatives /f, v/ are illustrated below, in (2.24).

(2.24)   /f/ - /v/ distinction

fóla	[fóla]	'tobacco'	vs.	*óvolá*	[ó-volá]	'heal'
ófudhá	[ó-fuðá]	'cancel'	vs.	*óvudhá*	[ó-vuðá]	'unearth'
níkôfi	[ní-kôfi]	'slap'	vs.	*kóve*	[kóve]	'face'

The voiceless /f/ is far less attested than its voiced counterpart, and mainly occurs as the first consonant of the stem, unlike /v/ which is also recurrent as C2 or C3.

The dental fricative /ð/ is used mostly in *-edh* [eð], one of the two applicative extensions in Cuwabo (see section 6.1.3.2). Inside verb or noun roots, its occurrence is also attested, although less frequent. The following examples in (2.25) provide minimal (or near-minimal) pairs illustrating the phonological contrasts between /ð/ and two close voiced fricatives: the labio-dental /v/ and the alveolar /z/.

(2.25)   /ð/ - /z, v/ distinction

ódháádha	[óðááða]	'drown'	vs.	*óbááza*	[óbááza]	'anticipate'
ógadhá	[ógaðá]	'cut in pieces'	vs.	*óngazá*	[óŋgazá]	'smash beans'
okúrûdha	[okúrûða]	'calm down'	vs.	*okúrûva*	[okúrûva]	'get peeled'
ódhúúdha	[óðúúða]	'stir'	vs.	*óvúúva*	[óvúúva]	'drip'

Furthermore, /ð/ is sometimes pronounced as a dental stop [d], as shown in (2.26).

(2.26)   [ð] and [d] free variation

    nadháwûla   'big wave'   ▸ [naðáwûla] or [naḍáwûla]

This variation is very often attested with the verb *ódha* 'go' (2.27), although in both examples, the presence of the nasal consonant probably triggers the propagation of the

inherent nasal feature [-continuant] onto the following segment. The choice for the dental stop instead of the dental fricative would thus be conditioned in these specific cases.

(2.27) a. *ók' uuńdówííyé:* {maria.32}

óku [o-ní-dhówá = íyé]_{REL}

17.DEM.I 17-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO

'where he is going'

b. *ńdówe nááredhe* {páaká.4}

ní-dhów-e ni-á-áredh-e

1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ

'let's go and have fun'

The free variation between [ð] and [d] is probably explained by the fact that both consonants are very close from an articulatory point of view, the main difference being the manner of articulation: the first is a fricative whereas the second is a stop. Furthermore no minimal pair is attested between both sounds, which facilitates their using as free variants. Note finally that the dental stop is prevalent in the Cuwabo variety called Karungu, spoken in the region of Inhassunge, to the South of Quelimane (see Map 1 in section 1.2).

A last case of variation among labio-dental fricatives exists for the class 10 noun prefix, usually uttered as *dhi-*, but also attested as *vi-*. The two most recurrent examples are provided in (2.28). Interestingly, the variant *vi-* is restricted to the noun class prefix and is not attested as agreement prefix, as the sentences in (2.29)a, uttered by Fransisco, and (2.29)b, uttered by Guilherme, illustrate.

(2.28) Class 10 *dhi-/vi-* free variation

dhináma OR vináma 'animals'

dhílôbo OR vílôbo 'things'

(2.29) a. *mwa vinámá dheetédhéné:, dówú enddimúwa* {elic.}

mwa **vi**námá **dhi**-eté = **dh**éne dówú e-nddimúwa

18.CON 10.animal 10-all = 10.INT 9a.elephant 9-big.PL

'among all the animals, elephant is the big one'

(2.30) b. *vílóbo dhiddiváhíle wéyó: dhiítwéeya* {elic.}

vílóbo [**dhi**-ddi-váh-íle wéyó]_{REL} **dhi**-hí-tw-éey-a

10.thing 10-OM1SG-give-PFV.REL 2SG.PRO 10-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi

'the things that you gave me broke'

2.1.6   Alveolar fricatives and affricates

Among the three alveolar fricatives presented in Table 3, /s/ and /z/ are actively attested in Cuwabo, more particularly the voiceless segment. Their phonemic independence is illustrated by the following minimal pairs.

(2.31)   /s/ - /z/ distintion

mucésa	[mu-césa]	'sand'	vs.	*céza*	[céza]	'light'
ósazá	[ó-sazá]	'imitate'	vs.	*ósasá*	[ó-sasá]	'flatten'
súra	[súra]	'liquor.sp'	vs.	*mizúra*	[mi-zúra]	'thanks'

The rare manifestations of the post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ show it mostly to occur in free variation with [s] or [c], as examples in (2.32) show.

(2.32)   [ʃ] and [s,c] free variation

óswa	'novelty'	▶	[ó-ʃwa]	or	[ó-swa]
músósóno	'kiss'	▶	[mú-ʃóʃóno]	or	[mú-sósóno]
címa	'stiff porridge'	▶	[ʃíma]	or	[címa]
oshága	'cleverness'	▶	[o-ʃága]	or	[o-cága]

It is also interesting to mention that in these contexts, one of my consultants (Fransisco of Namwinho) tends to produce either a voiceless labiodental affricate [p͡f] or a palatalised voiceless fricative [fy], instead of the voiceless fricative [s].

(2.33)   Cases of free variation between: [s]/[ʃ] in a.; [ʃ]/[c]/[p͡f] in b.; and [s]/[fy] in c.

a. *óswa*	'new'	▶	[óswa]	or	[óʃwa]		
b. *oshága*	'be clever'	▶	[oʃága]	or	[ocága]	or	[op͡fyága]
c. *ósééla*	'sweep'	▶	[ósééla]	or	[ófyééla]		

However, this free variation is encountered in a very few words of my corpus. The rare occurrence of this marginal sound could be an indication that either this sound is dying out of the language, or it was borrowed from another language, such as Sena, where it has phonemic status. The second option is more likely, even if no synchronic elements can prove it.

More generally, /ʃ/ is attested in loans from Portuguese.

(2.34)   /ʃ/ in Portuguese loans

bííshku	[bííʃku]	'bishop'	<	PTG	*bispo*
fóóshko	[fóóʃko]	'match'	<	PTG	*fósforo*
kásha	[káʃa]	'box'	<	PTG	*caixa*

síkóóla	[ʃkóóla]	'school'	<	PTG	*escola*
éshpeélyu	[éʃpeélyu]	'mirror'	<	PTG	*espelho*

Four more words in my database exhibit [ʃ]: *sháti* [ʃáti] 'shirt.sp', *m̀póŝhto* [m̀póʃto] 'rice.sp', *sháshángéra* [ʃáʃáŋgéra] 'fish.sp', and *ńsháánu* [ńʃáánu] 'Friday'. It is nonetheless more difficult to account for their status. The first may be a loan from Swahili *shati*, in turn borrowed from English *shirt*. The three other forms are probably loans from other Bantu languages, such as Sena, which has /ʃ/ in its phonological inventory.

Also note the sound [ʒ] in the loans *lózha* [lóʒa] 'shop' and *fiízhîga* [fiíʒîga] 'crossbow', from Portuguese *loja* and *fisga*. Still, these rare occurrences are far too marginal for [ʒ] to be considered as a phoneme in the language.

Let us now look at affrication in Cuwabo. Both /c, ɟ/ are robustly attested in the language. Regarding their pronunciation, they seem to vary between pre-palatal stops [c, ɟ] and alveo-palatal affricates [tʃ, ʤ]. The phonemic status of these two consonants is shown in the following minimal pairs.

(2.35)   /c/ - /ɟ/ distintion

ócigá	[ó-cigá]	'hate'	vs.	*ójigá*	[ó-ɟigá]	'pump'
ǹcéla	[ǹ-céla]	'well'	vs.	*ójelá*	[ó-ɟelá]	'empower'

Unexpectedly, my database contains one case of free variation between [ɟ] and its velar voiced stop [g] for the verb *ógóvóla* [ógóvóla] 'peck', also pronounced [óɟóvóla].

2.1.7   Nasals

There are four nasal consonants, produced at the bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, pre-palatal /ɲ/, and velar /ŋ/ places of articulation. The following near-minimal set establishes their phonemic status.

(2.36)   /m/ - /n/ - /ɲ/ - /ŋ/ distinction

móma	[móma]	'beehive'
ónomá	[ó-nomá]	'designate'
onyómêla	[o-ɲómêla]	'infiltrate'
ñgóma	[ŋóma]	'drum'

While /m, n, ɲ/ are very robust phonemes with a large distribution, and without restriction on their vowel environment, the phoneme /ŋ/ is little attested, and has a restricted distribution. It never appears before front vowels, and mostly occurs in stem-initial position

(2.37)a, sometimes in stem-internal position (2.37)b, sometimes in both C1 and C2 (2.37)c. This latter case probably results from the application of Meinhof's Rule, discussed above in section 2.1.4.

(2.37)   a. /ŋ/ as C1

    ñgómbo   [ŋómb͡o]   'paddle'   *múñgambó* [mú-ŋamb͡ó]   'flute'

   b. /ŋ/ as C2 or C3

    onóñgôna   [onóŋôna]   'whisper'   *karáñgâñgo* [karáŋâŋo]   'steps'

   c. /ŋ/ as C1 and C2

    oñgóñga   [oŋóŋa]   'snore'   *oñgúñgûna* [oŋúŋûna]   'grumble'

2.1.8   Liquids

The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and the voiced alveolar trill /r/ are well discriminated in Cuwabo (unlike Sena N44, where they appear to occur in free variation). The retroflex flap /ɽ/ is also phonemically attested. The three following minimal sets testify the phonemic status of these consonants.

(2.38)   /ɽ/ - /r/ - /l/ distinction

   a. *mwáalra* [mú-aɽa] 'stone'   b. *nípalrá* [ní-paɽá] 'seed.sp'   c. *muhélre* [mu-ʷéɽe] 'fight'

    wáará [ó-ará] 'weed'   *nípará* [ní-pará] 'strain (tree)'   *niyéré* [ni-yére] 'fish.sp'

    wáalá [ó-alá] 'sow'   *nipála* [ni-pála] 'mush'   *mahéle* [ma-ʸéle] 'bad luck'

Interestingly, /ɽ/ seems to be submitted to variation with [r], especially by my main consultant Sérgio, who tends to favour the trill to the detriment of the flap in certain words. This variation may be an individual particularism or a reflex of some generational linguistic changes, as my other consultants, all with an advanced age, maintain a firmer contrast between both consonants. Though this variation remains occasional, it is worth exemplifying it in (2.39) in which the words on the left column are uttered by my older consultants whereas those on the right were uttered by Sérgio, who is more or less half as young.

(2.39)   [ɽ/r] variation

		Older consultants	Sérgio
óttápílra	'be sweet'	[óʈápíɽa]	[óʈápíra]
olrénga	'cut'	[oɽéŋ͡ga]	[oréŋ͡ga]
osólra	'blossom'	[osóɽa]	[osóra]
ókúlrúmíza	'head work'	[ókúɽúmíza]	[ókúrúmíza]
kálrúúnga	'sickle'	[káɽúúŋ͡ga]	[kárúúŋ͡ga]

Other cases of variation between [ɽ] - [r] and even [l] are reported in Festi's Dictionary.

(2.40)   Cases of free variation between [ɽ] and [r, l], by Festi and Valler (1994)

ókámúlra	'strain, milk'	►	[ókámúɽa]	or	[ókámúla]
sizáálra	'frying pan.sp'	►	[sízááɽa]	or	[sizáára]
ǹddálra	'cellar'	►	[ǹɖáɽa]	or	[ǹɖára]

For the three examples in (2.40), all my consultants used the retroflex flap, hence the <lr> grapheme on the left column.

Note that the verb *wíílá* 'do, say' has three variants: *wíirá, wéelá, wéerá*, which neutralise the phonemic distinction between the two liquids consonants. This form is much used in Cuwabo syntax as a complementiser (see section 7.6.2.1) and in the tense-aspect-mood system as an auxiliary in analytic tenses (see section 8.4).

2.1.9   Glides

The labiovelar /w/ and palatal /y/ glides are transitional sounds towards the articulation of the following vowel. The glides may appear as part of consonant-glide clusters (CGV syllable), or as syllable onsets (GV syllable). In Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, both glides have a questionable phonological status, in that they can be derived from consonants as well as from vowels, and they can be inherent or epenthetic. I discuss below each of these configurations.

2.1.9.1   CGV

Glides commonly occur after a consonant, in the sequence CGV. Such sequences can be cases of re-syllabification triggered by morphological concatenations in which a CV (nominal or verbal) prefix is followed by a vowel-initial stem. Glide formation occurs, inducing compensatory lengthening, as illustrated in (2.41).

(2.41)

mwiíni	/mu-íni/	(cl.3)	'wild land'
mwéerí	/mú-erí/	(cl.3)	'moon, month'
mwáaná	/mú-aná/	(cl.1)	'child'

In such cases, the underlying morphological structure clearly shows that [w] is derived from vowels. Note that the sequence Cy is not attested here. The conditions and specificities of glide formation are discussed into more details in section 2.4.1.3 below.

When the sequence CGV appears inside the stem, both initially and internally, the source of the glide derivation is less predictable. The examples below illustrate the possible Cw combinations, both in stem-initial and stem-internal position. The sequences [ɟw], [nd̪w], [d̪w], [cw], [ʔw], [ðw], [ʃw], [zw], [lw], [ɽw] are not attested.

Table 4   CGV sequences in stem-initial and stem-internal position

	stem-initial			stem-internal		
pw	*opwéta*	[o-pwé.ta]	'weed'	*osápwa*	[o-sá.pwa]	'spread'(itr.)
bw	*obwína*	[o-bwí.na]	'sink'	*líbwe*	[lí.bwe]	'stone'
mbw	*múmbwâku*	[mú-m͡bwâ.ku]	'basilic'	*koómbwe*	[koó.m͡bwe]	'shrimp.sp'
t̪w	*ót̪wa*	[ó-t̪wa]	'break' (tr.)	-	-	-
ʈw	-	-	-	*wíitʈwá*	[wíi.ʈwá]	'be ripe'
ɖw	*ɖɖwálu*	[ɖwá.lu]	'madman'	*tt̪óɖɖwe*	[t̪ó.ɖwe]	'mollusc'
nɖw				*nánɖɖwe*	[ná.n͡ɖwe]	'frog'
kw	*ókwa*	[ó-kwa]	'die'	*tákwa*	[tá.kwa]	'forest'
gw	*ógwa*	[ó-gwa]	'fall'	*evágwe*	[e.vá.gwe]	'buzzard'
ŋgw	-	-	-	*kángwa*	[ká.ŋgwa]	'axe'
fw	*ófwará*	[ó-fwa.rá]	'follow'	-	-	-
vw	*évwêdde*	[é-vwê.ɖe]	'fist' (single occurrence)			
sw	*óswa*	[ó-swa]	'novelty'	*sóoswé*	[sóo.swé]	'colibri'
mw	*ómwa*	[ó-mwa]	'drink'	*wáamwá*	[wáa.mwá]	'suckle'
nw	*énwi*	[é-nwi]	'bee' (single occurrence)			
ŋw	*óñgwa*	[ó-ŋwa]	'drink'	-	-	-
rw	-	-	-	*máarwé*	[máa.rwé]	'bird.sp'

Table 4 shows that most consonants can be labialised in Cuwabo. Diachronically, Cw sequences may result from labialisation due to a sequence of vowels: for instance, a word like *opwéta* 'weed' may originally come from *opuéta*. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the sequence Cw can precede all vowels except /u/. This behaviour actually shows that Cw is to be considered as a cluster and not a unitary consonant like the prenasalised stops.

Unlike Cw, Cy is marginally attested. Only the sequences in (2.42) are attested, and most of them are variants (2.42)a, resyllabified (2.42)b, or loans (2.42)c.

(2.42)   a. [ópya]   ▸ variant of *óswa* 'new'
         [ófyééla]   ▸ variant of *ósééla* 'sweep'
         [ómágyéða]   ▸ variant of *ómágédha* 'slander'

   b. [ókámyééða]   ► resyllabification of *ókámíhédha* 'help'

   c. [éʃpeélyu]   ► loan from Portuguese *espelho* 'mirror'

The scarcity of Cy sequences show that palatalised consonants are not allowed in Cuwabo.

2.1.9.2   #GV

Word-initially, glides contrast with each other (2.43), and with their absence (2.44).

(2.43)   a. *wiíko*   /o-íko/   'at the river' (cl.17)

              yiíko   /e-íko/   'river' (cl.9)

         b. *wéene*   /ó-ene/   'INTensive' (cl.1-3-14-15-17)

              yéere   /é-ere/   'cellar.sp' (cl.9)

         c. *wááríya*   /ó-áríya/   'clarity'

              yáari   /é-ari/   'pregnancy' (cl.9)

         d. *wóoru*   /ó-oru/   'gold' (cl.14) (< *ouro*, PTG loan)

              yoóbo   /e-óbo/   'basket' (cl.9)

(2.44)   *oó-dhôwa*[11]   *woó-dhôwa*   *yoó-dhôwa*

           1.PFV.DJ-go   2SG/3/14.PFV.DJ-go   9.PFV.DJ-go

           '(cl.1) went'   'you/(cl.3/14) went'   '(cl.9) went'

   In many cases, and as examples in (2.43) show, the glides in word-initial position derive from an underlying vowel. The noun prefix *e-* (cl.9) is realised as *y-* before any vowel, and in the same context the noun prefix *o-* (cl.14/15/17) is realised *w-*. This gliding process conforms to the universal tendency of languages to avoid onsetless syllables. In other cases, the glide seems to have phonemic consonant status. This is evidenced in (2.45), where no compensatory lengthening takes place.

(2.45)   *wagá* (cl.14)   'gingiva blood'   *wásu* (cl.14)   'palm-tree leave'

           wáya (cl.14)   'wire'   *wále*   'formerly'

           wíyi (cl.14)   'honey'

   Another interesting case confronting glides as underlying vowels and glides as inherently consonantal are the infinitive forms of vowel-initial and glide-initial verb stems. Thus, /w/ in (2.46)a is a surface glide which derives from the underlying vowel sequence, whereas /w/ in

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[11] In this chapter, for ease of reading, tense and aspect morphemes are not accurately segmented. See chapter 8 for TAM analysis.

(2.46)b is inherently consonantal and has a phonemic consonant status, since it appears as a syllable onset.

(2.46)   a. *wiíla*   /o-íla/   'boil'   b. *owáza*   /o-wáza/   'spread'
             wáalá   /ó-alá/   'sow'   *ówelá*   /ó-welá/   'climb'

While glide formation is obligatory in word-initial position if no onset is present (*oíla), it is made possible if a glottal stop onset already exists as shown in (2.47): /ʔ/ is freely pronounced [w] for epenthetic purposes, and then resyllabification from VGV to GVV may occur since [w] is appears only as a surface segment.

(2.47)   o-ʔába = o-wába = *waába*   'take bath'
             o-ʔéla = o-wéla = *weéla*   'set, put'
             ó-ʔuwá = ó-wuwá = *wúuwá*   'slough'

2.1.9.3   VGV

Finally, in intervocalic position, the nature of the glides - vowel-derived, inherent or epenthetic - is more difficult to determine. In this context, for all homomorphic vowel combinations except the u_u environment, the glides contrast with each other and also with their absence, as the following minimal pairs illustrate.

(2.48)   a. *niwíwîri* [ni-wíwîri] 'cobra.sp'   b. *énewé*   [é-newé]   'mug.sp'
             wíyi   [wíyi]   'honey'   *otéyêla* [o-téyêla] 'laugh of'
             ebíili [e-bíili] 'henhouse'   *cívéevé* [cívéevé] 'swallow (bird)'

         c. *ńlâwa*   [ń-lâwa]   'gill'   d. *níwôwo* [ní-wôwo] 'pastry's crost'
             maláya [ma-láya] 'robe'   *ngóyo* [ŋ͡góyo]   'eel'
             múláála [mú-láála] 'plant.sp'   *ńsóóso* [ń-sóóso] 'torture'

Regarding heteromorphic vowel combinations, the glide is not always much audible, nevertheless, it is required by the syllable structure, as a default epenthetic segment. Its featural content is usually contingent on the vocalic environment. In this respect, different combinations arise which trigger different outcomes. First, when V2 is [+high] and/or [+round], the inserted glide adopts the backness and roundness (except in the case where V2 is /a/) of the following vowel, as illustrated in (2.49), where the left-column compares my data with Festi and Valler (1994)'s dictionary entries (second column).

(2.49)   Cuwabo   F&V (1994)
    a. *óyîma*   *oima*   'childhood'
        eyíba   *eiba*   'hoe'
        mááŋgóyi   *mangoi*   'unfortunate person'
        jáyi   *jai*   'lightning and thunder'
    b. *máwûji*   *mauje*   'pact of killing'
        maváwu   *mavau*   'asthma'
        múyówúyo   *muyouyo*   'still water'
        márawó   *marao*   'buttocks'

In (2.49)a, the palatalised /y/ is inserted in front of the front vowel /i/. On the other hand, in (2.49)b, the velarised /w/ is inserted when followed by the back/rounded vowel /u/. For a more detailed account of the nature of the epenthetic glide, see section 2.4.1.4 below.

In this thesis, all glides, whenever heard, will be written on the surface form line (1st line). Among them, those whose status is clearly established by the morphology (be they epenthetic or underlying vowels) will not be indicated on the morphophonemic line (2nd line), as exemplified in (2.50)a for an epenthetic glide, and (2.50)b for an underlying vocalic glide.

(2.50)   a. *ddiwúje* [ɖiwúɟe]   b. *oowââdda* [oowââɖa]
            ddi-u-j-e   o-hi-ú-adda
            1SG-OM2SG-eat-SBJ   1-PFV.DJ-OM2SG-say
            'that I eat you'   'he told you'

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1   Inventory and phonetic realisations

We find in Cuwabo the commonest vowel system, with two front vowels /i/ and /e/ paralleled by two back vowels /u/ and /o/, while the low central vowel /a/ remains unpaired. As can be seen in Table 5, this 5-vowel system is symmetrical with respect to length: for each of the five vowels, we find the short/long opposition.

Table 5   Cuwabo vowel phonemes

	Short			Long		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u	ii		uu
Mid	e		o	ee		oo
Low		a			aa	

As most P30 languages[12], Cuwabo has reduced the 7-vowel system of Proto-Bantu (PB): the two vowels *ɪ and * ʊ[13] merged with the high vowels *i and *u, leaving only five vowel phonemes. This reduction from a Proto-Bantu 7-vowel system to a 5-vowel system is widely attested over the Bantu domain, and is commonly associated with the process of spirantisation on Proto-Bantu stops (Schadeberg 1995). Interestingly, in this 7-to-5 vowel reduction, Cuwabo did not undergo Bantu spirantisation, or at least not in a systematic way, which is a striking feature for a 5-vowel language. Absence versus presence of Bantu spirantisation in Cuwabo is exemplified in (2.51)a and (2.51)b, respectively, in comparison with Guthrie's reconstructions (indicated by CB, for Common Bantu). Note that non-spirantised examples are far more attested in the present state of the language, although phonological conditioning applies on certain consonants, such as /z/ or /ð/ (< *d), which seem more prone to spirantisation.

(2.51)   a. no Bantu spirantisation   b. Bantu spirantisation

    CB   Cuwabo   CB   Cuwabo

CB	Cuwabo		CB	Cuwabo	
*-bíád-	ó-báál-a	'give birth'	*-bùndʊd-	o-vúndûɽa	'stir'
*-tímb-	o-tíb-a	'dug'	*-tíkʊ̀	ǹ-síku	'night'
*-kʊɛdi	mwéerí	'moon'	*-túúnd-	ó-súńz-a	'learn'
*-túúdì	é-ʈúúri	'shoulder'	*-kádì	mwáaðí	'woman'
*-kúnɪk-	ó-kúnéél-a	'cover'	*-dímʊ̀	mú-zimú	'spirit'
*-jɔgu	dówu	'elephant'	*-gùnd-	o-vúɗ-a	'be rotten'

Non-spirantisation is further evidenced by the following agent nouns, whose morphology involve the derivational suffix -i.

(2.52)   ó-leb-á   'write'   ▶   mú-leb-í   'writer'

          o-kúmb-a   'fish.sp'   ▶   mu-kúmb-i   'fisherman'

          o-vút-a   'disrespect'   ▶   m̀-vút-i   'ill-mannered person'

          ó-ttéég-a   'sin'   ▶   mú-ttéég-i   'sinner'

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[12] It seems that a few Makhuwa dialects have preserved a 7-vowel system (Kisseberth 2003).

[13] To refer to these two mid-vowels, I use the set of symbols ɪ and ʊ developed by Schadeberg (2003) which represent the original i and u developed by Guthrie (1967-1971) and Meussen (1967).

Within Bostoen (2008)'s typology of the agent noun spirantisation across Bantu, Cuwabo could thus be considered as 'no agent noun spirantisation' language. In other (morpho-phonological) environments involving the proto high vowels *i and *u, a high tendency toward non-spirantisation is observed in the language, and this raises interesting questions regarding classification. But a full treatment of this issue goes beyond the scope of this chapter, so I will not pursue it further here (the reader is referred to Bostoen (2008)'s paper for an in-depth analysis of Bantu spirantisation and its potential implications on the internal Bantu classification).

There is little allophonic variation in the phonetic realisation of these vowels. First, free variation occurs in the degree of openness of mid-vowels [e] and [o], which can phonetically be pronounced mid lax vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively, as shown is (2.53).

(2.53)   *éreddá*   'disease'   ▸   [éreɖá]   or   [érɛɖá]

       wóoddá   'be thin'   ▸   [wóoɖá]   or   [wɔ́ɔɖá]

The same both mid-vowels [e] and [o] can also be freely realised [i] and [u], when situated at the end of a word, as shown in the example (2.54).

(2.54)   a. *eténgo*   'bank.sp'   ▸   [ɛtéŋgo]   or   [ɛtéŋgu]

      esázo   'imitation'   ▸   [esázo]   or   [esázu]

      ǹsíko   'old frying pan' ▸   [ǹsíko]   or   [ǹsíku]

    b. *épâdde*   'side'   ▸   [épâɖe]   or   [épâɖi]

This process of final vowel rising only occurs with the mid vowels [e] and [o], for non-verbal forms.

A last (allophonic) variation for vowel phonemes deals with nasalisation, which occurs with the low vowel /a/ and the mid back vowel /o/ preceding a moraic nasal consonant (2.55), a prenasalised consonant (2.56), and also the velar nasal /ŋ/ (2.57). Vowel nasalisation, illustrated by a tilde above the vowel, is then explained by the phonetic context and is by no means a contrastive feature of vowels: /a/ assimilates the nasal feature of the contiguous nasal consonant, which is part of the same syllable in the case of the moraic nasal consonant and the prenasalised consonant. Nasalised vowels are then predictable and occur in closed syllables before a nasal coda.

(2.55)   a. /a/ → [ã] / _ moraic nasal

    ddámvahá   [ɖã́mvaʔá]   'I used to give'

    nańtûtu   [nã́ńt̪û̪t̪u]   'butterfly.sp' (pl. [anã́ńtutu])

b. /o/ → [õ] / _ moraic nasal

múkóngózo	[múkõ̃ŋ͡gózo]	'walking stick '
onóngónõngo	[onõ̃ŋ͡gónõ̃ŋ͡go]	'skill'

(2.56)   a. /a/ → [ã] / _ prenasalised stop

waándâla	[waã̃n͡dâla]	'fraternise'
oránjûla	[orã̃ɲ͡ɟûla]	'profit'

b. /o/ → [õ] / _ prenasalised stop

ojómba	[ojõ̃m͡ba]	'miss, lack'
nibóndde	[nibõ̃n͡ɖe]	'mat'

(2.57)   a. /a/ → [ã] / _ velar nasal

wááñgána	[wã̃ã̃ŋána]	'look, watch'
karáñgâñgo	[karã̃ŋã̃ŋo]	'steps'

b. /o/ → [õ] / _ velar nasal

óñgóñgóna	[õ̃ŋõ̃ŋóna]	'whisper'

Nasalisation is also present is certain words borrowed from Portuguese, such as *entã̃wu* 'then' (< *então*).

Finally, the phonetic realisation of vowels is not influenced by tone or by intonation.

2.2.2   Constrastive length within roots

Regarding vowel length, unlike many Eastern and Southern Bantu languages which have lost the Proto-Bantu vowel length contrast (Hyman 2009), Cuwabo has retained long vowels, whose phonetic values are equal to their short equivalents, except for the duration. The minimal pairs in (2.58) show that all vowels are contrastive for length.

(2.58)   Short vowel   Long vowel

ddíma	[ɗíma]	'task'	*éddííma*	[é-ɗííma]	'obscurity'
océdha	[o-céða]	'be loaded with fruits'	*océédha*	[ó-cééða]	'lean on/against'
múláála	[mú-láála]	'plant.sp'	*olála*	[o-lála]	'weaken'
mugógo	[mu-gógo]	'plow'	*ógóógo*	[ó-góógo]	'brain, marrow'
odhúlu	[o-ðúlu]	'sky'	*ódhúulu*	[ó-ðúulu]	'kinship.sp'

For tonological purposes, they are written with two subsequent segments <ii, ee, aa, oo, uu> and not with the colon diacritic <:>, often used to indicate length. Indeed, each one of the vowels constitutive of the long vowel has its own mora, i.e. each one counts as a tone bearing unit to be considered for tonal processes such as H-tone doubling (HTD, see section

3.5.1). Under moraic theory (Hyman 1985, Hayes 1989), vowel length can be represented through the following moraic representations:

(2.59)   a.   V   b.   V
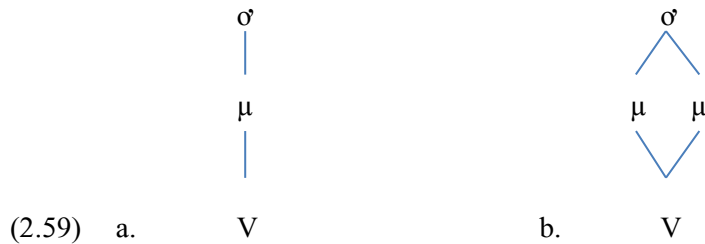
(2.59) shows a vowel length contrast. In (2.59)b the moraic structure of long vowels makes it possible to assign a H tone to only one of both subsequent vowels. It is the case in the following examples.

(2.60)   *máarwe*   [máarwe]   'bird sp.'
         naáno   [naáno]   'fish sp.'

A second argument toward the moraic analysis of the long vowels deals with the counting of vowels in HTD. Each underlying H, underlined in the following examples, gets doubled onto the next mora, which can be the first vowel of the sequence as in (2.61)a, or the second vowel of the sequence without reaching the next syllable as in (2.61)b.

(2.61)   a. *múláandéza*   [mú.láa.nde᷈.za]   'big hoe'
         b. *náámbabáru*   [náá.m͡ba.bá.ru]   'abscess'

In principle, a language might have a contrast between whether a stem starts with a short vowel or a long vowel. Cuwabo does not have such a contrast: all vowel-initial verbs have an initial short vowel. This can be seen when there is no prefix in front of the stem, as in the bare imperative (2.62).

(2.62)   *oná*   'see!'   <   INF   wóoná   'to see'
         eddá   'walk!'   <   INF   weédda   'to walk'
         imelá   'stand!'   <   INF   wííméla   'to stand'

The infinitive prefix *o-* glides to *w-* and lengthens the stem initial vowel. But the lengthened vowel is not thereby to be understood as underlying.

According to the morphological unit concerned, long vowels see their sources vary: within the verb or noun roots, while a few of them are derived from an earlier proto-form with long vowels (phonemic length situation), others result from the loss of a consonant segment. Across morphemes, long vowels are attributable to several different processes: vowel coalescence, deletion plus vowel lengthening (or total assimilation), and gliding formation plus vowel lengthening. While each of these processes, which imply

resyllabification, will be developed in turn in subsection 2.4.1 below, I examine below vowel length into lexical roots and determine the source of this length on a diachronic basis. In such a context, I will first show that when vowel length is already found in the PB form, it represents a phonological length. Then, I will study the case where a consonantal segment from PB fell in Cuwabo and left two vowels in a row.

Although Cuwabo has a certain number of minimal pairs that illustrate the distinction between short and long vowels, it would be hasty to conclude that all long vowels are underlyingly long. In my database, very few items with a long vowel in the root represent obvious reflexes of Guthrie's Common Bantu reconstructions. (2.63) lists all the items concerned. The first column gives an IPA transcription of the long form in Cuwabo, the second column presents the CB reconstructions, and the third one proposes whenever possible a root with a short vowel, forming (near-)minimal pairs with the Cuwabo long forms from column 1.

(2.63)   long V   CB   short V
        [o-ṭáâma]   *-càam-   (CS 265)   'move'   [o-támêla]   'look for'
        [baabi]   *-bààbá (CS 7)   'father'   [ní-baba]   'scar'
        [íńʃááno]   *-cáánù (CS 276)   'Friday, five'
        [ó-vúúza]   *-búúdi- (CS 186)   'ask'   [o-vúta]   'insult'
        [é-ṭúúri]   *-túúdì (CS 1862)   'shoulder'

Interestingly, and surprisingly, not all long vowels from Guthrie's CB are long in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (2.64). Still, these are the only examples of this nature reported in my database.

(2.64)   Cuwabo   CB
        [ní-belé]   *-bέέdὲ   (CS 71)   'breast'
        [o-vúma]   *-púúm-   (CS 1600)   'breathe'
        [o-núka]   *-nùùk-   (CS 1380)   'smell'

Another situation arises in which some Cuwabo roots have a long vowel when the CB form only has a short one, as illustrated in the following examples.

(2.65)   Cuwabo   CB
        [táláakú]   *-cádàkù   (CS 251)   'black ant sp.'
        [mú-lééma]   *-démà   (CS 532)   'bat sp.'
        [yéesu]   *-yέd-   (CS 1959)   'brightness'
        [ṭóndóówa]   *-tóndùà   (CS 1791)   'star sp.'
        [o-vúûla]   *-pùd(ʊd)- (CS 1588)   'collect beans'

[ó-bááza]   *-bàŋg-   (CS 58)   'anticipate'

[ó-kúbááʈa]   *-kúmbat-   (CS 1267)   'hug'

These examples of vowel length in Cuwabo are difficult to account for in that the lengthening is not expected. Still they suggest that the vowel length here is not underlyingly long but eventually turned phonological at some point. Regarding the verb form *óbááza* 'anticipate', it may be a loan from Nyungwe -*banza*, as /z/ in Cuwabo is an unexpected reflex for the proto-sound /ŋg/.

Finally, cases of resyllabification are attested for at least three words (2.66).

(2.66)   [ó-báála]   >   *-yíbad-   (CS 2023)   'bear child'

      [ó-ðáála]   >   *-yíjad-   (CS 2047)   'be full'

      [é-ɖííma]   >   *-yídìmà   (CS 2034)   'darkness'

In these examples, the first-degree /i/ from CB seems to switch behind the consonant, modifying the latter and assimilating to the following vowel. This phenomenon is somewhat weird. We may hypothesise that the loss of first-degree proto-/i/ triggered the lengthening of the following vowel. But more occurrences would be needed to support such a generalisation. Furthermore, the lengthening of the vowel is not a systematic consequence of the deletion of the first-degree proto-/i/, since the original noun prefix of class 5 -i (first degree), did not necessarily lengthen the first vowel of the noun stem when it fell[14]. This underlines the exceptional character of the cases presented in (2.66).

Beside the phonological source, vowel length inside the roots of synchronic Cuwabo items is also a result of the deletion of a consonantal segment which used to be present in an ancient stage of the language. Long vowels are then the result of phonological processes such as fusion or coalescence, due to consonant deletion. Nouns and verbs with long vowels, and whose CB reconstruction was accessible, are given in (2.67) below. I intentionally underlined the deleted consonant in the CB form.

(2.67)   Cuwabo   BC

    a. [mú-ðúúlu]   *-júkúdù   (CS 963)   'grandchild'

      [o-gáâna]   *-gàb(an)-   (CS 754)   'divide'

      [báala]   *-bàbàdá   (CS 8)   'bushbuck'

      [o-véêta]   *-pék(ιc)-   (CS 1467)   'fan, stir up'

      [o-léméeza][15]   *-dèm(ιk)-   (CS 530)   'worship'

---

[14] Note that the noun prefix of class 5 *ni-* represents originally the augment which attached to the noun stem in substitution of the deleted original noun prefix *i-*.

[15] Note the form -*lemekeza* in Chewa

b. [ó-vélééla]   *-pédɪkɪd-   (CS 1463)   'accompany'

   [ó-kúnééla]   *-kúnɪk-   (CS 1268)   'cover'

   [o-ábéeða]   *-yàmbɪk-   (CS 1918)   'cook, boil' (Cuwabo: 'dry')

In the three examples in (2.67)b, the deleted proto-consonant is the [k] of the "impositive" extension -ɪk (Schadeberg 2003). In Cuwabo it becomes deleted when followed by another extension. This is quite clear in the first form *óvélééla* 'accompany'. In Cuwabo, there are two applicative suffixes: -*el* and -*edh*. Once the [k] has fallen, the remaining [ɪ] and the [e] from the applicative extensions merge and result in a long vowel [ee].

Finally, note that automatic penultimate lengthening, which is also a common source of vowel length in Bantu (Hyman 2003: 48), does not occur in Cuwabo.

2.2.3   Palatalisation

The noun prefix *e-* (cl.9) is realised as *y-* when it precedes any vowel (see section 2.4.1.3 for a broader discussion on gliding formation).

(2.68)   *yáaká*   [é-aká]   'year'

         yeéddêlo   [e-éɖêlo]   'habit'

         yiíko   [e-íko]   'river'

         yoóbo   [e-óbo]   'basket'

         yúumwí   [é-umwí]   'drought, famine'

2.2.4   Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is an assimilatory process which involves agreement among vowels in a word with respect to a given feature, such as height, rounding, or backness. The conditions for vowel harmony in Cuwabo differ. There are two instances of harmonic alternations. The first is produced root-internally, and the other is restricted to certain verbal extensions. Note however that none of them is synchronically productive.

Consider first vowel harmony root-internally. In general, polysyllabic verb or noun roots divide into two sets for harmony purposes. While the first set gathers the extreme vowels, namely the two high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the low vowel /a/, as illustrated with the verb roots in (2.69), in the second set, the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ occur together (2.70). The direction of influence, however, is neither anticipatory nor progressive.

(2.69) Extreme (high and low) vowels within roots

óbírímíndda	[ó-bírímínḍa]	'make roll'	ósílídha	[ó-sílíða]	'annoy'
ófúrúkútta	[ó-fúrúkúʈa]	'invert'	ogúgûma	[o-gúgûma]	'stutter'
ócípúlra	[ó-cípúɽa]	'whip'	opízûlra	[o-pízûɽa]	'lift'
ókúmbílra	[ó-kúmbíɽa]	'ask'	ókúlrúmíza	[ó-kúɽúmíza]	'head work'
ókúbánya	[ó-kúbánya]	'be sad'	orúbâla	[o-rúbâla]	'be sated'
olráwûza	[o-ɽáwûza]	'insult'	ókwárúla	[ó-kwárúla]	'be unpure'
omáttíka	[o-máʈîka]	'lay thatch'	oñgánîma	[o-ŋánîma]	'spark'

(2.70) Mid-vowels within roots

óddéddéréca	[ó-ḍéḍéréca]	'chew'	ogwésêla	[o-gwésêla]	'get old'
weéngêsa	[o-éŋgêsa]	'calculate'	ójéjéla	[ó-ɟéɟéla]	'shiver'
ócórórówa	[ó-córórówa]	'trickle'	ógógódda	[ó-gógóḍa]	'hit, knock'
oddóddôma	[o-ḍóḍôma]	'fail'	ogórôma	[o-górôma]	'yell'
oddómêra	[o-ḍómêra]	'marry one's daughter'			

Still, several cases exist where the verb roots have mixed vowels from these two harmonic sets, as shown in (2.71).

(2.71) Mixed vowels within roots

oddégûma	[o-ḍégûma]	'fan'	ópépúlra	[ó-pépúɽa]	'despise'
ókómbáána	[ó-kóm͡báána]	'bend'	woówâna	[o-ówâna]	'forge'
orímbélela	[o-rímbél-ela[16]]	'be healthy'	wiípélela	[o-ípél-ela]	'surround'
osóvûdha	[o-sóvûdha]	'fish.sp'	osíkôna	[o-síkôna]	'kneel'
otópînya	[o-ʈópînya]	'limp'	osódîya	[o-sódîya]	'avoid'
wááméla	[ó-áméla]	'fasten'	waárêdha	[o-árêða]	'have fun'

Across morphemes, verbal suffixation is generally appropriate for vowel harmony in many Bantu languages (Hyman 1999). In Cuwabo, this is not the case, and vowel harmony usually does not apply to derivational suffixes, as illustrated in (2.72) with the applicative extensions -el- and -edh-, realised with the mid front vowel, and in (2.73) with the causative extension, always realised -ih-. These extension vowels are said to be opaque in that they fail to undergo harmony with the root vowel(s).

(2.72) No VH with applicative extensions -el- and -edh-

okítêla	[o-kíʈ-êla]	'go down to'	ofíyêdha	[o-fíy-êða]	'arrive to'
óttábéla	[ó-ʈáb-éla]	'rejoice for'	óbáázédha	[ó-bááz-éða]	'come early'
ókókóttéla	[ó-kókóʈ-éla]	'fence'	otóónyedha	[o-ʈóóɲ-eða]	'show to'
óbúddúwéla	[ó-búḍúw-éla]	'go out to'	ofúnyêdha	[o-fúɲ-êða]	'wrap'

---

[16] The applicative extension -el- in the verb forms orímbélela 'bend' and wiípélela 'surround' are not included in the vowel harmony process. More examples are provided below in (2.72).

(2.73)   No VH with the causative extensions *-ih-*

ójíddígíha	[ójídígíʔa]	'lower'
ojéríha	[oɟéríʔa]	'threaten'
ódháálíha	[óðáálíʔa]	'fill'
odhólíha	[oðólíʔa]	'anoint'
ógúlíha	[ógúlíʔa]	'sell'

The only case of VH with derivational suffixes is found when the separative extensions *-ul-* (transitive meaning) and *-uw-* (intransitive meaning) are attached to the root of the verb (see section 6.1.2.1 for more details on the semantic of the separative extensions). If the root vowel(s) is/are high, low or mid front, that is if there is no mid back vowel into the root, the default extensions *-ul-/-uw-* are selected. Consider the following examples.

(2.74)   Separative extensions *-ul-* and *-uw-*

ojírímula	[oɟírímula]	'scatter' (tr.)	▶	*ojírímuwa*	[oɟírímuwa]	'scatter' (itr.)
ójéddúla	[óɟéɖúla]	'cut, shorten'	▶	*ójéddúwa*	[óɟéɖúwa]	'be shortened'
ógábúla	[ógábúla]	'open, break'	▶	*ógábúwa*	[ógábúwa]	'be open, broken'
ogújágula	[ogúɟágula]	'unload'	▶	*ogújáguwa*	[ogúɟáguwa]	'be unloaded'
ogúgúrula	[ogúgúrula]	'peel'	▶	*ogúgúruwa*	[ogúgúruwa]	'be peeled'

Now, if the root contains a mid-back vowel, the separative extension vowel assimilates, giving the allomorphs *-ol-/-ow-*, as shown in (2.75).

(2.75)   *-ol-/-ow-* as allomorphs of *-ul-/-uw-*

ókóttóla	[ókóttóla]	'shatter'(tr.)	▶	*ókóttówa*	[ókóttówa]	'shatter'(itr.)
otómôla	[ot̪ómôla]	'untie'	▶	*otómôwa*	[ot̪ómôla]	'untie itself'
owóddóbola	[owóɖóbola]	'uproot'	▶	*owóddóbowa*	[owóɖóbowa]	'be uprooted'
ógóbóla	[ógóbóla]	'break'(tr.)	▶	*ógóbówa*	[ógóbówa]	'break'(itr.)

In this case, harmonisation acts upon both backness and frontness. Ngunga (2000: 196) observes the same phenomenon in Yao and calls it the "mid back identity". From a typological point of view, this process is part of the asymmetric vowel height harmony type (Hyman 1999).

Note that in many Bantu languages, vowel harmony occurs with imbrication of the perfective Final. In Cuwabo, no imbrication occurs: the perfective final suffix *-ile* reduces to *-e* after certain derivational extensions, but no segment is inserted in the verb stem (see section 6.3.7).

2.2.5 Vowel copying

In vowel harmony, all vowels are harmonised except for the final vowel which remains *-a*. In contrast, vowel copying in Cuwabo always involves the final vowel, whenever it follows the imperfective extension *-ag-*. In this case, the latter takes a copy of the vocalic value of the final vowel. This is made obvious in the tenses which involve a final vowel other than *-a*. For instance, in (2.76), the final vowel *-e* serves as the perfective suffix (2.76)a (originally from *-ile*, see section 6.3.7 for more details), as well as the subjunctive suffix (2.76)b. When *-ag-* is added to such verb forms, it copies the final vowel and gets realised as a mid-front vowel.

(2.76)   a. *weeŕlégé keeŕlége dhaaweene*   {body.1}

   [o-er-él-**ég**-é]~REL~   ka-er-él-ég-e   dhaawo＝ene

   1-say-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL   NEG.1-do-APPL-HAB-PFV   like.this.II.PL＝INT

   'Once upon a time' (lit. 'the one who said did not say like this')

   b. *wéyő: oḿfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo*   {maria.25}

   wéyó   o-mú-fwár-**eg**-e   kurúmáanje＝éne   óddo

   2SG.PRO   2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ   1a.bee.sp＝INT   1.DEM.I

   'do follow this very bee'

Vowel copying also occurs with loan verbs, which end in *-i*. An example is provided in (2.77), in which *-ag-* is attached to the verb *ókómésáári* 'begin' (from Portuguese *começar*), used in the narrative tense.

(2.77)   *okomesáárig' uúḿviríhámo m̀modha ḿmôdha*   {mbílri.19}

   o-komesáár-**ig**-i   ó-mú-vir-íh-á＝mo   mu-modha   mú-môdha

   NAR-start-HAB-Fi   15-OM1-pass-CAUS-Fi＝18.LOC   1-one   1-one

   'and he began to make them go through, one by one'

Note that if *-ag-* is conventionally viewed as a pre-final suffix, which thus precedes the final vowel, the phonological properties discussed in this subsection indicate that it may rather be considered as post-final suffix, with the underlying form *-gV*, whereby V is a copy of the preceding vowel, i.e. the final vowel. However, that discussion goes beyond the scope of this study, so I will not pursue it further here.

2.2.6   Assimilation by contact

Assimilation by contact occurs as a surface phenomenon, in which a [-back] vowel is phonetically realised [+back] in front of the labial glide [w], as shown in (2.78) with /i/ and (2.79) with /e/. We have here a labial assimilation. Inversely, palatal assimilation occurs when a [+back] vowel comes into contact with the palatal glide [y], as seen in (2.80).

(2.78)   /i/ > [u] / _ w

    a. *ddu wéé Namarogolo* {ddingi.6}

       ddi   wéyo   namarogolo

       1.COP 2SG.PRO 1a.Hare.PL

       'it is you Mr. Hare'

    b. *ol' úwénéwal' óókúle*   {maria.150}

       o-lí   wénéwale   ókúle

       1-be   17.EDEM.III   17.DEM.III

       'he is here'

    c. *óbú bu ḿbénu wa múyâna*   {elic.}

       óbú   bu   ḿbéni   wa   múyâna

       3.DEM.I   3.COP 3.knife   3.CON 1.woman

       'this is the knife of the woman'

(2.79)   /e/ > [o] / _ w

ókúlo wiíkó   {mbílri.16}

ókúle   o-íkó

17.DEM.III   17-river

'there at the river'

(2.80)   /u/ > [i] / _ y

óddíy' óónííbá úuvi? {ddingi.17}

óddú=ya   o-ní-íbá   úuvi

1.DEM.I=DEF   1-IPFV.CJ-sing   where

'where is he singing?'

    In (2.81) below, we note that the underlying connective /a/ is phonetically uttered as [o]. This alteration of this central vowel cannot convincingly be considered as a case of assimilation, since it is phonetically not natural to obtain a [-low], [-high], [+back] vowel from an originally [+low] [-back] vowel. So far, this phonetic alternation is only attested in the context of the sequence connective-infinitive. In the absence of further examples, it may be considered as a case of morphophonological alternation (due to the resyllabification process implied by the infinitive class marker *o-*), rather than a general phonological process.

(2.81)   Allomorphy of the connective *-a*

       koóbílri yo wáákwánéla   {elic.}

       koóbílri   ya   wáákwán-él-a

       9a.money   9.CON   15.be.enough-APPL-Fi

       'enough money to'

2.3   Syllabic structure

2.3.1   Syllable types

The maximum syllable in Cuwabo is (C)VV, where V stands for Vowel, and C for any consonant, including prenasalised consonants, glides and labialised consonants. More specifically, Table 6 shows the different syllable types attested in Cuwabo. Note that while hyphens mark morpheme boundaries, syllable boundaries are indicated by dots.

Table 6   Syllable structures

	Syllable	Example	Translation
1 mora (light)	V	o.lí.ma	'to cultivate'
	S	m̀.mé.lo	'throat'
		ka.ɖi.gú.Î.le	'I did not buy'
	CV	ní.fû.gi	'banana'
2 moras (heavy)	VV	oo.lí.ma	'he cultivated'
	CVV	ó.báá.la	'to give birth'

As Table 6 shows, the minimal structure of a syllable consists of a nucleus, either a vowel or a sonorant (S) consonant, which necessarily functions as a tone-bearing unit (TBU). As seen in section 2.2.2 above, Cuwabo has phonological vowel length. A lexical distinction thus exists between light (i.e. monomoraic) syllables, and heavy (i.e. bimoraic) syllables. Super heavy syllables are not attested, meaning that a syllable made of a phonemic long vowel cannot further have a coda. The onset, be it branching or not, never counts as a mora, and thus does not contribute to the weight of the syllable. Each syllable type is considered in turn.

2.3.1.1   V

V is the most recurrent single-segment syllable. It systematically functions as a tone bearing unit, and as such, represents the obligatory nucleus of the syllable. This type of syllable without an onset typically occurs word-initially, as illustrated in (2.82).

(2.82)   Word-initial V syllables

íyâru	[í.yâ.ru]	'ear'	*íyêwe*	[í.yê.we]	'heron'
élîga	[é.lî.ga]	'pigeon'	*eréru*	[e.ré.ru]	'chin'
áje	[á.ɟe]	'jealousy'	*anákôno*	[a.ná.kô.no]	'twin'
oríba	[o.rí.ba]	'darkness'	*osúgûla*	[o.sú.gû.la]	'sieve' (v)

Word-medially, bisyllabic vowel sequences are normally not attested, and when two or more vowels come into contact due to morphological concatenation, a morphophonological process takes place (see section 2.4.1 below). Still, it happens that sequences of three identical vowels are produced, as shown in (2.83)a, where the 1SG subject marker (SM) *ddi-* and the situative TAM marker *-a-* coalesce in *ddaa-*, which is then followed by the class 2 object marker (OM) *-a-*. In this three-moraic vowel sequence, two syllables are to be considered: first the heavy syllable *ɗaa.* as output of the sequence *ddi+a*, then the light syllable *.a.*, which morphologically corresponds to the class 2 OM. The comparison with (2.83)b, with the class 1 OM *-mu-*, is an indication of how such a vowel sequence can organise into syllables.

(2.83)   Word-internal *-a-* OM

a. *ddaaajagá*   [ɗaa.**a**.ɟa.gá]   b. *ddaamujagá*   [ɗaa.**mu**.ɟa.gá]
   ddi-a-a-j-ag-á   ddi-a-mu-j-ag-á
   1SG-SIT-OM2-eat-HAB-Fi   1SG-SIT-OM1-eat-HAB-Fi
   'when I eat them (cl.2)'   'when I eat it (cl.1)'

The 2SG person OM *-u-* constitutes another word-internal V syllable in Cuwabo. But, its [+high] feature implies that it always surfaces as a CV syllable, in which an epenthetic homorganic glide is inserted, occupying the onset position. This is illustrated in (2.84), where the labial glide [w] precedes on surface the 2SG person underlying syllabic vowel *-u-*.

(2.84)   Word-internal *-u-* OM

a. *owúsápela*   [o.wú.sá.pe.la]   b. *awúpúttule*   [a.wú.pú.ʈu.le]
   o-ú-sápela   a-ú-púttul-e
   15-OM2SG-feed   1-OM2SG-prejudice-SBJ
   'to feed you'   'so that he prejudices you'

2.3.1.2   S (nasal and liquids)

Beyond vowels, single-segment syllables may also consist of sonorants, and more precisely nasals or liquids. Together with the following consonant, they form heterosyllabic clusters, meaning that within a word two consonants may be adjacent across a syllable boundary. As will be shown below, all these sonorant syllables are triggered by vowel loss in affixes or even in roots.

Syllabic nasals

Syllabic nasals often derive from vowel apocope between a nasal onset and a following CV syllable. A departing structure such as mu-CV will evolve to m-CV and results in N-CV (Clements 2000, Hyman 2003). Different morphemes, listed in (2.85), may be represented by a syllabic nasal. Typically, the N syllable occurs in word-initial position, but the object markers as well as the imperfective aspect marker show that it also occurs word-internally.

(2.85)   a. Class prefixes *mu-* (classes 1, 3 and 18) and *ni-* (class 5)
    b. Subject marker *mu-* (2PL and class 18) and *ni-* (1PL and class 5)
    c. Object marker *mu-* (class 1) and *ni-* (1PL)
    d. Imperfective aspect marker *ni-*

Consider now the environments in which these morphemes are reduced to syllabic nasals. (2.86) shows that the class prefixes *mu-* as well as the object marker *mu-* reduce to *m-* before bilabial or labio-dental consonants. The class 5 prefix *ni-* reduces to *n-* before coronal consonants (2.87). And the imperfective aspect marker *ni-* becomes a syllabic nasal when it precedes any consonant (2.88).

(2.86)   [mu] → [m] / _ labial consonant

Class prefixes			OM		
ḿbêni (cl.3)	[ḿ.bêni]	'knife'	*óḿbaála*	[ó.ḿ.baála]	'give him birth'
ḿpááwi (cl.1)	[ḿ.pááwi]	'orphan'	*oḿpa*	[o.ḿ.pa]	'kill him'
m̀málâbo (cl.1)	[m̀.málâbo]	'outsider'	*oḿmóttiha*	[o.ḿ.móʈiya]	'make him fall'
ḿvêdhe (cl.3)	[ḿ.vêðe]	'tree.sp'	*óḿvuúza*	[ó.ḿ.vuúza]	'ask him'
m̀fúgo (cl.3)	[m̀.fúgo]	'handle'	*óḿfuná*	[ó.ḿ.funá]	'want him'

(2.87)   Class 5 noun prefix: [ni] → [n] / _ coronal consonant

ǹdárándara	[ǹ.dárán͡dara]	'wasp.sp'	*ǹtúmu*	[ǹ.t̪úmu]	'anus'
ǹddéza	[ɳ̩.ɖéza]	'calabash'	*ńttéegó*	[ń̩.t̪éegó]	'wheel'
ńcîlu	[ń.cîlu]	'rat'	*njóro*	[ɲ.ɟóro]	'fish.sp'
ńzâyi	[ń.zâyi]	'egg'	*ǹsépo*	[ǹ.sépo]	'spoon.sp'
ńdhûgu	[ń.ðûgu]	'pumpkin.sp'	*ńsháánu*	[ń.ʃáánu]	'Friday'
ńlîɟi	[ń.lîɟi]	'den, lair'	*ńriyé*	[ń.riyé]	'bird.sp'
ǹlrúwa	[ǹ.ɽúwa]	'flower'	*ńnyâga*	[ɲ́.ɲâga]	'horn'

(2.88)   Imperfective aspect marker: [ni] → [n] / _ C (ni- in front of OM mu-)

ddińpîya	[ɖi.ń.pîya]	'I am cooking'	*ddińkosá*	[ɖi.ń.kosá]	'I am doing'
ddińja	[ɖi.ń.ɟa]	'I am eating'	*ddińddoddá*	[ɖi.ń.ɖo.ɖá]	'I am grabbing'
ddińdha	[ɖi.ń.ða]	'I am coming'	*ddińfuná*	[ɖi.ń.funá]	'I want'
ddińvirá	[ɖi.ń.virá]	'I am going by'	*ddiǹzíwa*	[ɖi.ǹ.zíwa]	'I know'
ddiǹmala	[ɖi.m̀.mála]	'I am finishing'	*ddiǹlíma*	[ɖi.ǹ.líma]	'I am cultivating'

In such environments, the vowel is absorbed between the two consonants, and the resulting syllabic nasal undergoes homorganic nasal assimilation with the next consonant. For instance, when the syllabic nasal precedes root-initial nasals such as *-mála* 'finish', the output is a double nasal *ddiǹmála* 'I am finishing'. Tone marking clearly indicates that these syllabic nasals are also tone-bearing units. The tone of the fallen vowel is thus retrieved, and always indicated by an accent, even when it is toneless, so that its moraic and syllabic property be well underlined.

Interestingly, the syllabic nasal prefix in *ḿbêni* 'knife' given in (2.86) becomes prenasalised to the following consonant when the plural prefix is added on its left, i.e. when it acquires a noun-internal position. This often happens with class 3/4 nouns, as shown in (2.89).

(2.89)   Class 3   Class 4

ḿbêni	[ḿ.bê.ni]	*mímbêni*	[mí.m͡bê.ni]	'knife'
m̀búla	[m̀.bú.la]	*mimbúla*	[mi.m͡bú.la]	'stinger'
m̀bíla	[m̀.bí.la]	*mìmbíla*	[mi.m͡bí.la]	'tree.sp'

This synchronic alternation seems to confirm what Herbert (1986) called "abutment". In Childs' words (2003: 63), "[n]asal abutment requires that a nasal consonant be adjacent to an oral one, an environment occurring when noun class markers are suffixed to noun stems in the affixation process." This confirms the hypothesis that prenasalised consonants might historically be reconstructed as two segments, i.e. as consonant cluster composed of a nasal followed by a voiced stop, which ended up in a single segment.

In section 2.1.4, we saw that Cuwabo only has voiced prenasalised stops. Now, when in a sequence of two morpheme-internal consonants, the preconsonantal nasals precede voiceless stops, they always count as homorganic tone-bearing units. In (2.90), I provide examples of each of the five NÇ sequences that occur intramorphemically in the language, the consonant being necessarily unvoiced.

(2.90)   Morpheme-internal NÇ sequences (with stops)

námpaddú	[ná.m̀.pa.ɖú]	'unexpected event'	*nampâma*	[na.m̀.pâ.ma]	'tadpole'
éɟíbańti	[éɟíbańti]	'ornement, tattoo'	*nańtâla*	[na.ń.tâ.la]	'frog.sp'
nańttîddi	[na.ń.ʈî.ɖi]	'weed.sp'	*pańttáddéya*	[pá.ń.ʈá.ɖé.ya]	'seductress'
rabáńkuní	[ra.bá.ŋ̀.ku.ní]	'worm.sp'	*bíríńku*	[bí.rí.ŋ.ku]	'earring'
ceńce	[ce.ń.ce]	'fly'	*nańcîddwe*	[na.ń.cî.ɖwe]	'frog'

<mark>The moraic property of these preconsonantal nasals is indicated by tone marking (it is not the evidence > reformulate!).</mark> In (2.91), words in citation form are submitted to Predicative Lowering (PL), a process whereby the first underlying high tone is deleted, thus avoiding subsequent High Tone Doubling (HTD) (see section 3.5.3 for PL, and section 3.5.1 for HTD). *múńtúrúzu* and *pámpóra* are thus pronounced *muǹtúrûzu* and *pampóra*, respectively. Such a tone assignment gives evidence that these preconsonantal nasals are taken into account in HTD and receive in citation form a H tone which result from HTD. Another evidence is given in (2.92), in which the past imperfective form of the two H-toned verbs *óríńta* and *ókwétténkwa* exhibit a lexical H tone on the penult mora (see section 3.4 for tone assignment on tensed verb forms).

(2.92)   Infinitive form

(2.91)   Citation form   Predicative Lowering

múńtúrúzu	'scarecrow'	>	*óbú muǹtúrûzu*	'this is a scarecrow'
pámpóra	'disrespect'	>	*éɟí pampóra*	'this is disrespect'

(2.92)   Infinitive form   Past imperfective

óríńta	'weave'	>	*ddááǹrińta*	'I used to weave'
ókwétténkwa	'limp'	>	*ddááǹkwetteńkwa*	'I used to limp'

Now, when the nasal cluster consists of a morpheme-internal sequence of nasal and fricative consonants, the preconsonantal nasal is always considered moraic, whether the fricative is voiceless (2.93)a or voiced (2.93)b.

(2.93)   Morpheme-internal NC sequences (with fricatives)

a. NÇ	*leńso*	[le.ń.so]	'tissue'
b. NÇ	*námásuńza*	[ná.má.su.ń.za]	'student'
	ósáńzáya	[ó.sá.ń.zá.ya]	'peace'

Note that these constitute the only examples of nasal-fricative clusters within roots. This sequence is usually attested word-initially, with class 5 nouns, in which there is no ambiguity about the syllabic status of the nasal.

These moraic nasals do not lengthen the preceding vowel, neither have they any effect on the following consonant. Translating these forms into a moraic framework would result in the representation in (2.94).

(2.94)   μ   μ   μ

c   e   N   c   e
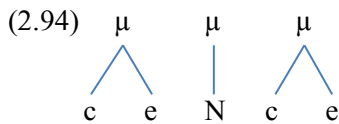
In other words, the moraic nasal remains linked to its mora, hence the impossibility for the vowel to lengthen. If these morpheme-internal nasals are undoubtedly moraic, the question remains to know whether they are syllabic. Does the sequence (C)V + moraic nasal represent one syllable or two syllables? As Cuwabo does not permit closed syllables, it is likely that such moraic nasals were once part of a CV syllabic structure, whose vowel eventually fell. The nasal thus became the consonantal nucleus, with the impossibility of receiving an onset or a coda. Similarly to the apocope process described for the nasal prefixes above, the syllabic structure is not deeply altered, passing from a CV syllable to a N syllable.

To conclude on syllabic nasals, they do not affect the surface realisation of the consonant they precede. Furthermore, they do not trigger syllabification alterations, as the preceding vowel does not lengthen on account of their presence. By comparing the present (imperfective) verb forms in (2.95)a and (2.95)b, with and without object marker respectively, we note that the imperfective marker *ni-* does not modify the syllabic structure when it is reduced to a syllabic nasal.

(2.95)   a. Imperfective *ni-* + class 1 OM *mu-*
           ddinimúlîma   [ḍi.ni.mú.lî.ma]   'I am cultivating it (cl.1)'

         b. Imperfective *ni-* w/o OM
           ddiǹlíma   [ḍi.ǹ.lí.ma]   'I am cultivating'

Syllabic liquids

Like the nasals, the liquids [l] and [r] have a syllabic variant, whenever they are followed by the perfective marker *-ile*. In this case, the first vowel (optionally) falls, and the last consonant of the stem becomes syllabic.

(2.96)   Syllabic liquids followed by the Perfective suffix *-ilé*

ddittuku`l̀lé	[ɖi.ʈu.ku.l̀.lé]	<	/ɖi.ʈu.ku.li.lé/	'I took'
ddigul̀lé	[ɖi.gu.l̀.lé]	<	/ɖi.gu.li.lé/	'I bought'
ddicipur̀lé	[ɖi.ci.pu.r̀.lé]	<	/ɖi.ci.pu.ri.lé/	'I whipped'
ddifwar̀lé	[ɖi.fwa.r̀.lé]	<	/ɖi.fwa.ri.lé/	'I followed'

In other contexts, the final stem consonant becomes the onset of the syllable introducing the perfective marker, as shown in (2.97).

(2.97)   No syllabification process for other consonants

ddilogilé	[ɖi.lo.gi.lé]	'I spoke'
ddidhowilé	[ɖi.ðo.wi.lé]	'I went'
dduubilé	[ɖuu.bi.lé]	'I moulded'
ddipilé	[ɖi.pi.lé]	'I killed'

2.3.1.3   CV

CV represents the canonical syllable structure in Cuwabo. This is not surprising since such an open syllable type actively participates in the agglutinative property of Bantu morphology. As illustrated in (2.98), the prefixes in Cuwabo typically have the (C)V shape, with in succession: *ka-* for negation, *ddi-* for 1SG subject marker, *ni-* for the imperfective aspect marker, *mu-* for class 1 object marker. The root *-gul-* 'buy' has a CVC structure, the derivational extension *-ih* has a VC structure, and finally the obligatory final suffix *-a* has the shape V. The morphological structure then undergoes constraints in such a way that the string of these seven formatives (2.98)a results in the sequence of open syllables represented in (2.98)b.

(2.98)   *kaddinímúgulíha*   'I do not buy'

a. /ka-ddi-ní-mú-gul-íh-a/	b. [ka.ddi.ní.mú.gu.lí.ha]
CV-CV-CV-CV-CVC-VC-V	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V

The fact that consonants are always pronounced with the following vowel, i.e. as a syllable onset, explains why most Cuwabo syllables and words end in a vowel.

Note that any consonant can serve as onset of the CV syllable, including prenasalised stops (2.99)a and labialised [Cw] (2.99)b (more rarely palatalised [Cy], see section 2.1.9.1 above) consonants, which represent branching onsets on the segmental tier.

(2.99)   a. Prenasalised stop as onset

ojómba	[o.ɟó.m͡ba]	'miss, lack'	*opóndda*	[o.pó.nḓa]	'knead'
wíínjíva	[wíí.ɲɟí.va]	'abound'	*óddóónga*	[ó.ḓóó.ŋ͡ga]	'drip'

b. Labialised consonant as onset

níbwe	[ní.bwe]	'grinding stone'	*kwáli*	[kwá.li]	'partridge'
ogwádda	[o.gwá.ḓa]	'cut'	*ófwará*	[ó.fwa.rá]	'follow'

CV syllables also have the largest distribution, since beyond word-initial and word-internal positions, they necessarily appear word-finally on account of their short nucleus. In fact, the final position cannot host heavy syllables, nor single vowel syllables.

2.3.1.4   (C)VV

In Cuwabo, vowel length is both phonological and the result of coalescence and elision processes. As already seen in example (2.83)a above, but repeated here in (2.100), long vowels can appear near identical short vowels. This is also true with long vowels (2.100)b.

(2.100)   Long + short identical vowels   Long + long identical vowels

a. *ddaaajagá*   [ḓaa.a.ɟa.gá]   b. *ddoo'óôni*   [ḓoo.óô.ni]

ddi-a-a-j-ag-á   ddi-a-hí-ôn-i

1SG-SIT-OM2-eat-HAB-Fi   1SG-SIT-NEG-see-NEG

'when I eat them (cl.2)'   'if I did not see'

Several Bantu languages have a constraint on the co-occurrence of long vowels in isolated words (see Odden 1996 for Matuumbi, Botne 1998 for Ndali, Ngunga 2000 for Yao, and Kutsch Lojenga 2007 for Malila, among others). It is not the case in Cuwabo, and although the examples are not numerous (2.101), they nonetheless indicate that long vowel can co-occur in a word.

(2.101)   Long vowels co-occurrence in nouns   Long vowels co-occurrence in infinitive verbs

páaríínya	'manioc'	*waábéedha*	'dry'
méémbeési	'morning'	*wiídéela*	'spy'
néédduúddu	'spring'	*wííndééya*	'break' (itr.)
néédhuúdhu	'vertigo'	*wiíttúuwa*	'rest'
nóóriíya	'chameleon'	*wúúláála*	'be very dry'

As previously said, heavy syllables are prohibited in word-final position, except i) for emphasis (2.102) or enumeration (2.103) purposes (see section 3.6 on intonation); or ii) when they are part of ideophonic expressions (see section 7.3 on ideophones), as exemplified in (2.104).

(2.102) *puruk' óónuúttéba**ní** , ddi míyô! [...] onimúttúkulelaa**wó:** ddi míyo!*   {body.10}

    puruke   [o-ni-ú-ttéba＝ní]_{REL}   ddi   míyô

    because   1-IPFV.CJ-OM2PL-carry＝PLA   1.COP   1SG.PRO

    [o-ni-mú-ttúkulela＝wó]_{REL}   ddi   míyo

    1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-hold＝17.LOC   1.COP   1SG.PRO

    'Because, it is me who lifts you! [...] I am the one who carries him!'

(2.103) *[weeŕlégé keeŕlége dhaweené] waáli Mádá: Ērúgúlú: na Manyálo*   {body.1}

    o-á-li   mádá   érúgúlú   na   manyálo

    1-PST-be   6.hand   9.belly   and   6.foot

    'There once was Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.'

(2.104) *oǹmóttéla m̀máánjéní kíbííí: !*   {mbílri.42}

    o-hi-mótt-él-a   mu-máánjé＝ní   kíbiiii

    1-PFV.DJ-fall-APPL-Fi   18-6.water＝LOC   IDEO

    'she fell in the water "splash!" '

2.3.2 Loans

Loanword phonology gives further evidence that CV is the typical Cuwabo syllable. As seen in (2.105), consonant clusters of Portuguese (PTG) loan words are often broken up and simplified to a CV syllable structure by means of epenthetic vowels. Furthermore, an additional final vowel is added.

(2.105) Syllabic structure if loans

    síkóóla   [sí.kóó.la]   'school'   < PTG *escola*

    fúlóóri   [fú.lóó.ri]   'flower'   < PTG *flor*

    fiízhîga   [fií.ʒî.ga]   'crossbow'   < PTG *fisga*

Still, some words have only been partially adapted to Cuwabo syllable structure, and consonant clusters (or consonant sequences) may be found, as shown in (2.106). Still, the tone patterns of these loans suggest that the first consonant of each cluster is moraic.

(2.106) /ʃ/ in Portuguese loans

    bííshku   [bíí.ʃ.ku]   'bishop'   < PTG *bispo*

    fóóshko   [fóó.ʃ.ko]   'match'   < PTG *fósforo*

    síkóóla   [ʃ.kóó.la]   'school'   < PTG *escola*

    éshpeélyu   [é.ʃ.peé.lyu]   'mirror'   < PTG *espelho*

As already seen in section 2.1.6 above, some of these Portuguese loans also include sounds which are foreign to Cuwabo phonological inventory, such as [ʃ] and [ʒ].

2.4   Resyllabification processes

Section 2.2.2 above focussed on the status of long vowels into roots and demonstrated that while some are phonemic, others merged after a consonant deletion. Let us analyse other sources of vowel length in the languages, which are the result of derivation processes across morphemes or word boundaries. This section is divided into two parts. In the first (section 2.4.1) I develop the vowel lengthening processes resulting from vowel concatenation, and in the second (section 2.4.2), I present encliticisation as another source of vowel lengthening.

2.4.1   Vowel sequences

This subsection deals with vowel lengthening processes which occur when two vowels come in direct contact with each other across word-internal morphemes or across word boundaries (heterosyllabic vowel sequences). These processes are thus not linked with the aforementioned underlying vowel length contrast: whereas both short and long vowels are included in the lexicon, a lengthened vowel is one that results from a phonological process, which is itself partly conditioned by morphological context. Indeed, the agglutinative properties of Cuwabo and Bantu languages in general, marked by derivational and inflectional morphology, often leads to vowel concatenation at the morphemic boundaries. To solve this undesired vocalic hiatus, most of these languages resort to different strategies, and despite cross-linguistic variations, the most commonly used are coalescence, elision, glide formation (or gliding), consonant epenthesis and diphthong formation (Casali 1996, Mtenje 2007, among others). Four of them are operative in Cuwabo: vowel coalescence (section 2.4.1.1), vowel elision (section 2.4.1.2), glide formation (section 2.4.1.3), and consonant epenthesis (section 2.4.1.4), which sometimes give rise to intricate patterns.

Before developing each of these phonological processes, two important remarks are in order. First, each aforementioned process (excepted consonant epenthesis) is accompanied by compensatory lengthening. This means that the number of moras in the input remains unchanged in the output: syllabicity may alter with the phenomenon of resyllabification, but the weight units are preserved, as well as the original tones. In this respect, Casali (2011:

19-20) makes an interesting correlation between the existence of a contrastive vowel length in a language and its capacity in manifesting compensatory lengthening, without imposing a universal character to such an assertion.

Second, for each process, two different levels are to be considered: the lexical level (internal-word level, between morphemes) and the post-lexical level (between words). On the lexical level, which deals with inner-word formation, vowel sequences are mostly found between a prefix and a root, a root and a suffix, or even between sequences of prefixes or suffixes. On the post-lexical level (across words), vocalic hiatus can occur within the noun phrase, between nouns and demonstratives, and nouns and possessives, but also within the verb phrases, between verbs and objects, and between connectives and verbs. For each combination of vowels illustrated in the sections below, both levels will be exemplified and we will see that the output of vowel coalescence is sometimes different according to the level involved.

2.4.1.1   Vowel coalescence

The first derived vowel length process to be considered here is coalescence, also called fusion. In Casali (1996: 1, following Bergman (1968))'s terms, coalescence is a "situation in which an underlying /V1 + V2/ sequence is realised as a third vowel sharing features of both V1 and V2." Given this definition, the possibility of a large array of conceivable patterns is quite reduced.

Consider first the most obvious case, when the two vowels in the input are identical. Without surprise, the examples (2.107) and (2.108) show that, in such a sequence, vowels fuse without any conflicting features and form a long vowel with the same quality. In every subsequent example, syllables boundaries are indicated by a dot, while morphemes are separated by a dash.

(2.107)   Lexical level
  a. [i + i → ii]
       níi.nó (cl.6)   /ní-inó/   'tooth'
  b. ([e + e → yee])   > Glide formation, see section 2.4.1.3
  c. [a + a → aa]
       áa.ná (cl.2)   /á-aná/   'children'
  d. ([o + o → woo])   > Glide formation, see section 2.4.1.3
  e. [u + u → uu]
       muú.va (cl.3)   /mu-úva/   'cart'

(2.108)   Post-lexical level

    a. *([i + i → ii?])*   *unattested input*

    b. [e + e → ee]

        ebál' e**é**.ɉi   /ebále éji/   'this bowl'

    c. [a + a → aa]

        mákúv' **áâ**.ga   /mákuvá áaga/   'my bones'

    d. [o + o → oo]

        muṭór' **oó**.bu   /muttóro óbu/   'this rat.sp'

    e. *([u + u → uu?])*   *unattested input*

In (2.107), no example of word-internal coalescence with /e + e/ or /o + o/ can be provided, since, the only context in which these sequences are possible comes from the junction of the noun classes prefix *e-* (class 9) or *o-* (classes 14, 15, 17) with a nominal stem, in which case gliding formation occurs (see section 2.4.1.3). In (2.108), sequences of high vowels across words are not attested either in Cuwabo. Regarding the sequence /i + i/, verb forms in Cuwabo which end with the final vowel /i/ and words beginning by the same vowel /i/ are both very uncommon, hence the difficulty to find some occurrences of such a coalescence case in my database. The same happens with the sequence /u + u/. The only word beginning with /u/ is the interrogative *uuvi* 'where'. But no occurrence where it follows a word ending in /u/ was found.

On the post-lexical level, vowel coalescence across word boundaries corresponds to the liaison phenomena and thus implies resyllabification. Then, the noun phrase *ebále éji* 'this bowl' (2.108)b, which underlyingly counts five syllables is realised with four syllables on the surface representation, with a bimoraic nucleus in the syllable found at the junction between both words.

(2.107)e and (2.108)d show that Cuwabo is part of the languages which fail to glide /u/ or /o/ before a round vowel (see section 2.4.1.2 for more details).

When considering heteromorphemic sequences of vowels, another pattern, extremely frequent in Cuwabo as in many Bantu languages, and referred to as "Height Coalescence" by Casali (1996: 70), results from hiatus situations in which V1 is [+ low] and V2 is higher than V1, being simply [+ high] in the case of /i/ and /u/, or [-low, -high], with the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. Examples below illustrate each of the possible combinations.

(2.109)   Lexical level

    a. [a + i → ee]

        m**ée**.nó (cl.6)   /má-inó/   'teeth'

        kaḍin**éê**.ta   /ka-ddi-na-ita/   'I have not stolen yet'

b. [a + e → ee]

    bee.ɖilé   /ba-edd-ilé/   'having walked'

c. [a + o → oo]

    voó.gúláni   /va-ógulá-ni/   'the place where one buys'

d. [a + u → oo]

    boo.bilé   /ba-ub-ilé/   'having shaped'

(2.110) Post-lexical level

    a. *([a + i → ee?])* [17]   *unattested input*

    b. [a + e → ee]

        sumán' éé.ɟile   /sumána éjile/   'this week'

    c. [a + o → oo]

        mwáán' óó.ɖo   /mwáaná óddo/   'this child'

        agaʈiy' óó.gúlíʔa   /agattiyá ógúlíha/   'if they stop selling'

    d. *([a + u → oo?])*   *unattested input*

Descriptively, we see that when V1 is [+low], the output is always a long mid-vowel, i.e. a long non-high vowel. This means that the [-high] feature of V1 wins over the [+high] feature of V2 and causes lowering of the vowel. However it has no effect on the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/, since they are already non-high. Furthermore, the examples above also show that the result of this type of coalescence adopts the place of articulation (frontness or backness) of V2. Therefore, in these examples and as the derivation in (2.111) shows, a high vowel following a non-high vowel gets lowered, and then, the first vowel assimilates to the second.

(2.111) Underlying Sequence: /a + i/

    Height lowering: ae

    Progressive assimilation: ee

In this way, we can say that this type of coalescence is : 1) feature-sensitive, in the way it favors and selects certain features values in preference to others, namely [-high] in preference to [+high]. Once the height feature is removed, the remaining features of V2 (frontness and roundness) are preserved in preference to those of V1; 2) position-sensitive, in that a reverse input sequence will not be resolved by coalescence, but by vowel elision (/i + a/, see section 2.4.1.2 below) or by glide formation (/u + a/, see section 2.4.1.3). This means Cuwabo does not display symmetric coalescence, which is a frequent feature across languages (Casali 1996: 62).

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[17] For the sequences /a + i/ and /a + u/ across word boundaries in (9a) and (9d), the expected outputs would respectively be /ee/ and /oo/, but again, no occurrence was found in my data.

A last, more specific, and somewhat unexpected case of coalescence can be reported in Cuwabo, only on the post-lexical level[18], when V1 is a high vowel and V2 is a mid-vowel, as shown in (2.112). This in fact suggests that the word initial vowels in Cuwabo are underlyingly high (as expected in Eastern Bantu), but undergo a word-initial constraint consisting in lowering high vowels to mid vowels. The same vocalic constraint is found Makhuwa-Enahara (van der Wal 2009), but not in other Makhuwa dialects such as Imithupi or Ikorovere (Kisseberth 2003), where word initial vowels appear high on surface.

(2.112)   Post-lexical level
    a. [i + e → ii]
        epúl' **íí**.ɟi   /epúli éji/   'this frying pan'
        kaval' **íí**.savi   /kavalí ésavi/   'there is no gravy'
    b. [i + o → uu]
        námwál' **uú**.ɗu   /námwáli óddu/   'this girl'
        ol' **úú**.móónóni   /olí omóónóni/   'is on the right'
    c. [u + o → uu]
        yar' **úú**.ɗu   /yarú óddu/   'this rice sp.'
        mááṛtél' **uú**.rúméêla   /mááṛtélu órúméêla/ 'the hammer is lost'
        k' **uu**.musíka   /ku omusíka/   'it is at the market'

While on the lexical level, the high vowel gets deleted and the output is always a long vowel with the vocalic features of V2 (see (2.116) section 2.4.1.2 below), here, on the post-lexical level in (2.112), the [+high] V1 assimilates to the [+back] (and [+round]) values of V2 so that the output is always a high vowel with the place of articulation of V2. This is particularly evident in (2.112)b, with the output /uu/, in which [+high] is the only feature of V1 that is preserved, whereas the backness (and roundness) features are copied from V2. This type of coalescence can be derived on the same model as "Height Coalescence" shown in (2.111), involving a low vowel as V1. In the present situation, a mid-vowel following a high vowel gets raised, and then, V1 assimilates to V2.

(2.113)   Underlying Sequence: /i + o/ (across words only!)
        Heightening: iu
        Progressive assimilation: uu

Just like "Height Coalescence", this type of coalescence is feature-sensitive and position-sensitive.

It happens that the output of coalescence surfaces as a short vowel, as in (2.114) or (2.115).

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[18] see the lexical level counterpart in section 4 with the examples in (2.116) and (2.119).

(2.114) *oója sákú ʈaarú múnɖ' óbúle wa wiilálaní ?*   {semi-elic.}

      o-hí-já   sákú   ttaarú   múnddâ óbúle   wa   o-ilálaní

      1-PFV.DJ-eat   10.bag   10.three 3.field   3.DEM.III 3.CON   17-ilalane

      'he collected three bags in that farmhouse from Ilalane?'

(2.115) *eńkóóɖéĺiim' úwáákulá:, [...]*   {semi-elic.}

      e-ní-kóódd-él-á=imí   o-ú-ákulá

      9-IPFV.CJ-refuse-APPL-Fi=1SG.PRO   15-OM2SG-reply

      'if I do not reply to you, ...'

These examples show that long vowels can undergo reduction and become monomoraic in case of fast speech, especially across words.

Table 7 recapitulates the different outputs resulting from coalescence process both on the lexical and post-lexical levels. The first vowel in the sequence is in the leftmost column and the second is in the top row. The rest of the boxes show the product of combining the two vowels. The products of certain combinations have been left blank because no example was found.

Table 7   Outputs from coalescence process

	i	e	a	o	u	
i	ii	–	–	–	–	lexical
	–	ii	–	uu	–	post-lexical
e	–	ee	–	–	–	post-lexical
a	ee	ee	aa	oo	oo	lexical
	–	ee	aa	oo	–	post-lexical
o	–	–	–	oo	–	post-lexical
u	–	–	–	–	uu	lexical
	–	–	–	uu	–	post-lexical

We conclude that coalescence in Cuwabo is sensitive both to the quality and to the ordering of the vowels in the sequence. For every coalescence scenario, as far as vocalic quality is concerned, the height feature from the first vowel in the sequence always prevails in the output, whereas the remaining articulation features are drawn from the second vowel.

2.4.1.2 Vowel elision

Like coalescence, elision implies that certain vowel features of the input are lost while others are preserved. The difference between both processes hinges on the distribution of what is lost and what is preserved in each vowel of the sequence. While some balance

operates in coalescence, in that each vowel loses as well as maintains some features, in the case of elision, the lost features all come from one of both vowels and the preserved ones are attributable to the other vowel. The question arises to know which vowel of the sequence is elided, the first or the second? Statistically, V1 elision is predominant and more widely attested across languages (Casali 1996: 11). Cuwabo conforms to this tendency and the most common context in which preference for V2 preservation is made clear is shown in (2.116) and (2.117), where V1 is [+high] and [+front].

(2.116)   Lexical level

    a. [i+e → ee]

        neé.pêlo (cl.5)   /ni-épêlo/   'wing'

        ḍéé.loolíma   /ddi-ela-olíma/   'I was cultivating'

    b. [i+a → aa]

        náa.ní (cl.5)   /ní-aní/   'herb'

        naa.vaʔilé   /ni-a-vahilé/   'we gave them'

    c. [i+o → oo]

        kaḍoó.ḍîle   /kaddi-óddîle/   'I was not thin'

    d. [i+u → uu]

        ḍuú.lúvála   /ddi-úlúvála/   'I am old'

(2.117)   Post-lexical level

    a. *([i+e → ii])*   *> see Coalescence process, section 2.4.1.1*

    b. [i+a → aa]

        málúm' áa.ga   /málúmí ága/   'my tongues'

        kaḍil' áá.panó   /kaddilí apanó/   'I am not here'

    c. *([i+o → uu])*   *> see Coalescence process, section 2.4.1.1*

    d. [i+u → uu]

        ol' úu.ví   /olí uuví/   'where is it'

In (2.116) and (2.117), all the features of V1 get deleted and the output is always a long vowel with the vocalic feature of V2.[19] On the lexical level (2.116), /i/ elision is commonly found on prefix-root boundaries, but also between verbal prefixes. On the post-lexical level (2.117), the boundaries between a noun and a modifier, as well as between a verb form and a complement, are good contexts for /i/ elision, except when V2 is a mid-vowel. In this case, [+high] feature of V1 is preserved and coalescence applies with V2 as already shown with examples in (2.112), section 2.4.1.1.

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[19] Elision accompanied with compensatory lengthening is also referred to as total assimilation process (Ngunga 2000: 31).

The outputs in (2.116) and (2.117) with /i/ as V1 clearly show the tendency in Cuwabo not to allow palatalised consonants. This constitutes a major constraint, with only a few cases of exception (my-, fy- and vy-), which all have in common the labial feature.

The second case of V1 elision concerns the other front vowel /e/, but only when it is involved in a sequence on the post-lexical level, as illustrated in (2.118).

(2.118)   Post-lexical level
      a. *([e + i → ii?])*   *unattested input*
      b. [e + a → aa]
          akwaɖ' **áá**.ba   /akwaddé ába/   'these dogs sp.'
          maánɟ' **áa**.wíínɟíva   /maánjé awíínjíva/   'water abounds'
      c. [e + o → oo]
          múkaʈ' **óo**.bu   /múkatté obu/   'this rice cake'
          muróm' **oo**.ðówá...   /muróme odhówá/ 'you go first' [you start to go]
          īyéén' **óo**.noɲózâ…   /íyéénê ononyózâ/ 'he is sharpening…"
      d. *([e + u → uu?])*   *unattested input*

Between words, the occurrence of the mid front vowel before another vowel triggers its own deletion, as a result of which V2 surfaces with compensatory lengthening. No occurrence was found for the sequences /e + i/ and /e + u/, although we could expect to have /ii/ and /uu/ as respective outputs.

On the lexical level, the few examples found with the mid-vowel /e/ at the head of the vocalic sequence are very restricted from a morphological point of view and the process used to resolve the hiatus is gliding, but this issue is developed in section 2.4.1.3.

Finally, and although it is very marginal in the language, one last case of elision in Cuwabo can be found on the lexical level, when V1 is [+ high] and [+ back], and V2 is [+ round], as examples in (2.119) show.

(2.119)   Lexical level
      a. [u + o → oo]
          m**óo**.nó (cl.3)   /mú-onó/   'arm'
          m**óo**.ʈó (cl.3)   /mú-ottó/   'fire; umbilical cord'
      b. [u + u → uu]
          m**uú**.va (cl.3)   /mu-úva/   'cart'
          m**uú**.lo (cl.3)   /mu-úlo/   'canal'

The specific context in which this type of V1 elision takes place constitutes an exception to the glide formation of /u/ as V1, which is otherwise widely attested in Cuwabo (see section 2.4.1.3 below). This seems to be a restriction coming from the round vowels which can glide

only in front of unrounded vowels, and have to use another strategy in front of rounded vowels. In this respect, Casali (2011: 14) reports that in some languages, "glide formation does not apply to sequences in which V1 and V2 share the same frontness and roundess" and explains further that "languages that fail to glide /u/ or /o/ before a round vowel typically lack [Cw] before round vowels in general." Cuwabo conforms to this variation: no occurrence of a labialised consonant followed by a round vowel was attested in my database. It must be assumed that these sequences are banned in the language. Cuwabo avoids these sequences by deleting V1. This ban has already been reported in other Bantu languages, such as Karanga (S14) and Nambya (S16B) from the Shona group (Mudzingwa and Kadenge 2011: 231).

To conclude, the different aforementioned outputs triggered by V1 elision are summarised below, in Table 8.

Table 8   Outputs from elision process

	i	e	a	o	u	
i	-	ee	aa	oo	uu	lexical
	-	-	aa	-	uu	post-lexical
e	-	-	aa	oo	-	post-lexical
u	-	-	-	oo	uu	lexical

As with coalescence, vowel elision is both feature-sensitive and position-sensitive, in that it targets specific features ([+front] and/or [+high]) that occupy a specific position among both vowels comprising the sequence, namely V1. Furthermore, the morphosyntactic context determines the way elision applies (or not). Whether the vowel targeted by elision is found at the boundary between inner-word morphemes or between two words has an impact on the hiatus resolution strategy.

2.4.1.3   Glide formation (or gliding)

Glide formation also occurs in Cuwabo. In many languages, this process is commonly attested in sequences where the first vowel is [+high]. Front and back vowels /i, u/ respectively turn into /y, w/. This process whereby an underlying vowel surfaces as a semi-vowel is also known as consonantalisation (Doke 1945), or even "onset formation" (Rosenthall 1994, Casali 1996). In some languages, however, it happens that only back round vowels have the possibility of gliding and that their front counterparts are subject to a different resolution strategy, usually elision (Casali 2011: 14). It is the case in Cuwabo: glide formation occurs when V1 is /u/ but not when V1 is /i/, position in which the vowel

undergoes elision, as previously analysed in section 2.4.1.2, except in a specific context which implies very few occurrences, and which will be developed below.

Consider now gliding with the back high vowel, first on the lexical level (2.120), then on the post-lexical level (2.121).

(2.120)   Lexical level
      a. [u + e → wee [20]]
          mw**ée**.rí   /mú-erí/ (cl.4)   'moons/months'
          mw**ee**.ḍága   /mu-edd-ág-a/   'when you were walking'
      b. [u + a → waa]
          mw**áá**.náma   /mú-ánáma/ (cl.1)   'abscess'
          mw**aa**.ðowá   /mu-a-dhowá /   'when you go'
      c. *([u + o → oo])*   *> see Elision processes (section 2.4.1.2)*
      d. [u + i → wii [21]]
          mw**íí**.nḍú   /mú-inddú/   (cl.3)   'palm-tree'
          mw**ií**.mba   /mu-ímba/ (cl.3)   'hole, slit'

(2.121)   Post-lexical level
      a. [u + e → wii]
          yúún**w' íí**.ɟí   /yúúnú éjí/   'this waist'
          míímb**w' íí**.só   /míímbu ésó/   'these peas'
      b. [u + a → waa]
          maḍúḍ**w' aá**.ba   /maddúddu ába/   'these unripe coconuts'
          áṭ**w' áá**.nótíba   /áttu ánótíba/   'people dug out'
      c. *([u + o → woo])*   *> see Coalescence process (section 2.4.1.1)*
      d. *([u + i → wii?])*   *> unattested input*

Unsurprisingly, no gliding of /u/ or /o/ is attested before a round vowel (see (2.119), section 2.4.1.2 on vowel elision).

Note that on the post-lexical level, the sequence /u + e/ in (2.121)a manifests glide formation along with coalescence, i.e. that /u/ not only glides but it also transmits its [+high] feature to the mid-V2. Height of V1 and frontness of V2 are preserved for the output, in addition to gliding. Interestingly, /u + e/ hiatuses found on clitics boundaries vary

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[20] Unexpectedly, three formally similar nouns do not display compensatory lengthening after gliding.
    mwébe (cl.3)   /mu-ébe/   'reed'   mwéḍo (cl.3)   /mu-éddo/   'leg'
    mwéne (cl.1)   /mu-éne/   'chief, head'
[21] /u + i/ always glides, except for one noun, which constitutes the only exception and is in addition rarely used:
    miíma (cl.1)   /mu + íma/   'child'

in their resolution process, involving both gliding (2.122)a, but also gliding and coalescence (2.122)b.

(2.122)	a. mweéʈúúrîni	/mu-éttúúrî=ni/	'in the shoulder'
	mweévíɗóni	/mu-évíɗɗó=ni/	'into the spear handle'
	b. mwiilábôni	/mu-elábô=ni/	'in the society'
	mwiívúvuni	/mu-évúvu=ni/	'in the pimple'
	mwiitélôni	/mu-etélô=ni/	'in the winnowing-tray'

This confusion in outputs is certainly explained by the particular morphological status of these locative forms, which lie at the hinge between lexical and post-lexical levels.

In this gliding process, compensatory vowel lengthening takes place: the vowel adjacent to the glide becomes lengthened, which gives a bimoraic syllable and triggers resyllabification. The output syllable is then CGVV, meaning that the sequence Consonant-Glide, and more particularly velarisation for /w/, is allowed in Cuwabo (except when V2 is a round vowel). The preference for gliding /u/ shows the tendency in Cuwabo to allow labialised consonants (unlike palatalised consonants).

In section 2.4.1.2, we saw that a hiatus with a front high V1 is solved by the elision process. However, the formation of class 4 plural nouns with a vowel-initial stem constitutes an exception to this generalisation, displaying gliding in front of a mid-vowel (2.123)d and (2.123)h or a low vowel (2.123)f.

(2.123)   class 3 [mu + V → (w)VV]   class 4 [mi + V → (y)VV]

a. mwíilá[22]	/mú-ilá/	'tail'	b. míilá	/mí-ilá/	'tails'
c. mwéerí	/mú-erí/	'moon, month'	d. myéerí	/mí-erí/	'moons,months'
e. mwáaŋgó	/mú-aŋgó/	'mount'	f. myáaŋgó	/mí-aŋgó/	'mounts'
g. móonó	/mú-onó/	'arm'	h. myóonó	/mí-onó/	'arms'
i. muúva	/mu-úva/	'cart'	j. miíva	/mi-úva/	'carts'

It is the only context where gliding of /i/ is possible in Cuwabo, which means this strategy is very marginal in comparison with high vowel elision.

The output of the sequence /i + u/ found in (2.123)j is even more surprising: whereas we would expect /uu/ as a result of V1 elision and lengthening of V2, the reverse process operates in that V2 deletes and V1 lengthens, or in other words, V2 totally assimilates to V1.

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[22] A single and rarely used form of class 3 represents an exception to this gliding process, and uses instead resorts to V1 elision:

| | miíma | /mu + íma/ | 'child' |

All these cases are nevertheless very specific and are easily attributable to classes 3 and 4 lexical morphology: the new and unexpected outputs mentioned here actually help make the distinction between singular and plural forms. To put it in Casali (1996: 30)'s words, "it is not uncommon for particular morphemes (or classes of morphemes) to exceptionally trigger a different hiatus resolution pattern than the one which normally obtains."

Eventually, confirmation of two previously mentioned generalisations emerge from (2.123): first, sequences of two identical vowels ((2.123)b and (2.123)i) fail to undergo glide formation, which represents a very common restriction across languages (Casali 2011: 16); second, in the singular form, on the left column, *móonó* 'arm' in (2.123)g and *muúva* 'cart' in (2.123)i confirm that glide formation of /u/ is blocked before a round vowel.

If gliding is often referred to in a [+high] vocalic context, this process is not restricted to /i/ and /u/. When V1 is in absolute word-initial position, the restrictions on gliding are indeed less strict and both mid vowels /e/ and /o/ can undergo the process. Regarding the round mid-vowel, different class prefixes in Cuwabo allow us to see this combination on the lexical level. These prefixes can be nominal classes (NC), subject markers (SM), or any other class agreement, as exemplified in (2.124). On the post-lexical level, glide formation of /o/ also occurs and is mostly found between nominal stems and their modifiers, such as demonstrative or possessive forms, as in (2.125).

(2.124) Lexical level + word-initial position

    a. [o+i → wii]

      wií.la   /o-íla/   'to boil'   > NC 15

      wii.yilé   /o-iy-ilé/   'he stole'   > cl.1 SM

    b. [o+e → wee]

      weé.ya   /o-éya/   'to bury'   > NC 15

      owani **wée**.nyú   /o-enyu/   'to your house'   > cl.17 agr.

    c. [o+a → waa]

      waá.lûwa   /o-álûwa/   'drink.sp'   > NC 14

      mbúga **waá**.li   /o-á-li/   'the rice that was' > cl.3 SM

    d. [o+o → woo]

      woó.ca   /o-óca/   'to roast'   > NC 15

    e. [o+u → wuu]

      wúú.máɲa   /ó-úmáɲa/   'to offer, to thank' > NC 15

      wúú.gulá   /ó-u-gulá/   'to buy you'   > NC 15+2SG OM

(2.125)   Post-lexical level

      a. *([o + i → wii?])*   > *unattested input (morphosyntactic reasons)*

      b. [o + e → wee [23]]

        etél**w' eé**.ɟi   /etélo éji/   'this winnowing-tray'

        elab**w' ee**.zugúnúwilé /elabo e-zugúnúwilé/ 'it's the society which has changed'

      c. [o + a → waa]

        mazáŋg**w' áá**.ba   /mazángo ába/   'these beads'

      d. *([o + o → woo])*   > *see Coalescence process (section 2.4.1.1)*

      e. *([o + u → wuu?])*   > *unattested output (morphosyntactic reasons)*

The combination of the different types of *o-* prefixes and a vowel initial nominal or verbal stem surfaces as GVV syllabic structure. In the case of verbs, this gliding process is not to be confused with the glide found in forms such as *o-wáza* 'spread' or *ó-waná* 'fight', which has a phonemic consonant status, since it is not derived from a vowel but is inherently consonantal. The various examples above show that glide formation is obligatory in initial word position if no onset is present (*oíla), but optional if an onset already exists, hence the acceptability of both forms in (2.126).

(2.126)   pre-existence of an onset in the verbal stem

      o-ʔába   = o-wába   = waába   'take bath'

      o-ʔéla   = o-wéla   = weéla   'set, put'

      ó-ʔuwá   = ó-wuwá   = wúuwá   'slough'

In this way, Cuwabo conforms to the universal tendency of languages to avoid onsetless syllables.

    As with /o/, the front mid-vowel /e/ can glide, but only on the lexical level, when it arises word-initially in prefix position, i.e. with no consonant immediately preceding them. Again, these prefixes can be nominal classes or subject markers, as exemplified below.

(2.127)   Lexical level + word-initial position

      a. [e + i → yii]

        yií.ko   /e-íko/   'river'   > NC 9

        yií.yiléémi   /e-íy-ilé-émi/   'what I stole'   > cl.9 SM

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[23] One exception to this generalisation is reported in the following example between the noun and the verb:

    wóóra   y' aárimoós' éefíyá

wóóra	ya	árimoósó	e-hi-fíyá
9.hour	9.CON	2a.lunch	9-PFV.DJ-arrive

    'lunch time came'

b. [e + e → yee]

| **yeé**.ḍêlo | /e-éddêlo/ | 'habit; behaviour' | > NC 9 |
| **yee**.lúziléémi | /e-elúz-ilé-émi/ | 'what I advised' | > cl.9 SM |

c. [e + a → yaa]

| **yáa**.ká | /é-aká/ | 'year' | > NC 9 |
| **yaa**.logíléemí | /e-a-log-ílé-emí/ | 'what I had said' | > cl.9 SM |

d. [e + o → yoo]

| **yoó**.bo | /e-óbo/ | 'basket' | > NC 9 |
| **yoo**.níʔiléémi | /e-on-íh-ilé-émi/ | 'what I showed' | > cl.9 SM |

e. [e + u → yuu]

| **yuú**.kûru | /e-úkûru/ | 'owl' | > NC 9 |
| **yuú**.miléémi | /e-úm-ilé-émi/ | 'what I stole' | > cl.9 SM |

On the post-lexical level, glide formation does not apply to the mid-vowel /e/. This has been made evident in the examples (2.118) from the previous section on vowel elision.

Eventually, like coalescence, the merged vowel triggered by gliding can shorten in case of faster speech, as seen in (2.128).

(2.128)   *ázúg**w**' agaṭiy' óógúlíʔa m̀búga, nigáńlima*   {semi-elic.}

ázúgu   a-gaa-ttiyá   ógúlíha   m̀búga   ni-gá-ní-lima
2.boss   2-SIT-stop   15.sell   3.rice   1pl-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate
'if the bosses stop selling rice, I will cultivate'

Table 9 sums up the results of the glide formation process in Cuwabo. Outputs between parentheses are marginal in the language and occur in restricted contexts.

Table 9   Outputs from gliding process

	i	e	a	o	u	
mi	-	(myee)	(myaa)	(myoo)	-	lexical
e	yii	yee	yaa	yoo	yuu	lexical
o	wii	wee	waa	woo	wuu	lexical
	-	wee	waa	-	-	post-lexical
u	wii	wee	waa	-	-	lexical
	-	wii	waa	-	-	post-lexical

2.4.1.4   Longer vowel sequences and consonant epenthesis

In this subsection, I investigate what happens when three (or more) underlying vowels follow each other. Sequences of three even four vowels are indeed attested in Cuwabo,

arising mostly through prefixation in verbal forms. In this case, several scenarios are attested, involving the aforementioned processes, as well as consonant epenthesis.

(2.129) /o-náa-inánele/ 'do not abstain'

    a. Vowel coalescence: *onéénânêle*[24]   b. Glide epenthesis: *onáá**yí**nánele*

(2.130) /ka-ḑi-á-u-gula/ 'I was not buying you'

    a. Vowel elision + coalescence

    > /ka-ḑ(i)-á-u-gula/ > /ka-ḑaá-u-gula/ > /ka-ḑ(o)óo-gula/ > /ka-ḑóo-gula/ > *kaḑóógula*

    b. Glide epenthesis

    > /ka-ḑ(i)-á-u-gula/ > /ka-ḑaá-u-gula/ > /ka-ḑaá-wu-gula/ > *kaḑaá**wú**gula*

As trimoraic syllables are in principle not allowed in Cuwabo, longer vowel sequences are reduced to a single bimoraic syllable when solved through vowel coalescence or vowel elision, as shown in (2.129)a and (2.130)a. In the first, the long low vowel coalesces with the high vowel, and gives a long mid vowel. In the latter, the high vowel /i/ totally assimilates to the following low vowel. Then, the output coalesces with the following high vowel /u/, and gives the bimoraic vowel /oo/. On the contrary, the subsequent vowels in (2.129)b and (2.130)b, instead of being reduced to a bimoraic syllable, are organised into two separate syllables with a glide emerging as consonant epenthesis. This means that unlike the other hiatus resolution processes, glide epenthesis allows to preserve the underlying initial structure.

Across languages, few are the consonants which function epenthetically as hiatus breakers (Uffmann 2007). In Cuwabo, as in many languages, glides are commonly used as default epenthetic segments. In this case, glide insertion is not to be confused with glide formation. Whereas the latter is derived from a vowel and preserves the existing phonological material, glide insertion is not underlyingly present, and then implies that new phonological material is added. In glide insertion, the glide used to resolve hiatus becomes an epenthetic consonant, whose featural content is normally contingent on their vocalic environment, and more particularly on the backness feature, as examples in (2.131) and (2.132) show.

(2.131) *ḑiyááwooná* 'I saw them'   vs.   *owááwooná* 'he saw them'

    ḑi(ʔ)íyéeḑagá 'without my walking'

(2.132) *ḑiyaáréða/ḑuwaáréða baáʸi, ḑinóðówá vatákûlu*

    'I have had enough fun, I am going back home'

---

[24] A doubled tone falls when the mora to which it is assigned is in penultimate position of a tonological unit.

In (2.131) and (2.132), both glides are determined by the preceding vowel, to which they approximate the most in both place and manner of articulation. /y/ is inserted when preceded by the front vowel; /w/ is inserted when preceded by the back/rounded vowel.

However, it seems that these featural restrictions are not so strict in Cuwabo, especially in verb forms, in which the choice of the glide is sometimes arbitrary, as shown in (2.133).

(2.133)   a. *baḑi(ʔ)íyóogolagá*   OR   *baḑi(ʔ)íwóogolagá*   < /ba-ḑi-ʔí-ogol-ag-á/
              'without my straightening'
          b. *o(ʔ)íyáaweeḑiʔa*   OR   *o(ʔ)íwáaweeḑiʔa*   < /o-ʔi-a-eḑiʔa/
              'to not lead them'
          c. *ayáádwooná*   OR   *awáádwooná*   < /a-á-a-ona/
              'they had seen them'

It then seems hard to predict with accuracy the featural nature of the epenthetic glide in verbal forms.

In addition to glides, Cuwabo also epenthesises with the glottal stop (2.134), which actually occurs in free variation with the glides (2.135).

(2.134)   a. *ḑiʔáάwobá ámámbaála*   'I invited my parents'   (> ḑi-ʔí-a-wobá, ʔi = PFV.DJ)
          b. *koʔuubá*   'if I (had) shaped'   (> ko-wuubá)

(2.135)   a. *ddáánuwunla*   OR   *ddáánuʔunla*   'I used to cry for you'
          b. *ddinowúbúwéla*   OR   *ddinoʔúbúwéla*   'I am thinking'

Tones may have an influence on the strategy used to resolve hiatus. Tone assignment is contingent on the original tone pattern of a verb and for several tenses, the distinction between H-toned and Ø-toned verbs is needed. In the perfective tense below, the grammatical tone docks onto the OM, i.e. the first mora of the macrostem for the toneless verbs (2.136)a, whereas it starts on the pre-macrostem mora with the H-toned verbs (2.136)b.

(2.136)   Perfective + 2SG OM: /o-TAM[25]-u-stem/ 'he V-ed you'
          a. Ø-toned verbs   b. H-toned verbs
              oowáâḑa   'he told you'   *owúúwoná*   'he looked at you'
              oowúñla   'he cried for you'   *owúúwibá*   'he hit you'

---

[25] The TAM prefix for the perfective is not morphologically clear: it seems to correspond to a -ʔi- prefix, whose glottal stop falls in most cases, the remaining vowel of which coalesces with the SM or even deletes while the vowel in the SM lengthens.

As a result, the syllabic configuration of these verbal forms differs: the TAM prefix *-hi-* totally assimilates to the SM in Ø-toned verb forms, and the OM *u-* glides in front of the vowel-initial stem (with compensatory lengthening). In H-tone verbal forms, the TAM prefix, which receives the grammatical H tone, assimilates to the following OM, triggering a long /uu/, connected to both SM and verb stem by a glide epenthesis. The perfective is the only tense in which a difference in tone assignment having an impact on the choice of the strategy used to resolve hiatus, has been attested.

Finally, and because of the variation in outputs, it is a hard task to make strong generalisations about the resolution of longer vowel sequences, and proposing an account of Cuwabo epenthesis is all the more difficult since the factors according to which epenthesis takes place in preference to vowel coalescence, elision or glide formation are still not clear to determine. This brief section on vowel sequences in verb forms should be considered as preliminary.

2.4.1.5 Summary of hiatus resolution

Different observations arise from the preceding sections. First, Cuwabo conforms to the universal tendency of languages to avoid onsetless syllables. It exhibits different strategies to repair such syllables, depending on the position (position-sensitive) and the quality (feature-sensitive) of the vowels involved. In these processes, in order not to lose the initial moraic weight, vowel length is most of the time derived by compensatory lengthening. Syllabicity may alter, with the phenomenon of resyllabification, but not the number of moras in the input (in case of two consecutive vowels).

The major generalisations to be addressed regarding hiatus resolution alternations are summarised in (2.137).

(2.137) Hiatus resolution alternations in Cuwabo
  a. when V1 is non-high and V2 is high, the outcome is a [-high] version of V2. Vowel coalescence takes place.
  b. when V1 is [+front], it usually gets deleted and V2 lengthens. Vowel elision takes place.
  c. a round V1 undergoes glide formation before a following non-round vowel.

The overall pattern corresponding to the above generalisations is given in Table 10 below. Coalescent realisations are underlined, and those involving elision are italicised. Note that in the case of the input /u + e/ on the post-lexical level, both coalescence and glide formation apply. Less common outputs, i.e. those which appear in restricted contexts, are

parenthesised. Eventually, morphological rules prevent certain vowel sequences. Such cases have been left blank.

Table 10   Outputs from hiatus resolution processes in Cuwabo

		i	e	a	o	u	
i		<u>ii</u>	*ee* / (myee)	*aa* / (myaa)	*oo* / (myoo)	*uu* / (ii)	lexical
		-	<u>ii</u>	*aa*	<u>uu</u>	uu	post-lexical
e		(yii)	(yee)	(yaa)	(yoo)	(yuu)	lexical
		-	<u>ee</u>	*aa*	*oo*	-	post-lexical
a		<u>ee</u>	<u>ee</u>	<u>aa</u>	<u>oo</u>	<u>oo</u>	lexical
		-	<u>ee</u>	<u>aa</u>	<u>oo</u>	-	post-lexical
o		(wii)	(wee)	(waa)	(woo)	(wuu)	lexical
		-	wee	waa	<u>oo</u>	-	post-lexical
u		wii / (ii)	wee	waa	*oo*	<u>uu</u>	lexical
		-	w<u>ii</u>	waa	<u>uu</u>	-	post-lexical

The descriptive study of the different patterns does not permit to consider one of the processes as a default process. Each process appears under specific conditions, depending merely on the first vowel quality.

2.4.2 Encliticisation and vowel lengthening

Enclitics constitute another source of vowel lengthening in Cuwabo, as illustrated with the interrogative enclitic =*ni* (2.138), the plural addressee enclitic =*ni* (2.139), the noun phrase locative enclitic =*ni* (2.140), the verbal locative enclitics =*vo* (class 16), =*wo* (class 17), and =*mo* (class 18) (2.141), the instrumental enclitic =*na* (2.142), the definite enclitics (2.143), and the restrictive enclitic =*vi* (2.144). These different clitics will be examined in different further sections of this work.

(2.138) Interrogative enclitic

odhúl' úúkó muńlógáwóoní ?   {body.6}

odhúlú   ókó   mu-ní-lógá＝wó＝ní

17.céu   17.DEM.II   2PL-IPFV.CJ-speak＝17.LOC＝what

'what are you talking about up there?'

(2.139) Plural addressee enclitic

nimagúvéeni   {elic.}

ni-magúv-é = ni

1PL-hurry-SBJ = PLA

'let's hurry up!'

(2.140) Noun phrase locative enclitic

aafíyá vapambánóoni   {maria.28}

a-hi-fíyá   va-pambánó = ni

2-PFV.DJ-arrive   16-9a.crossroads = LOC

'they arrived at a crossroads'

(2.141) Verbal locative enclitic

ba aaní oǹjésáámw' iísáv' iíjîle   {mbílri.5}

ba   aaní   [o-ni-j-és-á = mo   ésávi   éjîle]REL

2.COP who   1-IPFV.CJ-eat.DJ-DUR-Fi = 18.LOC   9.relish 9.DEM.III

'who keeps eating that relish'

(2.142) Instrumental enclitic

óbú bu m̄béní osuvéyîléená mwáána   {elic.}

óbú   bu   m̄béní   [o-suv-éy-îlé = ná   mwáána]REL

3.DEM.I   3.COP 3.knife   3-cut-NTR-PFV.REL = INSTR   1.child

'this is the knife that the child cut himself with'

(2.143) Definite enclitic

omúnddáaw' oók' óóńlógíínyú   {ddingí.6}

o-múnddá = wa   ókó   [ó-ní-lógá = ínyú]REL

17-3.field = 17.DEF 17.DEM.II 17-IPFV.CJ-say = 2PL.PRO

'in this plantation you are refering to'

(2.144) Restrictive enclitic

aagíláatí vamodháavi góddógoddo   {maria.85}

a-hi-gíláatí   va-modhá = vi   góddó-goddo

2-PFV.DJ-sit   16-one = RESTR   IDEO-RED

'they sat all together'

 Example (2.138) shows that when more than one clitic is suffixed, only the last one triggers vowel lengthening, which seems to indicate that this process is restricted to the penultimate position of the word, i.e. to the final suffix vowel. This conditioned vowel lengthening may be explained by an underlying form -:CV of these enclitics, which would thus be fully realised whenever attached to some base.

Finally, note that this vowel lengthening is not systematically heard, especially in case of fast speech rate.

(2.145) *ddi íyééne woóónaávó baáhi. woóónaávó ddi íyééné baáhi*   {maria.146}

        ddi   íyééne   [o-á-oná＝vó]_{REL}   baáhi

        1.COP   3SG.PRO   1-PST.IPFV.CJ-see＝16.LOC   only

        'he was the only one to see, he was the only one to see'

3

Tones

Another fascinating property of Cuwabo phonology is its tone system. This is the issue dealt with in the present chapter. Section 3.1 gives a general introduction to tone in Cuwabo. Section 3.2 analyses the different pitch levels attested in the language, and particularly Cuwabo's lowering operations (or downtrends). Section 3.3 gives an account of the different nominal tone patterns. Nouns in isolation as well as modified nouns will be considered. Section 3.4 introduces the diverse tone patterns assigned on Cuwabo tensed verbs and describes how they interact with the lexical H. In Yip's terms (2002: 132), "the most striking property of African tone is its mobility". Tone mobility in Cuwabo is ruled by high tone right-spreading, which subsumes high tone doubling. In addition of these processes of tone adjunction, a recurrent process of tone diminution also exists, known as predicative lowering. Each process is dealt with in section 3.5. Another important part of prosody deals with intonation, which comes in addition to tones. The different contexts in which intonation plays a role are discussed in the last section. Note that no attempt of a description of phrasal tonology has been pursued here and I leave the issue of the phonology-syntax interface for further research.

3.1 Generalities

As common in Bantu, Cuwabo has a binary tone system, intertwining high (H) and toneless (Ø) pitches. In this study, H tones are indicated by means of an acute accent. On the other hand, Ø tones are not graphically represented. The tone-bearing unit in Cuwabo is the mora, which represents the smallest phonological unit in a syllabic nucleus (Hayes 1989, Hyman 1992). This is easily observed in long vowel sequences (3.1), as well as in consonant sequences involving a sonorant (nasal and liquid), which has both syllabic and moraic status (3.2).

(3.1)   a. ØH.F.Ø   *waábâla* 'dress'   b. H.H.ØH.Ø   *námáruúndda*   'circular hut'

(3.2)   a. ØH.Ø   *wuníla* 'cry'   b. HH.Ø.ØH.Ø   *ddáánsuníza*   'I was studying'

The great majority of Cuwabo words have at least one primary H tone (systematically underlined throughout this chapter). In fact, only a few grammatical words (e.g. *akala* 'if') and ideophones can have an all-low tone pattern. Primary H tones may either be H tones that are assigned by the morphology or are the inherent lexical property of a morpheme. They are distinguished from H tones which surface as the result of phonological rules linked with H-tone spreading. Among tone-spreading rules, two are attested in Cuwabo: doubling and long-distance spreading. The first process known as High-Tone doubling consists in spreading a primary H minimally, i.e. only onto the next rightward mora. This process applies both word-internally and at a higher morphological level between words, but suffers restrictions when applied at the right-boundary of a prosodic unit. Consider the noun *waábâla* 'dress' in (3.1), uttered in its citation form. Following the primary H, a falling contour tone is found on the surface, as the result of doubling. This falling H, manifested phonetically by a pitch lowering, results from the position of the mora receiving the doubled H, namely the penultimate of a prosodic unit (see section 3.5.1 for further details). When pre-penult, this mora will be realised as high, instead of falling. Compare *osúkûma* 'leave' and *osúkúmiha* 'fire, send out' in (3.3).

(3.3)   ØHFØ   *osúkûma*   'leave'
         ØHHØØ   *osúkúmiha*   'fire, send out'

The emergence of such a contour tone is usually found in a system marked by penultimate lengthening, which is not the case in Cuwabo. This unexpected behaviour may suggest a souvenir of a state of the language whereby lengthening of the penult vowel existed. But there is no way I can prove this conclusively. This means that the underlying tone pattern (Ø)H.Ø.Ø (where each dot indicates a syllable boundary) is realised on surface as (Ø)H.F.Ø,

where F stands for 'falling'. Throughout the dissertation, I mark this falling tone by a circumflex accent on top of the segment.

The second H-spreading process, called long-distance spreading, consists in repeating a H tone rightward on every available mora found between two primary H tones. This process applies only word-internally within nouns (3.4)a or verbs (3.4)b endowed with two primary H. More details will be presented in the following sections on nominal and verbal tonology.

(3.4)   a. *ósáńzáya*   'peace'
         b. *kaddińzúgúnúwéla*   'I do not turn down to'

As already indicated above, only the primary Hs are underlined in this chapter. Non-underlined H-toned moras thus constitute surface Hs, resulting from one of the two aforementioned phonological rule.

Tones have both lexical and grammatical functions. Lexical tones allow distinguishing the meaning of two segmentally identical words. A few minimal pairs are given in (3.5)a with nouns and in (3.5)b with verbs. Note that throughout the whole dissertation, tonelessness on moraic consonants is indicated by a grave accent over the consonant.

(3.5)   a. Tonal minimal pairs with nouns

mu-lála	'basket.sp'	vs.	*mú-lalá*	'trad. toothbrush'
ni-kúru	'group, set'	vs.	*é-kurú*	'coconut shell'
ǹ-lába	'work'	vs.	*mú-lâba*	'net'
má-kûra	'oil'	vs.	*mú-kurá*	'plant.sp'
mu-léba	'trunk'	vs.	*ń-lêba*	'stain'
o-líli	'weaved bag'	vs.	*mí-lîli*	'avarice'
ǹ-lógo	'people'	vs.	*ó-lôgo*	'clay'
m̀-méla	'abscess'	vs.	*é-mêla*	'leaven'

         b. Tonal minimal pairs with verbs

waála	'be fragile, weak'	vs.	*wáalá*	'sow'
weéla	'put'	vs.	*wéelá*	'say, do'
wiíla	'boil'	vs.	*wíilá*	'say, mean'
okóka	'insist/charge'	vs.	*ókoká*	'hang'
okúwa	'hide/take out'	vs.	*ókuwá*	'shout, call'
obírímindduwa	'turn over (canoe)'	vs.	*óbírímínddúwa*	'roll'

Grammatical tones are used to express particular grammatical functions. For instance, tone plays a major role in the formation of non-verbal predicates (3.6), as well as in the distinction between relativised and non-relativised clauses (3.7).

(3.6)   Predication distinction
         múyaná   (HØH)   'woman'
         muyaná   (ØØH)   'it is a woman'

(3.7)   Relativisation: object following relativised verbs (a.) and conjoint verbs (b.)
         a. *mwááná onimújá naámbédde*   'the child who is eating maize'
         b. *mwááná onimújá naambedde*   'the child is eating maize'

Grammatical tones are also crucial in determining the tense of certain verb forms as will be developed in section 3.4 on verb tone patterns.

Finally, unlike many eastern Bantu languages such as Chewa, Swahili, Mwani (Devos 2008), Makonde (Manus 2003, Kraal 2005), Cuwabo is not subject to penultimate lengthening at the end of a prosodic unit (although the falling H may be viewed as reminiscent of a system formerly marked by penultimate lengthening, as already stated above).

3.2   Pitch levels

Tones have different characteristics of pitch realisation. In Cuwabo, two common downtrends are recurrently attested: automatic downstep (a.k.a. downdrift) and non-automatic downstep. Both refer to the lowering of H tones in certain contexts, such that the following H tone never returns to the pitch of the first H tones in the utterance. Each type is discussed below. Note that downstep is indicated by a superscript down arrow [↓] preceding the lowered mora.

3.2.1   Automatic downstep (downdrift)

Automatic downstep refers to the lowering of a H after an overt L tone. The presence of a L tone thus triggers an "automatic downstep" of the pitch level of the following H tones. This lowering process is also known as downdrift (Hombert 1974, Yip 2002). In Cuwabo, this is first seen in the small domain of (Ø)HØH tone patterns, in which the second (lexical) H tone is radically downstepped, as shown in Figure 1, which the pitch contour representation of the example in (3.8), where *kańlôgā* 'she does not speak' has the underlying ØHØH tone pattern.

(3.8)   *mazhi kańlôgā*   {mute.6}

      mazhi   ka-ní-lô$^\downarrow$gā

      but   NEG.1-IPFV-speak

      'but she does not speak'

Figure 1   Pitch contour of *mazhi kańlôgā* {mute.6}
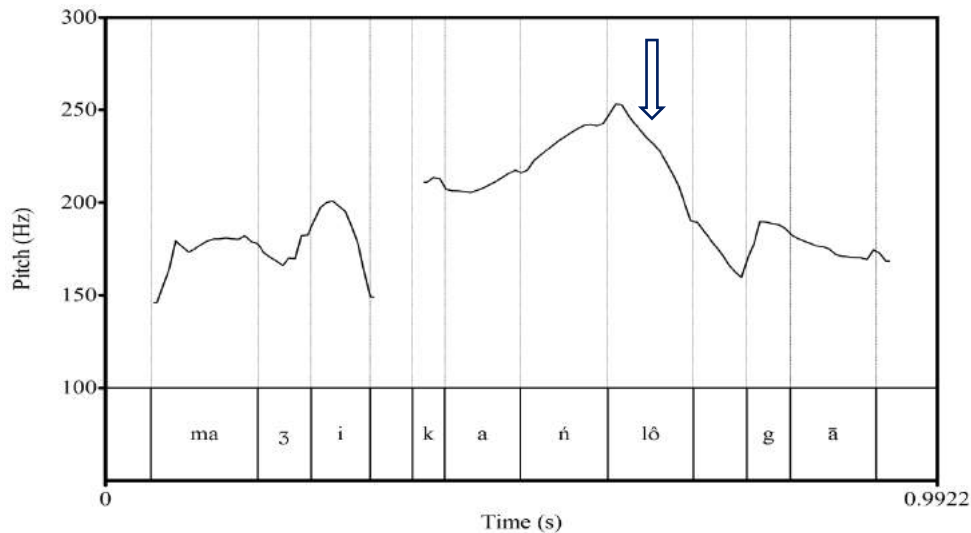
We will see below in section 3.5.3 that Predicative Lowering represents a helpful way of identifying HØH tone patterns, since this final H tone clearly emerges in lowering contexts. By eliciting them into a PL environment such as 'this is a + Noun', the underlying final H tone on the noun clearly emerges (HH ØØH), although phonetically downstepped. It should be pointed out that such a radical downstepping of final H tones is common in some varieties of Makhuwa (Kisseberth p.c.).

Longer sequences with several consecutive H tones separated by a Ø-toned mora also illustrate automatic downstep. An example is provided in Figure 2, which illustrates the examples in (3.9), where the toneless negative prefix *ka-* triggers an automatic downstep of the following H tones.

(3.9)   *yéén' éélóbwéyá kalógíle*   {mute.12}

      íyééné   élóbó=yá   ka-$^\downarrow$lóg-íle

      3SG.PRO   9.thing=DEF   NEG.1-say-PFV

      'he did not tell the thing (the reason)'

Figure 2 Pitch contour of *yéén' éélóbwéyá kalógíle* {mute.12}
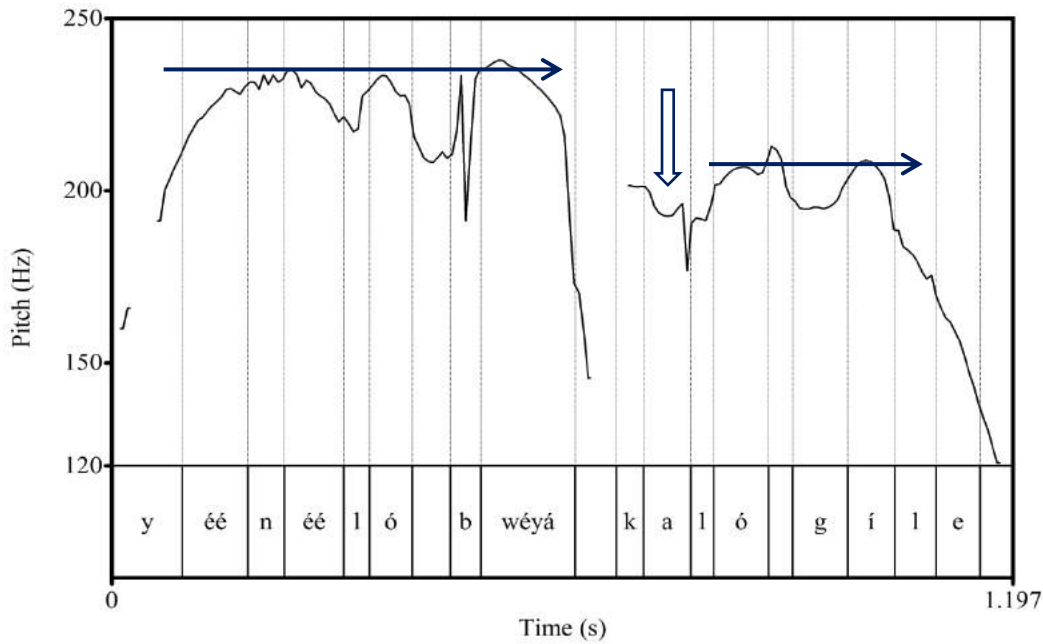
3.2.2 (non-automatic) downstep

In addition to automatic downstep, Cuwabo also has another phonetic downward shift of H tones, which occurs in a series of consecutive H tones. Such a step lowering, called non-automatic downstep, results in tone terracing applied on the successive H moras. For instance, in Figure 3, which applies for the example in (3.10), the initial H tone of the second and the third verb forms *ánófúlá* 'are washing' is downstepped *vis-à-vis* the preceding H-toned word. The overall pitch is thus gradually decreasing across the phrase.

(3.10) *ánófúlá, ánófúlá, ánófúlá*   {ddoo.11}
  á-ni-ófúlá   ꜜá-ni-ófúlá   ꜜá-ni-ófúlá
  2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash 2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash 2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash
  'they are washing'

Figure 3   Pitch contour of *ánófúlá, ánófúlá, ánófúlá* {ddoo.11}
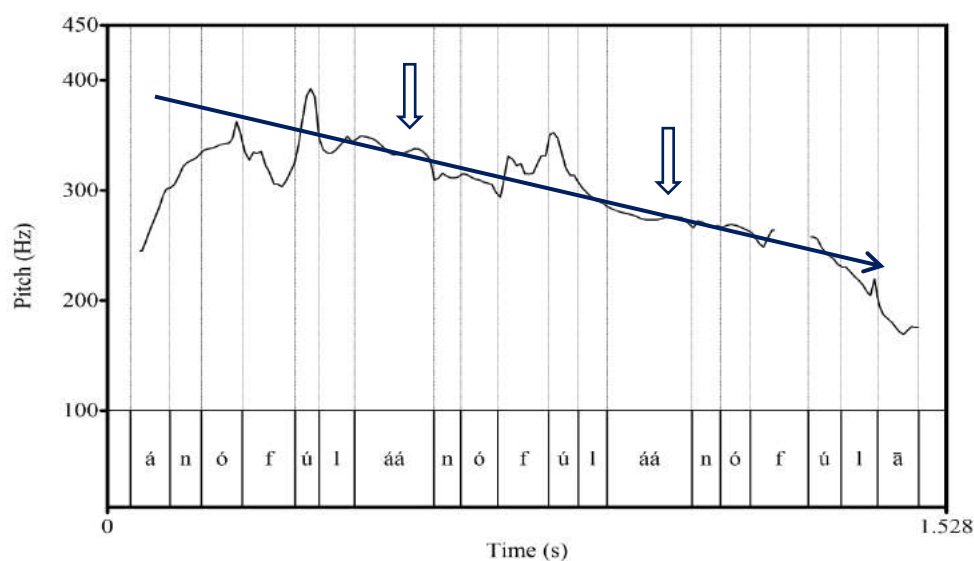
However, non-automatic downstep in a H sequence is not systematically heard in Cuwabo. For instance, the representation of (3.11) in Figure 4 shows no tone lowering through the H sequence. Interestingly, in this example, although the final toneless vowel of the possessive clitic is deleted (because of a fast speech rate), the floating Ø-tone resulting from this segmental deletion does not manifest itself through non-automatic downstep, as would be expected. Indeed, non-automatic downstep is often taken to be the manifestation of floating L tones (i.e. tone which are not associated with any syllable or mora), hence a lowering of the following H tones. In Cuwabo, it seems that non-automatic downstep, aside from being optional, only assumes a separative role between subsequent H tones.

(3.11)   *mūkwááy' ónóbúddúwa*   {páaká.31}
        mūkwé = áye   ó-ni-óbúddúwa
        1.friend = POSS.3SG   1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.out
        'his friend went out'

Figure 4   Pitch contour of *mūkwááy' ónóbúddúwa* {páaká.31}
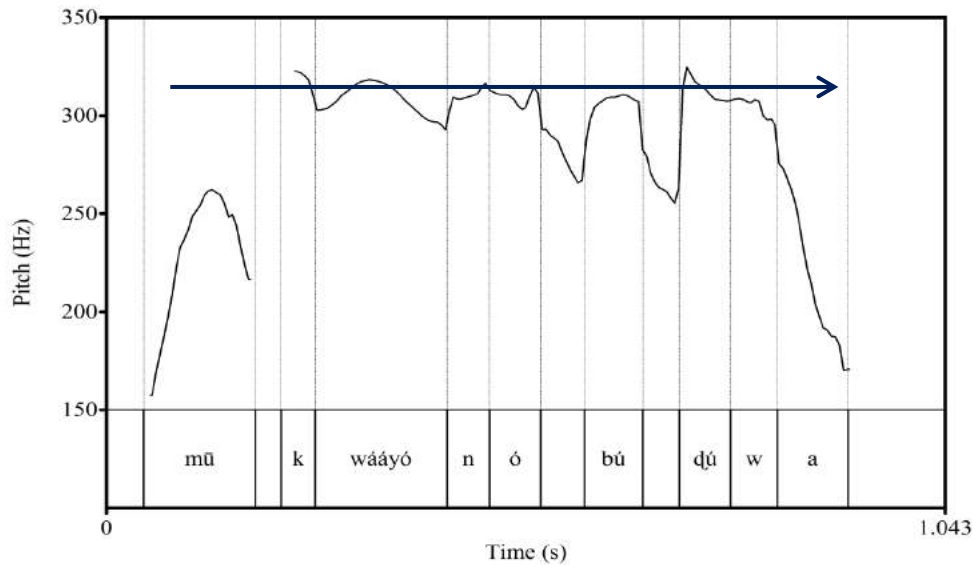
3.2.3   Conditioned phonetic upsweep ?

Compared to downdrift and downstep, phonetic upsweep is a reverse process, in which each H in a H-tone sequence surfaces at a higher pitch level than its predecessor. As downstep is attested in Cuwabo, upsweep is not expected. Yet a phrase-initial primary H tone tends to be not as high as its doubled H. It is rather realised as a mid-tone, i.e. as an intermediary tone between H and Ø. Examples with their corresponding spectrogram are provided below.

(3.12)   *āwéénê: aákáana mákán' ááwa mudíla*   {body.1}

     āwéénê   a-á-káana   mákání̠=áwa   mu-díla

     3PL.PRO   2-PST.IPFV-have   6.talk=POSS.3PL   18-9a.dila

     'they were having an argument on the way'

(3.13)   *vēnéval' óóróm' óómfwará kurúmáanje*   {maria.27}

     vēnévalé   o-hí-rómá̠   ó-mú-fwará   kurúmáanje

     16.EDEM.III   1-PFV.DJ-start   15-OM1-follow   1a.bee.sp

     'there she started to follow the bee.sp.'

(3.14)   *aárómá: ocákácá: , ōcéyá mbúgá:*   {mute.13}

     a-hí-rómá̠   ocá̠káca   **ōcéyá̠**   mbú̠ga

     2-PFV.DJ-begin   15.cultivate.sp   15.sow   3.rice

     'they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice'

Figure 5   Pitch contour of *āwéénê:* {body.1} and *ōcéyá ḿbúgá:* {mute.13}
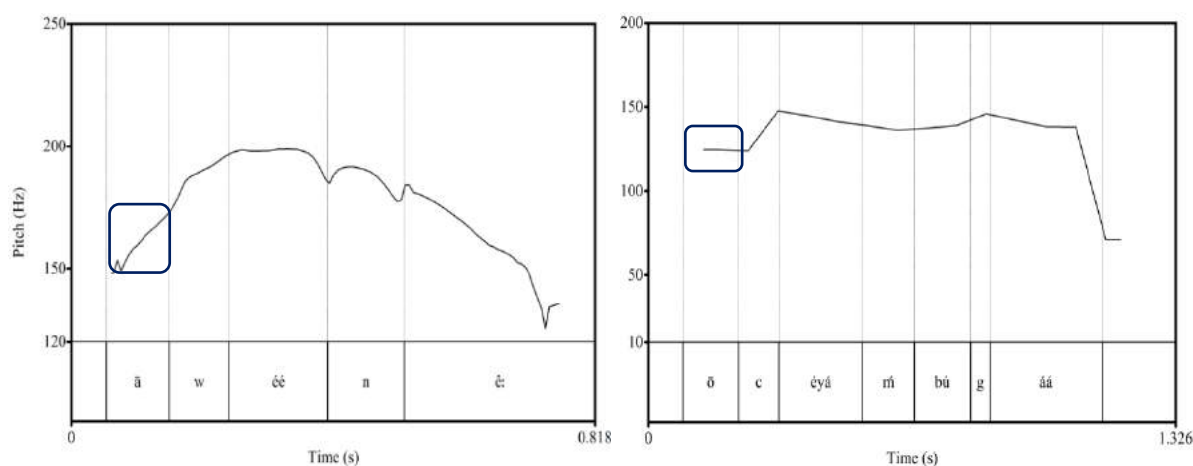
In each example, the second (doubled) H is higher than the first H. This means that this rise in pitch over sequences of two or more H tones is syntactically conditioned in that it only occurs on the first H in the sequence and in a phrase-initial position. This predictable realisation has a phonetic explanation, namely a word-initial H cannot reach straightforward the raised pitch of the doubled H which follows.

3.3   Tone patterns on nouns

3.3.1   Nouns in isolation

I am concerned here with the tone pattern of nouns under their citation form, i.e. nouns which are uttered in a sentence-final way. In this environment, the two phonological rules known as doubling and long-distance spreading may apply. The former consists in spreading a primary H minimally, i.e. only onto the next rightward mora, whereas the latter consists in repeating a H tone rightward on every available mora found between two primary H tones. As a first reminder, these surface Hs are not underlined in order to distinguish from the primary Hs. As a second reminder, in specific environments, namely at the right-boundary of a prosodic unit, a doubled H will surface with a falling pitch level, symbolically represented by a circumflex accent.

The basic tone melodies of Cuwabo nouns in their citation form are listed and exemplified in Table 11. As already seen, tone placement is dependent on moras rather than

syllables. This means that a disyllabic noun with one bimoraic syllable (e.g. *mwáaná* HØ.H 'child') may have the same tone pattern as a trisyllabic noun with monomoraic syllables (e.g. *nífunddó* H.Ø.H 'knot'). Further note that only prefixed nouns appear in this table. Nouns whose singular form belongs to class 1a or 5a, i.e. prefixless classes, will be discussed individually under each subsection. Of interest is the question of their plural formation, by means of the *a-* prefix. The addition of this plural prefix implies the addition of one mora to the tone pattern, which is necessarily modified.

Table 11   Tone patterns for nouns

Moras	Tone pattern	H/Ø	Example	Gloss
2	H-Ø	Ø	mú-ko	'wood ladle'
	Ø-H	H	e-bú	'mosquito'
3	ØHØ	Ø	e-híba	'hoe'
	HØH	H	ní-kalrá	'charcoal'
	HFØ	Ø	mú-sôlro	'head'
4	ØHFØ	Ø	ni-gógôddo	'bone'
	HHHØ	H	mú-dhóódho	'ant.sp'
	HHØH	H	mú-téekú	'navel'
	HHØØ	Ø	mú-lóbwana	'man'
5	ØHHØØ	Ø	mu-kólrófitto	'loincloth'
	HHHHØ	H	ní-gúrúgúru	'shell'
	HHØHØ	H	mú-láanddéza	'big hoe'
6	ØHHØØØ	Ø	e-rúbálakudde	'beetle'
	HHHHHØ	H	má-áyényárúge	'herb.sp'
7	ØHHØØØØ	Ø	ǹ-tógólabalaga	'first rains'
	HHHHHHØ	H	mwá-námáánddámáni	'neighbour'

Two general observations arise from Table 11. First, nouns prefixes are definitely taken into account for tone assignment. The tone of the prefix is thus part of the tone pattern associated with the noun. This is generally not the case in Eastern Bantu languages, in which tones tend to be assigned exclusively on the stem, leaving aside the noun prefix (Philippson 1991[26]). Nominal tonology thus involves pre-stem tone assignment, and tone patterns apply to the nouns as whole units. And interestingly, Cuwabo prefixes have the peculiarity to exibit a H tone, whenever a noun is underlyingly H. This represents an exceptional property among P30 languages, only attested (so far) by Imitthupi, a northern Makhuwa variety, spoken along the frontier between Tanzania and Mozambique. Compare in (3.15) Cuwabo and

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[26] « La strate lexicale où s'effectue l'association des tons dans les langues bantu de l'est concerne l'ensemble **du thème**. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de tenir compte des divisions morphologiques internes à celui-ci. » (Philippson 1991: 84).

Imitthupi (Kisseberth 2003), with two other Makhuwa varieties: Ikorovere (Kisseberth 2003) and Enahara (van der Wal 2009).

(3.15)	Cuwabo	Imitthupi	Ikorovere	Enahara		
	mú-yaná	*ń-thíyana*	*n-thíyána*	*n-thíyána…*[27]	'woman'	
	máyâru	*má-aru*	*ma-áru*	*ma-áru*	'ear'	

Second, any noun surfaces with at least one H tone. As in most Bantu languages, nouns in Cuwabo have a lexical tone contrast. Ø-toned nouns (indicated by Ø in column 3) are underlyingly toneless and H-toned nouns (indicated by H in column 3) have one underlying H tone, namely the lexical tone.

3.3.1.1   H-toned nouns

Lexically H nouns comprise several tone patterns, which nonetheless all share the property to carry exactly two primary H tones, one in the noun stem (which is lexical) and one on the prefix. At this stage, it is not obvious why a lexical H tone in the noun stem should require the presence of a H tone on the prefix, although one suspects that its origin may rest with the H tone that historically was associated with the augment (or pre-prefix) in Proto-Bantu. It would seem likely that this augment H tone is also the source of the H tone that appears on lexically toneless noun stems. Synchronically, I propose that the prefix is associated with a H tone. I will systematically refer to this H tone as "prefixal H". Since this prefixal H is regarded as being inherent, it is considered as a primary H, and will therefore be underlined in each subsequent example. Now, what differentiates one pattern from another is the placement of the lexical H as well as the phonological rule applied on the first primary H. Although the placement of the lexical H is not predictable, the penult mora pattern is far more recurrent than the ultimate mora pattern. Each pattern is examined in turn.

Lexical H on PU: HHHØ, HHHHØ, HHHHHØ and HHØHØ

Considering Table 11, four tone patterns display a lexical H on the penult mora: HHHØ with *múdhóódho* 'ant.sp', HHHHØ with *nígúrúgúru* 'shell', HHHHHØ with *mááyényárúge* 'herb.sp', and HHØHØ with *múláanddéza* 'big hoe'. Among these H tone patterns, we note a further difference in the tone spreading pattern. In the HHØHØ pattern, the prefixal H

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spreads rightwards minimally, i.e. it only doubles onto the next mora. Inversely, the prefixal H in both H̲H̲H̲HØ and H̲H̲H̲HHØ patterns spreads rightwards in an unbounded fashion, forming a tone bridge (or plateau) with the lexical H on the penult. Note that the plural counterpart of the nouns presented respects identical tone patterns.

The tone patterns presented in this subsection are also attested with prefixless nouns, i.e. nouns from classes 9a/10a (e.g. H̲H̲H̲Ø *kókóttélo* 'wooden peg(s)'), class 1a (e.g. H̲H̲H̲Ø *kábúúngu* 'bucket') and class 5a (e.g. H̲H̲H̲Ø *kálrúúnga* 'sickle'). In the absence of a prefix, the 'prefixal' tone associates to the first word mora. In the three aforementioned examples, the 'prefixal' H and the lexical H form a plateau. Longer nouns are very often built upon prefixation of the formatives *ná-* or/and *má-* to a nominal stem. Interestingly, those which start with *má-* usually exhibit a long-distance spreading of the first H till the lexical H on the penult, resulting in a plateau. Inversely, in the *ná-* or even *námá-* derived nouns, the first H is minimally restricted to doubling. Compare (3.16)a with (3.16)b.

(3.16)   a. H̲H̲H̲HØ   *máámbááli*   'parent'   H̲H̲H̲HHØ   *mwámúnddímúwa* 'first wife'

b. H̲H̲ØH̲Ø   *námpwaáttu*   'frog'   H̲H̲ØØH̲Ø   *námásunzíha*   'teacher'

As already mentioned above, the addition of the *a*-plural prefix to the class 1a and 5a singular forms modifies the surface tone patterns, as can be observed in Table 12.

Table 12   Tone patterns of classes 1a (and 5a) nouns

Class 1a tone pattern		Class 2 tone pattern		Gloss
tones	example	tones	example	
H̲H̲HØ	málááwu	H̲-HØHØ	á-málaáwu	'eel'
H̲H̲H̲HØ	mwááñgánéli	H̲-HØØHØ	á-mwááñganéli	'guard'
H̲H̲ØH̲Ø	námásunza	Ø-H̲HØHØ	a-námásunza	'student'
H̲H̲ØH̲Ø	nóóriíya	H̲-HØØH̲Ø	á-nóoriíya	'chameleon'

In every case, the H tone carried by the added plural prefix is restrained from long-distance spreading, otherwise attested in certain singular forms. Instead, it is restricted to H-tone doubling onto the next mora. Consider *málááwu* 'eel'. Its underlying representation is /malaáwu/, in which the lexical H is on the penult mora, the prefixal H docks on the first stem mora, with the sequence H̲ØH̲… triggering a plateau on the surface. In the plural, the prefixal H remains on the plural prefix *á-* and the sequence H̲-ØØH̲… yields only doubling, not plateau.

The same occurs with *mwááñgánéli* 'guard', underlyingly represented as /mwaanganéli/. The prefixal H in the singular docks on the first mora and a plateau is formed between both Hs in the structure H̲ØØH̲... In the plural the prefixal H remains on the prefix, so we have

the structure H̲-ØØØH̲... without plateau. The question remains as to what is pertinent so that the plateau occurs or not. I have no clear answer at the moment. The seven occurrences I have of class 1a nouns with the H̲H̲H̲H̲Ø tone pattern all form their plural by means of a prefixal H which remains on the prefix and is restricted to doubling.

Finally, out of the 18 class 1a nouns attested in my database with the H̲H̲ØH̲Ø surface tone pattern, *nóóriíya* 'chameleon' is the only one which forms its plural the way one might expect, namely with a prefixal H. In all other forms, the prefixal H shifts to the second mora of the word, where it doubles onto the next mora, as in *an̲ám̲ásun̲za* 'teachers'. I leave this unexpected tone behaviour open for further research.

Lexical H on Ultimate: ØH̲, H̲ØH̲ and H̲H̲ØH̲

A lexical H is also found on the ultimate mora in three patterns: ØH̲ (with 21 items), H̲ØH̲ (with less than 200 items) and H̲H̲ØH̲ (with 40 items). In the latter pattern, the prefixal H doubles onto the next mora, as seen in Table 11 with *mútéekú* 'navel'. In the case of H̲ØH̲, the prefixal H spreads when the noun does no longer hold a phrase-final position. For instance, *n̲íkalr̲á* 'charcoal' in citation form surfaces as H̲H̲H̲ when followed, e.g. *n̲íkálr̲á n̲tti* 'this charcoal' (see section 3.5.1 for an analysis of the constraints on H-tone doubling). In the case of ØH̲ nouns, such as *ebú* 'mosquito', againt expectation, no prefixal H docks on the class prefix *e-*. This tone restriction is probably explained by an OCP[28] effect, triggered by the immediate presence of the lexical H, which therefore blocks the prefixal H.

Now, Table 13 illustrates what happens with class 1a (and 5a) prefixless nouns which display these two patterns.

Table 13   Tone patterns of classes 1a (and 5a) nouns

Class 1a tone pattern		Class 2 tone pattern			Gloss
tones	example	tones	example	nb items	
ØH̲	rujé	Ø-ØH̲	a-rujé	5	'rat.sp'
	kogó	H-ØH̲	á-kogó	4	'dog.sp'
H̲ØH̲	p̲áaká	H̲-H̲ØH̲	á-páak̲á	20	'cat'
H̲H̲ØH̲	bwérúbwerú	H̲-H̲ØØH̲	á-bwérubwerú	4	'shrimp.sp'
	n̲ámáful̲á	Ø-H̲H̲ØH̲	a-n̲ámáful̲á	13	'blacksmith'

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[28] The OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) in its broadest sense disallows successive H tones. But it is in fact to be considered as a "family" of constraints, among which Meeussen's rule (which avoids two adjacent primary H by deleting the second one).

In all these examples, the underlying representation implies a final lexical H tone: /rujé/, /paaká/, /bwerubwerú/ and /namafulá/, respectively. In the case of *rujé* 'rat.sp', again the prefixal H does not surface as a result of OCP. In every other longer form, the prefixal H in the singular docks on the first word mora and doubles in citation form only if there are two underlying toneless moras between the prefixal H and the lexical H. In the plural, different patterns are obtained. Strangely enough, no prefixal H is assigned on the plural prefix for more than half of the bimoraic nouns, which rather surface with a Ø-ØH pattern (e.g. *arujé* 'rat.sp'). The other smaller half normally surfaces with a prefixal H on the plural prefix (e.g. ákogó 'dog.sp'). There is no way that I can explain this difference of plural tone patterns.

With the HØH singular pattern, the prefixal H remains on the plural prefix and doubles, resulting in the H-HØH pattern, as shown with *ápáaká* 'cats'. However the situation with the HHØH pattern is more unexpected, in that two plural patterns are attested. The first follows the same process as H-HØH *ápáaká*, with the prefixal H on the plural prefix affected by doubling. This is the case with *ábwéruberú* 'shrimps'. The second plural pattern involves a shift of the prefixal H on the second word mora (i.e. the first of the noun stem), where it doubles, as shown with *anámáfulá* 'blacksmiths'. This unexpected plural pattern, largely more attested than the first one, reminds one of the plural form for most HHØHØ nouns mentioned in the upper subsection (exemplified with *anámásuńza* 'teachers').

3.3.1.2   Ø-toned nouns

Like H-toned nouns, Ø-toned (or toneless) nouns comprise several surface tone patterns discussed in turn.

Prefixal H on M2 : ØHØ, ØHFØ, ØHHØØ, ØHHØØØ

On the surface, an underlying Ø-toned noun never appears as toneless. Instead a very regular pattern (and thus predictable) applies, in which a H tone surfaces on the second mora (M2) of the whole word. If the word has a class prefix, this H docks on the first mora of the stem, as in *e-híba* 'hoe' and *mu-kólrófitto* 'loincloth'. The tone pattern of their plural counterpart is identical, with respectively *dhi-híba* 'hoes' and *mi-kólrófitto* 'loincloths'. In citation form, H-tone doubling occurs depending on the number of rightward mora. If the prefixal H on M2 is followed by a single mora, as in *ehíba* 'hoe', it does not double. If it is followed by two moras, as in *nigógôddo* 'bone', it doubles but surfaces as lowered pitch in comparison to the first prefixal H (hence the circumflex accent). Now, if more than two

moras are present after the prefixal H, doubling occurs on the same pitch level, as in _mutúrúbunju_ 'lizard'.

In case of prefixless nouns from classes 9a/10a, the second mora receives the H and there is no difference between singular and plural since they are morphologically identical, e.g. _cence_ 'fly/flies' and _kabála_ 'rope/ropes'. The same pattern M2 applies with the prefixless singular nouns from class 1a and 5a, such as _kalába_ 'senior', _naámbêdde_ 'maize', _namárógolo_ 'hare', etc. This H tone can be traced back to the prefixal H tone in nouns with lexical H tones. However, toneless nouns imply that it surfaces on the next mora, i.e. the first stem mora (or M2 in prefixless nouns).

In Table 14, the plural forms of prefixless class 1a nouns are provided.

Table 14   Tone patterns of classes 1a/2 nouns

Class 1a (SG) tone pattern		Class 2 (PL) tone pattern		Gloss
tones	example	tones	example	
ØHØ	kalába	Ø-HFØ	a-kálâba	'olden'
ØHFØ	naámbêdde	Ø-HHØØ	a-náámbedde	'maize'
ØHHØØ	namárógolo	Ø-HHØØØ	a-námárogolo	'hare'
ØHHØØ	kanámúsasa	Ø-ØHHØØ	a-kanámúsasa	'snake.sp'

In most plural forms, the prefixal H maintains an M2 position within the word, which also corresponds to the first stem mora. This is seen in _akálâba_ 'olden', _anáámbedde_ 'maize' and _anámárogolo_ 'hare'. However, in my database, a few class 1a nouns with the pattern ØHHØØ may also form their plural with the pattern Ø-ØHHØØ, as seen with _akanámúsasa_ 'snake.sp'. According to Sérgio, my main consultant, both patterns are possible and occur in free variation in several cases, as illustrated in (3.17).

(3.17) ØHHØØ   Ø-HHØØØ   Ø-ØHHØØ
        namácérenga   _a-námácerenga_   _a-namácérenga_   'sailor'
        namáríbwatta   _a-námáribwatta_   _a-namáríbwatta_   'owl.sp'

These Ø-ØHHØØ plural forms should be best understood as exceptions to the expected Ø-HHØØØ pattern.

Prefixal H on M1 : HØ, HFØ and HHØØ

While the tone pattern HHØØ (e.g. _múlóbwana_ 'man', with the underlying form /mulobwana/) is only attributed to a handful of nouns, HFØ (e.g. _músôlro_ 'head', with the underlying form /musolro/) and HØ (_múko_ 'wood ladle', with the underlying form /muko/)

are much attested in my database, with almost 400 items for the former and more than 300 for the latter. The forms H-Ø and H-FØ may be understood as what mono- and bisyllabic toneless nouns look like. This would confirm the assumption made here that there is a prefixal H in *all* nouns, toneless and H-toned, and that in the H-Ø and H-FØ cases, this H does not shift but remains on the prefix. In citation form, this H doubles onto the first mora of the stem only with H-FØ nouns and with a falling pitch. The only descriptive problem then is why the prefixal H does not shift in the case of -ØØ but does in the case of -ØØØ, which mostly surface as Ø-HFØ. In comparison, the handful of H-HØØ (underlyingly Ø-ØØØ) examples can be regarded as exceptional, representing either cases where shifting unexpectedly does not occur, or where a final lexical H unexpectedly deleted. At this stage, the explanation for this is not clear.

In case of prefixless class 1a (and 5a) nouns, the prefixal H appears on the first word mora, as exemplified in Table 15 with *ddáya* 'midwife', *nánddwe* 'frog', *mákâzi* 'mistress' and *mámûni* 'husband'.

<p align="center">Table 15   Tone patterns of classes 1a (and 5a) nouns</p>

Class 1a tone pattern		Class 2 tone pattern			Gloss
tones	example	tones	example	nb items	
<u>H</u>Ø	ddáya	<u>H</u>-FØ	á-ddâya	19	'midwife'
<u>H</u>Ø	nánddwe	Ø-<u>H</u>Ø	a-nánddwe	6	'frog'
<u>H</u>FØ	mákâzi	Ø-<u>H</u>FØ	a-mákâzi	24	'mistress'
<u>H</u>FØ	mámûni	<u>H</u>-HØØ	á-mámuni	5	'husband'

In the plural, these bimoraic (HØ) and trimoraic (HFØ) prefixless nouns can surface respectively in two different ways. First, most bimoraic nouns in my database form their plural by assigning the prefixal H on the plural prefix, which then doubles, as in *áddâya* 'midwives'. For the 6 remaining forms, the prefixal H docks on the first stem mora, resulting in a Ø-HØ pattern. Inversely, most trimoraic nouns demand for their plural that the prefixal H dock on the first stem mora, as is in *amákâzi* 'mistresses', whereas only 5 items (linked with kinship semantics), listed in (3.18), maintain the prefixal H on the plural prefix.

(3.18)	HFØ	HHØØ	
	báâbi	*á-báabi*	'father'
	mámûni	*á-mámuni*	'husband'
	móôli	*á-móoli*	'godfather/godmother'
	póôsi	*á-póosi*	'co-wife, rival'
	sézêle	*á-sézele*	'father-in-law'

3.3.1.3 Other minor remarks

Several lexical items display tone variation and may appear with either a high tone pattern or a toneless pattern. Some examples are provided in (3.19).

(3.19) *baláme*   OR   *bálamé*   'bird'

    nibálâga   OR   *níbálagá*   'grasshopper.sp'

    cámpânga   OR   *cámpánga*   'syphilis'

    nîîgo   OR   *níigó*   'razor'

    obúlrúngeya   OR   *óbúlrúngéya*   'be round'

    olévélela   OR   *ólévéléla*   'forgive'

    okáttámiha   OR   *ókáttámíha*   'make difficult'

    orúgúnuca   OR   *órúgúnúca*   'cause to walk around'

Nominal reduplication occurs before tone assignment: the reduplicated stem as a whole is assigned a tonal profile. Ø-toned reduplicated nouns are far more numerous than H-toned reduplicated nouns.

(3.20) Ø-toned reduplicated nouns   H-toned reduplicated nouns

    ǹ-tálá-tala   'caterpillar'   *ní-gárú-gáru*   'shell'

    e-bárí-bari   'truth'   *é-ttúwa-ttúwa* 'crab.sp'

    o-nóngó-nongo 'skill'   *bwérú-bwerú*   'shrimp.sp'

    geddé-gêdde   'drum.sp'

    nyizí-nyîzi   'eyelash'

3.3.2 Nouns + modifiers

Depending on the modifier, the tone pattern of a noun may change. Several sequences are discussed in turn.

3.3.2.1 Nouns + possessives

Nouns followed by a possessive can surface in two ways. On the one hand, each constituent appears separately, preserving the tone pattern of their citation form and behaving as two prosodic units. This sequence is mostly attested in deliberate speech. On the other hand contraction often occurs between both constituents, with a systematic shortening effect on the long vowel of the possessive pronoun. This contracted form, typically attested in spontaneous speech, constitutes one prosodic unit with a specific tone pattern. Table 16

compares both forms. For each tone pattern proposed, nouns with different syllable structures are represented.

Table 16   Tone patterns on the sequences noun-possessive

Tone	Syll.struct.	Full form	Contracted form	Gloss	Case
HØ	CV.CV	ttúmbi náâga	ttumbínâga	'my bag'	(ii)
		kóbe yáâga	kobáâga	'my trees'	
ØH	CV.CV	dhibú dháâga	dhibúdhâga	'my mosquitos'	(i)
		ttugó wáâga	ttugwáâga	'my civet'	
ØHØ	CVV.CV	miívá dháâga	miívádhaga	'my carts'	(i)
		naámwé wáâga	naámwáaga	'my bile'	
	CV.CV.CV	nikóttí náâga	nikóttínaga	'my neck'	
		epúlí yáâga	epúláaga	'my pan'	
HØH	CVV.CV	níínó náâga	níínónâga	'my tooth'	(i)
		mwííhí wáâga	mwííháâga	'my belt'	
	CV.CV.CV	níkúvá náâga	níkúvánâga	'my bone'	
		múkónó wáâga	múkónwáâga	'my gift'	
HFØ	CVV.CV	dháávu dháâga	dháávúdhâga	'my nets'	(ii)
		yáávu yáâga	yáávwáâga	'my net'	
	CV.CV.CV	ńzáyi náâga	ńzáyínâga	'my egg'	
		músólro wáaga	músólrwáâga	'my head'	
ØHFØ	CVV.CV.CV	neépélo náâga	neépélonaga	'my wong'	(i)
		koóbíri yáâga	koóbíryaaga	'my money'	
	CV.CVV.CV	ǹsáála náâga	ǹsáálanaga	'my rag'	
		cenééne wáâga	cenéénaaga	'my cricket'	
HHHØ	CVV.CV.CV	myáálágo dháâga	myáálágódhaga	'my spears'	(i)
		kóólríyo wáâga	kóólríywáaga	'my hoe'	
	CV.CVV.CV	zúmbéélra náâga	zúmbéélránaga	'my bag'	
		étúúri yáâga	étúúráaga	'my shoulder'	
HHØØ	CV.CVV.CV	óttáambi wáâga	óttáambáâga	'my lie'	(ii)
	CV.CV.CV.CV	múlóbwana wáâga	múlóbwanáâga	'my man'	

Two tonal configurations can be drawn from the data proposed in Table 16. First, when contraction occurs, the possessive loses its H-toned mora, and then associates with the modified noun. In case the latter has a final primary H tone, a falling surface tone appears on the first mora of the cliticised possessive due to doubling process. All these expected cases are indicated by (i) in the right-edge column. In the second configuration, the same process of moraic deletion occurs on the possessive, but unexpectedly, an additional H tone emerges on the final mora of the modified noun. Coincidentally, the nouns affected by this process, indicated by (ii), all share the property to have a prefixal H which manifests on the

noun class prefix (or on the first word mora in case of prefixless nouns). Now the presence of the additional H on the noun final mora is difficult to account for. Regarding HFØ and HHØØ nouns, we may hypothesise that the H of the deleted possessive mora associates to the preceding mora, i.e. the noun final mora. But then the same pattern would be expected with ØHFØ nouns, which is not the case. Furthermore, this hypothesis does not satisfactorily account for the case of bimoraic HØ words, which surface with a ØH tone pattern when associated with the possessive, as further shown in the following examples extracted from stories.

(3.21)   *[…] dd' iijíl' óobáága*   {mbílri.24}

    ddi   [o-j-ílé   **obá = ága**]_{REL}

    1.COP   1-eat-PFV.REL   9a.fish = POSS.1SG

    '[…] is the one who ate my fish'

(3.22)   *olima munddááyé*   {ddingí.2}

    o-lima   **munddá = áye**

    NAR-cultivate   3.field = POSS.3SG

    'he cultivated his fields'

According to the aforementioned hypothesis, the H tone on the second mora would be the re-linked H originally from the deleted possessive mora. This newly assigned H enters in direct vicinity with the prefixal H tone, triggering a H-toned sequence usually not tolerated in Bantu and solved by the deletion of the second H tone (as an effect of Meeussen's rule). But unexpectedly, in the present case, it is the first H tone which gets deleted. We could also choose to consider the new ØH pattern as a simple tonal metathesis, but this would not account for the additional H tone found in HFØ and HHØØ nouns, which respectively surface as HHH = FØ and HHØH = FØ when possessive clitics are added. In the absence of a more conclusive explanation, I leave this question of tone alternation open for further research.

3.3.2.2 Nouns + demonstratives

In the sequences noun-demonstrative, each constituent tonally behaves as an independent unit, i.e. no tone alteration is observed as the following examples show.

(3.23)   *mwáán' óóĺle kaádhówa omundda*   {mute.2}

    mwááná   **óĺle**   ka-á-dhówa   o-mundda

    1.child   1.DEM.III   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-go   17-3.field.PL

    'that child did not go to the field'

(3.24)   *mbílr' ij' aánúna vaddíddi*   {mbílri.17}

      mbílri   **éjó**   e-a-hí-núna   vaddíddi

      9a.fish.sp   9.DEM.I   9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat   much

      'that fish was very fat (i.e. healthy).'

(3.25)   *akala ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúwe*   {mbílri.21}

      akala   ddi   míyó = ene   **ósálu**   **óbú**   o-patúw-e

      if   1.COP   1SG.PRO = INT   14.thread   14.DEM.I   14-break-SBJ

      'if it is me, may this thread break'

(3.26)   *ñzú ńttíl' oońdháaní íyééne keédhûwo*   {maria.26}

      ñzú   **ńttíle**   [o-ní-dhá = aní]_{REL}   íyééne   ka-ídhî = wo

      5.voice   5.DEM.III   17-IPFV.CJ-come = 3PL.PRO   3SG.PRO   NEG.1-know = 17.LOC

      'she does not know where that voice came from'

However, in a few cases, nouns followed by a demonstrative see their tone pattern change, and more precisely, the first primary H tone does not surface. This phenomenon, further developed in section 3.5.3 below, is known as Predicative Lowering (PL). All the examples attested in my database are provided below.

(3.27)   a. *yaak' ééjw' eeńdá ddáámfun' óókósa máttánga*   ▸ cit.form: *yáaká*   {semi-elic.}

         yaaká   **éjó**   [e-ní-dá]_{REL}   ddí-á-ni-funá   ókósa máttánga

         9.year.PL   9.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-come   1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-want   15.do 6.feast

         'next year, I would like to make a feast'

      b. *dhaáyí: kaddikúmíle m̀bonye yaak' ééjíle*   {semi-elic.}

         dhaáyí   ka-ddi-kúm-ile   m̀bonye   **yaaká**   **éjîle**

         like.this.I   NEG-1SG-be.fat-PFV   but   9.year.PL   9.DEM.III

         'I am not fat the way I am, but last year (I was)'

      c. *[ésó dhińddívuúzéewé:] , kaddinású\u0144za, peénó yaakw' ééjw' eńdha*   {semi-elic.}

         ka-ddi-ná-súnza   peénó   **yaaká**   **éjó**   [e-ní-dha]_{REL}

         NEG-1SG-CE-learn   WOND   9.year.PL   9.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-come

         'I have not studied yet [what you are asking me], maybe next year'

(3.28)   *omooní aaní okápééla membeés' áábâano ?*   {elic.}

      o-mu-on-íle   aani   o-kápééla   **membeésí**   **ábâ = no**

      2SG-OM1-see-PFV.CJ   who   17-9a.church   4.morning.PL   2.DEM.I = PROX

      'who did you see at the church this morning?'

(3.29)   *mwaadhowélíimí okúpa sumaán' ééjílé: , [mbwaná: ddaápa]*   {semi-elic.}

      [mu-a-dhow-él-é = imi   okúpa   **sumaáná**   **éjílé**]_{REL}

      18-PST-go-APPL-PFV = 1SG.PRO   15.fish   9.week.PL   9.DEM.III

'when I went fishing last week, [I caught (many fish)]'

(3.30)   *naámbédde, anáámúlíme ǹsaká ńttí: ; ǹsaká ńttó, anáálíme fola* ► cit.form: *ńsaká*   {elic.}

naámbédde	a-náá-mú-lím-e	ǹsaká	ńtti
1a.maize	2-FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR	5.period.PL	5.DEM.I

ǹsaká	**ńtto**	a-náá-lím-e	fola
5.period.PL	5.DEM.II	2-FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR	9.tobacco.PL

'maize, they will cultivate this season; next season they will cultivate tobacco'

(3.31)   *ǹzuwá: ńtti / muzogw' oóddu, kaddińdhôwa* ► cit.form: *ńzuwá* and *muzógwe* {semi-elic.}

ǹzuwá	**ńtti**	ka-ddi-ní-dhôwa	/	**muzogwe**	**óddu**
5.sun.PL	5.DEM.I	NEG-1SG-IPFV.CJ-go		3.rain.PL	3.DEM.I

'with this sun (/ with this rain), I am not going'

(3.32)   *mwénémwalé ńpúle muweéddááni bagáádhowá, dil' ééjíl' aádhowííyé: ,*   {maria.23}
[odhíl' óońpádduwel' oosogólró waayé kúrumaanje]

mwénémwalé	ńpúle	mu-weédda=ni	ba-gáá-dhowá	**dilá**	**éjíle**
18.EDEM.III	18.DEM.III	18-15.walk=LOC	SEQ.1-SIT-go	9a.way.PL	9.DEM.III

[e-á-dhowá=íyé]REL
9-PST.IPFV.CJ-go=3SG.PRO

'There while going on this walking path, that way she was following, [a bee.sp came and
showed up in front of her.])'

Semantically, most of these nouns have in common to express a temporal (or locative)
meaning, without any formal locative marking (typically indicated by the classes 16, 17 and
18). Syntactically, these noun-demonstrative sequences function as adjuncts, which could
potentially be introduced by the preposition *na* endowed with the meaning 'by', often found
in temporal expressions, as shown in (3.33).

(3.33)   *mwíínyú kuulobá: na mūtáneéne, vohí kúńlóbúwa na mattí:*   {semi-elic.}

mwíínyú	ka-olobá	**na**	**mūtána=éne**	vohí	ku-ní-lób-úw-a
3.salt	CF-15.ask.PL	by	3.noon=INT	because	NEG.2SG-IPFV-ask-PASS-Fi

na	**matti**
by	6.night.PL

'if you had asked for salt by noon (intd. 'it would been nice'), because you cannot be asked
this by night'

The conditions under which the preposition *na* has the effect of lowering the tone pattern of
the following noun are not clear yet (see section 3.5.3.5 below), but the hypothesis that *na* is
implied in the noun-demonstrative sequences in (3.27)-(3.32) may explain why tone

lowering occurs on the noun. In (3.34), an equivalent sequence is found, but in a subject position. In this case, the addition of the preposition *na* would not be grammatical. It is therefore implicitly absent, and no tone lowering occurs on the noun. This relation between the preposition *na* and temporally-related noun-demonstrative sequences is obviously purely speculative, and there is no way I can prove it conclusively.

(3.34)   *saábúddu ńttíle niifíyá:*   {maria.79}

     saábúddu   ńttíle   ni-hi-fíyá

     saturday   5.DEM.III   5-PFV.DJ-arrive

     'that Saturday came'

3.3.2.3 Nouns + =ene 'INTensive' + demonstrative

When the intensive clitic = ene 'INT' intervenes between a noun and a demonstrative, the noun does not in principle undergo any tonal change, as illustrated in the following example.

(3.35)   *mugaddíkóséla mabáséen' aábó, [eḿfúnéényu kalógáni]*   {maria.141}

     mu-ga-ddí-kós-él-a   **mabásá = ene   ábó**

     2PL-SIT-OM1SG-do-APPL-Fi   6.work = INT   6.DEM.II

     'when you achieve that task for me, [tell whatever you want]'

Still, ambiguous cases arise, particularly with the two existing nouns for 'day': *ǹsíku* and *ǹlábo*. While examples in (3.36) show an unchanged tone pattern on these nouns, predicative tone lowering occurs in (3.37). Note that *ǹsíku* and *ǹlábo* are commonly uttered *síku* and *lábo*, i.e. without the class 5 prefix *ni-*, as is the case in the following examples.

(3.36)   No tone alteration on the noun

    a. *Nikúrábedha síkúnéne ńttó oódha*   {maria.105}

       N.   **síkú = néne   ńttó**   o-hí-dha

       D.   5.day = 5.INT 5.DEM.II   1-PFV.DJ-come

       'Mr.Dugong came on that very day'

    b. *poŕtanto lábó ńttíle, namárógolo [...] oómútelá mwánámwíyaná*   {mute.24}

       poŕtanto   **lábó   ńttíle**   N.   o-hí-mú-telá   mwáná-mwíyaná

       therefore   5.day 5.DEM.III   H.   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry 1.child-1.woman

       'therefore, on that day, Mr.Hare [...] married the girl'

(3.37)   Tone alteration on the noun

a. *sikúnéne ńttó:, óbá yaapíléeyé: [yaácémbelruwa mbílri]*   {mbílri.17}

sikú=néne	ńttó	óbá	[e-a-p-ílé=iye]$_{REL}$
5.day.PL=5.INT	5.DEM.I	9a.fish	9-PST-kill-PFV.CJ=3SG.PRO

'this day, the fish that he had caught [was called 'mbílri' fish]'

b. *órómáná labónén' ńttíle par' oosongólro, [...]*   {mute.19}

órómá=ná	labó=néne	ńttíle	para	osongólro
15.start=COM	5.day.PL=5.INT	5.DEM.III	to	17.future.PL

'from that day on'

3.3.2.4 Nouns + adjectives or numerals

Nouns followed by adjectives or numerals usually preserve their original tone pattern as in (3.38), albeit examples in (3.39) show that it can also be altered.

(3.38)   No tone alteration on the noun

a. *díla yíína: yaálí dila [yaávír' aánéénám' oóttíyánóttíyâna]*   {maria.30}

díla	é-ína	e-á-lí	dila
9a.way	9-other	9-PST.IPFV-be	9a.way.PL

'the other path was a path [used by many different animals]'

b. *mwa síkú nimodhá alóófíyá*   {maria.172}

mwa	síkú	ni-modhá	a-lé-ófíyá
18.in	5.day	5-one	2-CE-15.arrive

'they arrived in one day'

c. *[já káája.] lábó na ńtééró:, malábó meelí, malábó maraarú.*   {body.16}

lábó	na	ńtééró	malábó	ma-ilí	malábó	ma-raarú
5.day	5.CON	whole	6.day	6-two	6.day	6-three

'[He was no longer eating.] A whole day, two days, three days.'

(3.39)   Tone alteration on the noun

a. *masiku méénjééné: nihíválagá: moottó:*   ▸ cit.form: *masíku*   {semi-elic.}

masiku	má-ínji=éne	ni-hí-vál-ag-á	moottó
6.day.PL	6-many=INT	1PL-NEG-ask.for-HAB-Fi.SEQ	3.fire.PL

'we did not ask for fire several days along'

b. *meerí míinddi ddihílógagá na mwámúnaga*   ▸ cit.form: *mwéerí*   {semi-elic.}

meerí	mí-inddi	ddi-hí-lóg-ag-á	na	mwámúnaga
4.month.PL	4-two	1SG-NEG-speak-HAB-Fi.SEQ	with	1.husband.POSS.1SG

'I have not spoken with my husband for two months'

3.3.2.5 Nouns + definite

A last example of tone variation is given with the definite modifier, enclitised to the head noun. In principle, the addition of this modifier does not trigger tone alteration on the noun as shown in (3.40). But again, counterexamples are attested and provided in (3.41).

(3.40)   No tone alteration on the noun

a. *ddaahíríntigí kabálayá: , bwenddéná kannáálíbe*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-a-hí-rínt-ig-í	kabála = yá	bwenddé = ná	ka-ni-náá-líb-e
1SG-SIT-NEG-weave-HAB-NEG	9a.rope = DEF	5.mat.PL = 5.DEF	NEG-5-FUT-be.strong-IRR

'If I do not weave this rope, this mat will not be strong'

b. *[kahíyó mwáha!] míyóto ddimfúná ddimúzíwé múnánddaágâya*   {maria.111}

míyó = to	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-mú-zíw-é	múnánddi = ágâ = ya
1SG.PRO = then	1SG-IPFV.DJ-want	1SG-OM1-know-SBJ	1.co-wife = POSS.1SG = DEF

'[No problem!] Then I want to know my co-wife.'

c. *alóófíyá síkúna nttl' aalóbágá:*   {maria.143}

a-lé-ófíyá	síkú = na	nttíle	a-lé-óbágá
1-CE-15.arrive	5.day = 5.DEF	5.DEM.III	2-CE-15.leave

'they reached that d-day, they left'

(3.41)   Tone alteration on the noun

a. *ddaahíríntigí kabálayá: , bwenddéná kannáálíbe*   ▸ cit.form: *bwéndde*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-a-hí-rínt-ig-í	kabála = yá	bwenddé = ná	ka-ni-náá-líb-e
1SG-SIT-NEG-weave-HAB-NEG	9a.rope = DEF	5.mat.PL = 5.DEF	NEG-5-FUT-be.strong-IRR

'If I do not weave this rope, this mat will not be strong'

b. *mwáádhíye ojagámó namáy' ééjíle*   ▸ cit.form: *náma*   {mbílri.3}

mwáádhí = ye	o-j-ag-á = mó	namá = yá	éjíle
1.wife = POSS.3SG	NAR-eat-HAB-Fi = 18.LOC	9a.game = 9.DEF	9.DEM.III

'his wife used to eat that meat'

Although I do not have a conclusive answer these cases of tonal variation, I tentatively suggest that they are morphosyntactically conditioned. Noun-modifier sequences form a syntactic domain which can be subject to intonational boundary effects, resulting in a

modified tone pattern on surface. This tone modification (which implies either deletion of the first primary H or tone migration to the right-edged boundary of the first constituent) would serve to signal phrasal information. The interaction between prosody and morphosyntactic structures, although not developed in the present study, would certainly deserve a closer look.

3.4   Tone patterns on tensed verbs

As is often the case in Bantu languages, the association of tone(s) on tensed verb forms is more complex than on nouns, probably as a result of their rich morphology. Indeed, beside specific tense-aspect-mood markers, tensed verbs in Cuwabo exhibit different tone patterns assigned to the whole verb form. Unlike Makhuwa, a further difficulty is observed in Cuwabo verbs, in that their stems have retained a lexical tone contrast, which is effective in a certain number of tenses (while neutralised in other tenses). The interaction between both grammatical and lexical tones, as well as their presence or absence, respectively, gives rise to somewhat intricate patterns. In this section, I first distinguish tenses whose verb stems count no grammatical H (section 3.4.1) from tenses which have a grammatical stem tone (section 3.4.2). Each of these sections presents in turn different possible configurations. A summary of the different patterns is then proposed in section 3.4.3. Note that most data presented in this subsection come from Kisseberth and Guérois (2014), who compare the different verb tone patterns among P30 languages.

3.4.1   No grammatical stem H tone

3.4.1.1   Lexical H contrast

As already pointed out, Cuwabo has retained the contrast between Ø-toned and H-toned verb roots. While this contrast is commonly attested in Bantu, Cuwabo seems to be the only language among zones P and N to display such a property. Consider for instance the two reconstructed infinitive forms *-dìm- 'cultivate' (toneless verb) and *-dúm- 'send' (H-toned

verb), and compare their reflexes in Cuwabo (3.42)a and in a sample of Makhuwa dialects[29] (3.42)b, extracted from Kisseberth and Cassimjee (unpublished).

(3.42)   CB   *-dìm-   'cultivate'   *-dúm-   'send'

   a. Cuwabo   o-_líma_   Ø-HØ   _ó-rumá_   H-ØH

   b. Eeratti   o-_líma_   o-_rúma_
      Iapala   o-_líma_   o-_rúma_
      Ikorovere   o-_líma_   Ø-HØ   u-_rúma_   Ø-HØ
      Imeetto   o-_líma_   u-_rúma_
      Imitthupi   o-_líma_   u-_rúma_

   The lexical H tone systematically emerges on the penult mora of the stem (or the ultimate mora in the case of a bimoraic stem), while low stems remain toneless. This lexical H is assumed to originally anchor to the first mora of the stem, but emerge on the penult (or ultimate) mora, probably to avoid confusion with a potential grammatical H assignment. There, it behaves as a primary H in that it may double onto the following mora in an appropriate context (see section 3.5.1 on H-tone doubling). The examples below list several tenses in which the stem only bears a lexical tone. For each tense, monosyllabic, trisyllabic and 5-syllable verb stems have been exemplified, with Ø verb roots on the left column, and H roots on the right column. Object markers are freely added, since their presence does not alter the tone pattern, either for Ø verbs or for H verbs. Note that in this section I repeatedly use the same verb stems, and that, for convenience, I will only gloss them once in the first example below.

(3.43)   Situative ('if/when I do') ▸ morphological formula _SM-a-(OM-)VB-a_
   <u>Ø-toned verbs</u>   <u>H-toned verbs</u>
   ddaa-(mu)ja   'if I eat (it)'
   ddaa-(mu)lima   'if I cultivate (it)'   _ddaa-(mu)gulá_   'if I buy (it)'
   ddaa-(mu)roromeliha 'if I promise (it)'   _ddaa-(mu)bubuluwéla_ 'if I roll to (it)'

(3.44)   Past imperfective ('I did') ▸ _SM-a-ni-(OM-)VB-a_
   ddááni-(mu)ja
   ddááni-(mu)lima   _ddááni-(mu)gulá_
   ddááni-(mu)roromeliha   _ddááni-(mu)bubuluwéla_

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[29] Eeratti is spoken in the Eeratti district of Nampula province; Iapala is a variety of Central Makhuwa spoken in the town of Iapala; Ikorovere, Imeetto and Imitthupi are Rovuma dialects spoken on the frontier between Tanzania and Mozambique.

(3.45)   Negative present ('I am not doing')   ▸ *ka-SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a*
        kaddínó-(mu)ja
        kaddínó-(mu)lima   *kaddínó-(mu)gulá*
        kaddínó-(mu)roromeliha   *kaddínó-(mu)bubuluwela*

In the above data, the situative does not have a prefixal primary H tone, while the other tenses do. In these examples, the prefixal H is located at least two moras to the left of the macrostem, and doubles onto the following mora. When the verb is a Ø verb, the macrostem itself bears no surface H tone. When the verb is a H verb, the lexical H of the verb displaces to the final mora in the case of a bimoraic stem and to the penult in longer verbs. Note that the form *kaddínó-(mu)bubuluwela* 'I am not rolling (it)' in (3.45) presents a case of neutralisation of the H/Ø lexical contrast. This sporadically occurs with longer verbs, whose stem is then treated as toneless.

3.4.1.2   Toneless stem

Most negative tenses have no stem H at all, even in H verbs, which suggests that the loss of root Hs is not always triggered by an overt grammatical H. As an example, the negative infinitive is given below, in which the negative prefix *-hí-* bears a primary H tone which doubles onto the following mora.

(3.46)   Neg. Infinitive ('not to do')   ▸ *o-hí-(OM-)VB-a*
        ohí-(mû)ja
        ohí-(mú)lima   *ohí-(mú)gula*
        ohí-(mú)roromeliha   *ohí-(mú)bubuluwela*

Other tenses lack any grammatical H tone. In these forms, the tense-aspect-mood markers preceding the macrostem all bear an underlying H tone and express it on surface. Neither lexical H, nor grammatical H is found on the stem.

(3.47)   Conjoint future imperfective ('I will not be doing')   ▸ *SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a*
        ddigá-(mû)ja
        ddigá-(mú)lima   *ddigá-(mú)gula*
        ddigá-(mú)roromeliha   *ddigá-(mú)bubuluwela*

(3.48)   Itive subjunctive ('I should go and do')   ▸ *SM-á-(OM-)VB-e*
        ddá-(mû)je
        ddá-(mú)lime   *ddá-(mú)gule*
        ddá-(mú)roromelihe   *ddá-(mú)bubuluwele*

(3.49)   Conjoint past imperfective ('I did…')   ▸ *SM-á-(OM-)VB-a*
        ddaá̠-(mú)ja…
        ddaá̠-(mú)lima…   *ddaá̠-(mú)gula...*
        ddaá̠-(mú)roromeliha…   *ddaá̠-(mú)bubuluwela…*

The fact that the stem remains toneless while the pre-macrostem mora is always H is probably not meaningless. In fact, it could be the case that a grammatical H tone was originally assigned to the first mora of the macrostem (MS1), but had to delete because of the preceding underlying H (Meeussen's rule). This option is worth considering, although there is no data that provides empirical evidence for the MS1 H in such cases.

However, the two existing negative subjunctive forms in Cuwabo, one with the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* (3.50) and the other with the post-initial negative marker *-hi-* (3.51), constitute exceptions to the aforementioned hypothesis, since they surface as completely toneless. This means that, beside stem tone erasure, the underlying H tone typically borne by the pre-MS negative marker *-hi-* is not expressed on the surface in these tenses.

(3.50)   Neg. subjunctive ('I must/should not do')   ▸ *ka-SM-(OM-)VB-e*
        kaddi-(mu)je
        kaddi-(mu)lime   *kaddi-(mu)gule*
        kaddi-(mu)roromelihe   *kaddi-(mu)bubuluwele*

(3.51)   Neg. subjunctive ('I must/should not do')   ▸ *SM-hi-(OM-)VB-e*
        ddihi-(mu)je
        ddihi-(mu)lime   *ddihi-(mu)gule*
        ddihi-(mu)roromelihe   *ddihi-(mu)bubuluwele*

3.4.2   Grammatical H tone patterns

Four different positions on the macrostem are targeted by the grammatical H tone: the first (MS1) and the second (MS2) macrostem mora (which are the most recurrent), the penult (PU) and the final vowels. Note that the grammatical H has the effect of neutralising the lexical H tone contrasts on verbs: Ø and H verb forms exhibit the same tone pattern. This is true for every tone pattern, except MS1, in which the lexical tone contrast is maintained in spite of the grammatical H presence.

3.4.2.1 Grammatical H assigned to MS1 + lexical tone contrast

Several tenses attest the MS1 pattern in Cuwabo. This position is well evidenced with Ø-toned verbs: the grammatical H tone anchors to the first mora of the macrostem when there is an OM (here the class 1 OM *mu-*), otherwise to the first mora of the stem, as shown in the two left-columns of examples (3.52) to (3.54). I underline this H toned mora since it doubles, just like any other primary H tone in Cuwabo.

(3.52) Infinitive ('to do') ▸ *o-(OM-)VB-a*

<u>Ø-toned verbs</u>   <u>H-toned verbs</u>

ó̠-ja   / *o-mú̠ja*

o-lí̠ma   / *o-mú̠lî̠ma*   *ó̠-gulá*   / *ó̠-mú̠gulá*

o-ró̠rómeliha / *o-mú̠róromeliha*   *ó̠-búbúlúwé̠la* / *ó̠-mú̠bubuluwé̠la*

(3.53) Disjoint present ('I am doing') ▸ *SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a*

ddí̠nó-ója   / *ddí̠nó-mú̠ja*

ddí̠nó-lí̠ma   / *ddí̠nó-mú̠lî̠ma*   *ddí̠nó-gulá*   / *ddí̠nó-mú̠gulá*

ddí̠nó-ró̠rómeliha / *ddí̠nó-mú̠róromeliha* *ddí̠nó-búbúlúwé̠la* / *ddí̠nó-mú̠bubuluwé̠la*

(3.54) Negative present ('I do not do') ▸ *ka-SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a*

kaddí̠ń-ja   / *kaddini-mú̠ja*

kaddini-lí̠ma   / *kaddini-mú̠lî̠ma*   *kaddí̠ń-gulá*   / *kaddiní̠-mú̠gulá*

kaddini-ró̠rómeliha / *...-mú̠róromeliha*   *kaddiní̠-búbúlúwéla* / *...ní̠-mú̠bubuluwéla*

Note that the grammatical H cannot double in the cases of *ó̠-ja*, *o-mú̠ja* or *o-lí̠ma* because a phrase-final vowel cannot accept doubling, but it can double in *o-mú̠lî̠ma*, yielding a falling pitch due to the phrase-penult nature of the mora following the OM (see section 3.5.1 below on H-tone doubling). In longer verb forms, doubling yields a H tone on the mora following the initial macrostem mora, as in *o-ró̠rómeliha* and *o-mú̠róromeliha*.

The situation with H-toned stems on the two right columns in the examples above is more complicated, since the grammatical H appears in addition to the lexical H tone. Interestingly, this MS1 tone pattern is the only one which does not cancel the lexical tone contrast. The 'co-habitation' of both lexical and grammatical H tones is not a simple one: the grammatical H has to move out of the macrostem and docks on the first pre-macrostem mora while the lexical H tone docks on the PU (as it does in the absence of a grammatical H, see subsection 3.4.1.1). This constraint on tone realisation is summarised in (3.55).

(3.55) Constraint on tone realisation:

A MS1 and a lexical H tone may not both occur in a macrostem. To avoid violating this constraint, the MS1 H tone retracts to the prefix immediately preceding the macrostem.

Once the grammatical H has retracted from the macrostem, two tone processes are possible according to the structure they are acting on. First, in the absence of an OM, the retracted grammatical H spreads rightward up to the lexical H on the penult (e.g. *ó-búbúlúwéla*), forming a H-tone plateau (or bridge). In case of bimoraic stems, similarly to H-toned nouns discussed in section 3.3.1, the lexical H tone does not emerge on the penult, but on the final mora, as in *ó-gulá*. In this case, spreading does not occur in citation form (again, on account of a phrase-final effect), but is effective when the word is in medial position: *ó-gúlá*... Now, if an OM is marked on the verb, instead of spreading to the penult, the grammatical H only doubles onto the next mora, i.e. the OM itself. No H-tone bridge is formed. Such tone behaviour reminds the case of the additional plural prefix of class 1a nouns (e.g. class 1a HHHØ *málááwu* 'eel' > class 2 H-HØHØ *ámáaláwu* 'eels'). The theoretical explanation for this behaviour is not obvious and in any case beyond the scope of the present study.

In contrast to verb forms discussed above, note that the "prefixed" imperative (with the formative *ka-*) also exhibits the MS1 pattern, but without any lexical contrast on the stem.

(3.56)   Prefixed imperative ('do!')   ▸ *ka-VB-a*
   ká-ja
   ka-líma   *ka-gúla*
   ka-rórómeliha   *ka-búbúluwela*

This pattern holds just in case there is no OM present (see the corresponding form with the OM in section 3.4.2.4). It is a puzzling but well-known fact that the presence or absence of an OM can drastically change the stem tone melody. Some tenses have a given melody only in the presence or absence of an OM. In (3.56), one could refer to the grammatical H tone as either a S1 H tone or as MS1 H tone since in the absence of an OM, the stem and the macrostem are the same. In cases like this, where the simple verb stem is assigned a grammatical H tone different from the case when an OM is present, I shall indicate this ambiguity by the symbol [M]S1.

The subjunctive too has a different tone pattern depending on whether an OM is present or not. Without any OM a grammatical H tone appears on [M]S2 (see (3.60) in section 3.4.2.2). However, when an OM is present, a primary H tone is assigned on the OM itself (which, of course, may double) and there is no grammatical H on the second mora as shown in (3.57).

(3.57)   Subjunctive + OM ('I should do [cl.1]')   ▸ *SM-OM-VB-e*
   ddi-múje
   ddi-múlîme   *ddi-múgûle*
   ddi-múróromelihe   *ddi-múbúbuluwelile*

Similar facts obtain in Makhuwa for this tense (Kisseberth and Guérois 2014). One could assume that in this tense, and this tense alone, the OM is specified with a H tone and that there is no grammatical H in the stem. However a simpler analysis is to consider the H on the OM to be an instance of the MS1 H tone.

3.4.2.2 Grammatical H assigned to MS2

Another important melodic pattern is one that targets MS2. It is illustrated in (3.58) with the conjoint past perfective, and in (3.59) with the negative perfective.

(3.58)   Conjoint past perfective ('I had done...')   ▸ *SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile*
        ddaa-jílé...   / *-mujílé...*
        ddaa-limílé...   / *-mulímíle...*   *ddaa-gullé...*   / *-mugúlíhile...*
        ddaa-rorómélihile / *-murórómelihile...*   *ddaa-bubúlúwelile...* / *-mubúbúluwelile...*

(3.59)   Negative perfective ('I did not do')   ▸ *ka-SM-(OM-)VB-ile*
        kaddi-jíle   / *-mujíle*
        kaddi-límîle   / *-mulímîle*   *kaddi-gúlle*   / *-mugúlle*
        kaddi-rorómélihile / *-murórómelihile*   *kaddi-bubúlúwelle* / *-mubúbúluwelle*

In both tenses, if the second stem mora corresponds to final position of the word, the grammatical H systematically retracts to the preceding mora, as seen in *ddaa-jílé...* 'I had eaten...' and *kaddi-jíle* 'I did not eat'. However, the MS2 position is clearly targeted in longer stems. Unexpectedly, an exception arises in (3.59) with the three-moraic stem *kaddi-límîle* 'I did not cultivate', where the grammatical H appears on the *first* mora rather than the second. The explanation for this is not clear.

Other tenses exhibit a grammatical H tone on MS2, but only in the absence of an OM. I refer to this situation as a [M]S2 H tone, as seen above.

(3.60)   Subjunctive without OM ('I should do')   ▸ *SM-VB-e*
        ddi-jé
        ddi-líme   *ddi-gúle*
        ddi-rorómélihe   *ddi-bubúlúwele*

(3.61)   Habitual situative without OM ('if/when I do') ▸ *SM-a-VB-ag-a*
        ddaa-j-agá
        ddaa-lim-ága   *ddaa-gul-ága*
        ddaa-rorómélih-aga   *ddaa-bubúlúwel-aga*

In the subjunctive (3.60), again the grammatical H is not allowed to anchor on a word-final mora and is retracted to the preceding mora in the case of *ddi-líme* 'I should cultivate' and *ddi-gúle* 'I should buy'. However, when the stem is monomoraic, and only has one available tone bearing unit, no retraction occurs and the grammatical H is assigned to the final vowel: *ddi-jé* 'I should eat'. It seems that the [M]S2 grammatical H tone must dock to the stem, and avoids the final vowel only when there is an available alternative in the stem.

The habitual situative (3.61) corresponds to the situative *SM-a-VB-a* plus the habitual suffix *-ag-*, which adds a habitual or durative meaning. The addition of this suffix modifies the tone pattern from a lexical H contrast (see (3.43)) to a [M]S2 in (3.61). In this tense, the targeted MS2 position is very regular; even in bimoraic stems, the grammatical H does not retract to the penult (as in (3.58) and (3.59)), but rather anchors the word-final mora (*ddaa-jagá* 'if/when I eat'). This may be due to a specific property of the suffix *-ag-*, but I leave this issue open for further investigation.

3.4.2.3 Grammatical H assigned to Penult

Three verb forms exemplify a pattern where a grammatical H is located on the penult mora of the verb (PU pattern). One of these tenses is the habitual situative (*SM-a-VB-ag-a*), already discussed above in (3.61), in its objectless form. When an OM is present, the grammatical H is located on the penult, as shown in (3.62).

(3.62)   Habitual situative + OM ('if/when I do [cl.1]')   ▸ *SM-a-OM-VB-ag-a*

  ddaa-mu-j-agá
  ddaa-mu-lim-ága   *ddaa-mu-gul-ága*
  ddaa-mu-roromelih-ága   *ddaa-mu-bubuluwel-ága*

The other two verb forms displaying the PU melodic pattern are worth mentioning. One is another habitual situative form with the morphological formula *SM-gaa-VB-ag-a*, in which the TAM prefix *-gaa-* is probably borrowed from Zone N languages (see section 8.2.5). Again, when the habitual suffix *-ag-* is added, it attracts the grammatical H, regardless of the presence or absence of an OM, resulting in a PU tone pattern on the stem.

(3.63)   Durative situative ('if/when I do')   ▸ *SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ag-a*

  ddigaa-j-agá   / *-mú-j-ága*
  ddigaa-lim-ága   / *-mú-lím-ága*   *ddigaa-gul-ága*   / *-mú-gúl-ága*
  ddigaa-roromelih-ága / *-mú-rórómélíh-ága* *ddigaa-bubuluwel-ága* / *-mú-búbúlúwél-ága*

Note that in addition to the PU pattern, the OM (when present) is also assigned a H tone, which spreads till the PU H tone, forming a plateau, as is made clear the long forms *ddigaa-múrórómélíh-ága* 'if/when I promise' and *ddigaa-múbúbúlúwél-ága* 'if/when I roll to'.

The sequential is another tense which is subject to a different tone pattern when an OM is present. The grammatical H goes from [M]S2 (see table section 3.4.3) to the penult as shown in (3.64). Furthermore, the OM bears a primary H, which spreads to the penult grammatical H tone (in the same ways as the durative situative in (3.63)).

(3.64)   Sequential + OM ('and I did [cl.1]')   ▸ *(ba-)SM-OM-VB-a*
         (ba)ddi-múja
         (ba)ddi-múlíma   *(ba)ddi-múgúla*
         (ba)ddi-múrórómélíha   *(ba)ddi-múbúbúlúwéla*

The tenses in (3.63) and (3.64) are very interesting in that they group together in the macrostem two primary H tones, a MS1 H on the OM and the grammatical H on the PU. Thus, in contrast to the ban on lexical H 'co-habitation' summed up in the constraint in (3.55) (repeated in (3.65)), we must allow two grammatical H tones to co-occur in the same macrostem, as stated in (3.66).

(3.65)   Constraint 1 on tone realisation:

         A MS1 and a lexical H tone may not both occur in a macrostem. To avoid violating this constraint, the MS1 H tone retracts to the prefix immediately preceding the macrostem.

(3.66)   Constraint 2 on tone realisation:

         A grammatical H tone can 'co-habit' on a verb macrostem with another grammatical H tone (as long as it is not a lexical H tone).

It is furthermore interesting to note that this structure with two grammatical H tones in the macrostem triggers a tone-bridge, and thus helps us to identify the conditions under which tone spreading occurs in Cuwabo. If we compare tenses (3.63) and (3.64) with the tenses seen in section 3.4.1.1, where a tone bridge occurs between the (retracted) MS1 H tone and the lexical H tone, we note that a first condition needs to be respected so that spreading can occur; namely, the presence of a primary H tone on the penult mora of the stem. This H tone, be it grammatical ((3.63)-(3.64)) or lexical (section 3.4.1.1), seems to work as the target or as an "attractor" toward which spreading manifests.

(3.67)   Constraint 1 on H spreading:

         Spreading only occurs when a primary H tone (grammatical or lexical) is linked to the penult mora of the stem.

In section 3.4.1.1, we observed that spreading takes place when there is a MS1 H tone in addition to the lexical penult H. In (3.63) and (3.64) there is a MS1 H tone in addition to the PU H tone. Unlike the case in 3.4.1.1, the MS1 H tone does not retract to the pre-macrostem mora. Clearly, for spreading to take place, there must be two primary H tones, the first as a grammatical H and the second either as a lexical H or a grammatical H.

(3.68)   Constraint 2 on H spreading:

Spreading is only triggered by a grammatical H tone preceding the penult H.

The grammatical H tone which triggers H tone spreading in (3.63) and (3.64) remains on the first mora of the macrostem, since there is no retraction in these cases. But when there is a lexical H in the stem, the MS1 H tone retracts to the prefix preceding the macrostem. In 3.4.1.1, we saw that when there is no OM present, tone spreading occurs. However, when an OM is present, the retracted H doubles onto the OM but does not spread further. Compare *ó-búbúlúwéla* 'promise' and *ó-múbubuluwéla* 'promise it [cl.1]', as well as the other examples in ((3.52)-(3.54)). This unexpected tone behaviour indicates that the two generalisations expressed in (3.67) and (3.68) need to be further refined. Although I do not have a conclusive answer, I propose the following account. The first mora of the stem proper represents a target for doubling when the preceding mora bears any sort of primary H tone (a prefixal H, a retracted MS1, an unretracted MS1). In *ó-búbúlúwéla* 'promise', the initial *stem* syllable is affected by doubling, whereas in *ó-múbubuluwéla* 'promise it [cl.1]' it is not. This suggests that H tone spreading occurs when the first mora of the *stem proper* bears either a primary H tone or a doubled H tone, as generalised in (3.69). Of course, it remains to be seen whether there is a theoretical account that can yield this result.

(3.69)   Constraint 3 on H spreading:

Spreading is triggered by the first mora of the **stem proper** being H, either inherently or as a result of doubling.

3.4.2.4 Grammatical H assigned to Final

The last melodic H tone pattern targets the final vowel. Three tenses manifest this pattern, the bare imperative (3.70), the conjoint perfective (3.71) and the negative habitual situative (3.72), regardless of the inclusion or not of an OM. Note that in the case of the negative habitual situative, a prefix H is also assigned on the negation marker *-hí-*.

(3.70)   Bare imperative ('do!', with singular / plural subject) ▸ *(OM-)VB-a*

(mu-)já / ja=ní

(mu-)limá / lima=ní   *(mu)gulá / gula=ní*

(mu-)roromelihá / roromeliha=ní   *(mu-)bubuluwelá / bubuluwela=ní*

(3.71)   Conjoint perfective ('I have done') ▸ *SM-(OM-)VB-ile*

ddi-(mu-)j-ilé

ddi-(mu-)lim-ilé   *ddi-(mu-)gul-ilé*

ddi-(mu-)roromelih-ilé   *ddi-(mu-)bubuluwel-ilé*

(3.72)   Negative habitual situative ('if/when I do') ▸ *SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ag-a*

ddihí-jâga   */-mújagá*

ddihí-lím-agá   */-múlim-agá*   *ddihí-gúl-agá*   */-múgul-agá*

ddihí-róromelih-agá   */-múroromelih-agá*   *ddihí-búbuluwel-agá*   */-múbubuluwel-agá*

Finally, the prefixed imperative marked for OM also displays a Final grammatical H (in contrast with a [M]S1 grammatical H when no OM is present, see section 3.4.2.1).

(3.73)   Prefixed Imperative + OM   ▸ *ka-OM-VB-e*

ká-mu-j-é

ká-mú-lim-é   *ká-mú-gul-é*

ká-mú-roromelih-é   *ká-mú-bubuluwel-é*

In (3.73), a primary H tone appears on the imperative prefix *ka-* and doubles onto the object marker while the grammatical H anchors to the final vowel.

3.4.3 Summary

The following table summarises the different tone patterns found in Cuwabo and the tenses they are attested in.

Table 17   Recapitulative of the different tone patterns in Cuwabo

Stem tone melodies

GramH	Tense	Morph. structure	GramH	Tense	Morph.structure
MS1 + lexical H	INF DJ.PRS CJ.PRS CJ.NEG.PRS DJ.PFV PST.CONT	o-(OM-)VB-a SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a ka-SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a SM-hi-(OM-)VB-a SM-a-ela-o-(OM-)VB-a	[M]S2	HAB.SIT ^{w/o} OM HAB.SIT ^{w/o} OM SBJ ^{w/o} OM SEQ ^{w/o} OM	SM-VB-ag-a SM-a-VB-ag-a SM-VB-e (ba-)SM-VB-a
[M]S1	PFX.IMP ^{w/o} OM SBJ + OM	ka-VB-a SM-OM-VB-e	Penult	HAB.SIT + OM HAB.SIT HAB.SIT + OM SEQ + OM	SM-a-OM-VB-ag-a SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ag-a SM-OM-VB-ag-a ba-SM-OM-VB-a
MS2	CJ.PST.PFV CJ.HYP NEG.PFV NEG.PST.PFV NEG.PFV.SIT NEG.HYP	SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile ka-SM-(OM-)VB-ile ka-SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile ba-SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ile ka-SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile	Final	CJ.PFV PFX.IMP + OM BARE.IMP NEG.HAB.SIT PFV.SIT	SM-(OM-)VB-ile ka-OM-VB-e VB-a SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ag-a ba-SM-(OM-)VB-ile

lexical H contrast (no grammatical H)

Tense	Morph. structure	Tense	Morph. structure
PST.IPFV SIT SIT DJ.NEG.PRS FUT CF	SM-a-ni-(OM-)VB-a SM-a-(OM-)VB-a SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-a ka-SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a SM-ni-ela-o-(OM-)VB-a ku-o-(OM-)VB-a	DJ.PST.PFV DJ.HYP DJ.FUT.IPFV (NEG) NAR NEG.PST.PRG	SM-a-hi-(OM-)VB-a SM-gaa-hi-(OM-)VB-a SM-ga-ni-(OM-)VB-a o(-hi)-(OM-)VB-a ka-SM-a-ila-o-(OM-)VB-a

stem tone erasure

Tense	Morph. structure	Tense	Morph. structure
NEG.PFX.IMP NEG.SBJ IT.SBJ CJ.PST.IPFV CJ.FUT.IPFV NEG.FUT.IPFV NEG.INF	ka-SM-(OM-)VB-e SM-hi-(OM-)VB-e SM-á-(OM-)VB-e SM-á-(OM-)VB-a SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a ka-SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a o-hí-(OM-)VB-a	NEG.PST.IPFV NEG.SIT NEG.SIT NEG.CF NEG.SEQ NEG.CE	ka-SM-á-(OM-)VB-a SM-a-hí-(OM-)VB-i SM-ga-hí-(OM-)VB-i ka-o-hí-(OM-)VB-a (ba-)SM-hí-(OM-)VB-a ka-SM-ná-(OM-)VB-a

3.5 Tone processes

As the great majority of Bantu languages, Cuwabo displays several tone processes, which have the effect of modifying considerably the contextualised surface tone patterns. Primary H tones are submitted to two general tone rules, known as High-Tone Doubling (as a specific manifestation of High-Tone spreading), High-Tone spreading and Predicative Lowering. Each process is discussed in turn.

3.5.1 High-Tone Doubling (HTD)

Cuwabo is a doubling language. This means that every primary H tone repeats or doubles onto the next mora, which thus becomes raised in pitch. Tone doubling is not to be confused with spreading, which affects at least two rightward moras (see section 3.5.2 below). Interestingly, Cheng and Kisseberth (1979: 44) observe that doubling languages usually impose three common types of restrictions on HTD at the right-boundary of a prosodic unit. Such restrictions are referred to as 'Nonfinality', 'Long Fall', and 'Phrase-Penult constraint'. Nonfinality implies that a primary H does not double onto a phrase-final vowel (…CV́.CV). Such a constraint is also referred to as Final Lowering (Van der Wal 2009). Long fall prevents a primary H tone to double onto the second mora of a bimoraic phrase-penult syllable (…CV́V.CV). Finally, in the Phrase-Penult constraint, a primary H tone does not double onto a monomoraic syllable in phrase-penult position (…CV́.CV.CV). How does Cuwabo fit into this picture?

Table 18   Restrictions on HTD in Cuwabo

Restrictions		Cuwabo	Example	Gloss
Nonfinality	(…CV́.CV)	✓	olíma	'cultivate'
Long Fall	(…CV́V.CV)	X	ojéêdha	'wait'
Phrase-penult	(…CV́.CV.CV)	X	ofúgûla	'open'

As can be seen from Table 18, the Nonfinality constraint operates in Cuwabo: in a word like *olíma* 'cultivate', there is no doubling because in isolation the vowel after the primary H tone is phrase-final. Now Cuwabo does not respect the Long Fall principle. Instead doubling occurs and interestingly the penult syllable does have a bit of a falling character, hence the falling doubled tone on the second mora. Still, such a fall is clearly different from a HØ syllable in penult position, such as *vóo* in *nikóvóovó* 'eel', in which the second vowel may have some movement downwards, but without beginning at the height of the preceding

vowel. Transcribing tonally *ojéédha* as ØHFØ responds to a phonetic concern. Phonologically, the same word should be transcribed ØHHØ. Still, the falling property of the doubled tone is more precise and in fact interesting for comparative purposes, especially with other Makhuwa dialects. In (3.74), we see that in the same context, such a fall is also attested in Koti, spoken in Angoche, Nampula province, but not in Nlai, another coastal dialect spoken in Nampula province, which has an unrestricted doubling system (Kisseberth and Guérois 2014).

(3.74)   Cuwabo   ØHFØ   *oj<u>é</u>êdha*   'wait'
         Koti   ØHFØ   *om<u>á</u>âla*   'finish'
         Nlai   ØHHØ   *oh<u>é</u>étta*   'to not walk'

Finally, as Long Fall, the Phrase-penult constraint is not observed in Cuwabo. The primary H does double, and again, the doubled H on the penult mora is not a level H tone but a falling character, in that it falls from the height of the preceding syllable, as seen in *of<u>ú</u>gûla* 'open'. Now, in the case of HØH noun, such as *ógulá* 'buy', the penultimate syllable shows a slight descent in pitch that can be regarded as a falling tone or as the result of a phonetic rule. A possible account of this structure is that the H tone associated with the prefix is barred from spreading onto a phrase-penult syllable when the final syllable is H (which represents a case of the so-called Obligatory Contour Principle, see discussion below). However, when another word follows, *ógulá* will be pronounced HHH... since the penult syllable is no longer in phrase-penult position. In the case of a verb such as *óg<u>ú</u>líha* 'sell', the underlying tone is /HØHØ/ and the prefix H tone freely spreads onto the next vowel since this toneless mora is not phrase-penult.

Doubling generally does not care whether the mora following its target is itself H-toned. However, in certain environments observed on the phrase level, Cuwabo seems to exhibit an Obligatory Contour Principle[30] (OCP) effect which blocks doubling. More particularly, such a doubling restriction correlates with the tone pattern of the elements combined at the phrase level. Consider first the case in which a verb has a primary H tone on the penult mora, such as *ópa* 'kill', *ol<u>í</u>ma* 'cultivate' or *óg<u>ú</u>líha* 'sell'. Does the primary H double onto the following mora when the following word has: i) an initial H tone; ii) an initial ØH sequence; iii) an initial sequence of toneless mora? Such cases are illustrated in (3.75) with monomoraic, bimoraic and trimoraic verb stems, but the same occurs with longer verb types.

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[30] The OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) in its broadest sense disallows successive H tones. But it is in fact to be considered as a "family" of constraints, among which Meeussen's rule (which avoids two adjacent primary H by deleting the second one).

(3.75)   Verb with a penult primary H +

    a. Noun with an initial H tone *mu̱láandéza*

        ója mu̱lîma   'eat a fruit'

        om̂pa mu̱ttu   'kill someone'

        ógúlíha wu̱ttu   'sell flour'

    b. Noun with an initial ØH sequence

        ópá gulúwe   'kill a pig'

        omújá bamba̱âya   'eat potato'

    c. Noun with an initial ØØ sequence

        ddińjá nifugi   'I am eating a banana'

        on̍li̱má m̍buga   'he is cultivating rice'

The examples in (3.75)a suggest that a primary H tone on the penult mora does not double onto the next mora if the following noun is H-initial, probably on account of one of the OCP effects which consists in blocking a rule like doubling by not allowing a H tone to double onto a mora that is followed by a primary H tone. Such a restriction is interesting in that, in the same environment, it seems to not occur in any Makhuwa dialect (Kisseberth, p.c.). Now the examples in (3.75)b and (3.75)c suggest that doubling does occur when the following noun starts with ØH or ØØ sequences. Regarding the ØØ sequences, since nouns do have in their basic forms a H on the first or the second mora (as demonstrated in section 3.3.1 above), I had to resort to conjoint verb forms followed by tonally lowered nouns (through the Predicative Lowering process, see section 3.5.2 below), to obtain such a word-initial Ø-toned sequence.

In (3.76), the same enquiry is made with verbs which end in a primary H tone.

(3.76)   Verb with a final primary H +

    a. Noun with an initial H tone

        ógúlá nyu̱mba   'buy a house'

        ómúloba̱ mwáaná   'ask a child'

    b. Noun with an initial ØH sequence

        wííwá muru̱bo   'feel the intestine'

        ómúloba̱ naha̱na   'ask a traditional healer'

    c. Noun with an initial ØØ sequence

        ddińgúlá nyûmba   'I am buying a house'

        onííyá nígaga̱dda   'he is stealing dry cassava'

        ottukulle̱ ósalu   'he took a thread'

Unsurprisingly, in (3.76)a, nothing happens, since there is no toneless mora for the final H to double onto. In (3.76)b, doubling fails due to the same OCP-effect observed in (3.75)a. In (3.76)c, doubling is perfectly allowed and attested.

Considering the same questions with the sequence noun subject + verb leads us to the same results, illustrated in (3.77) for nouns with a primary H tone on the penult mora, and in (3.78) for nouns with a final primary H tone.

(3.77)   Noun subject with a penult primary H +

    a. Verb with an initial H tone

     mút̠tu ónóója   'someone is eating'
     nyarúgwe wééloócuúca   'a leopard was frightening'

    b. Verb with an initial ØH sequence

     mút̠tú oója   'kill a pig'
     balámé kadhivávîle   'the birds have not flown'

(3.78)   Noun with a final primary H +

    a. Verb with an initial H tone

     mwáaná ónóója   'the child is eating'
     námáabé wéélowaágûva 'the spitting cobra was hurrying up'

    b. Verb with an initial ØH sequence

     mwáaná oója   'the child has eaten'
     kúnguní kivávîle   'the bedbug has not flown'

In (3.77)a and (3.78)b, again the (respectively penult and final) primary H tones do not double onto the next mora on account of an OCP effect. In (3.78)a, conditions for doubling are not favourable, since no mora is available for receiving the doubled tone. This is not the case in (3.77)b, where the penult H on the noun does double when followed by an initial-ØH verb.

Space does not permit to repeat the same test for every phrase type. But the following examples are good illustrations of HTD, both word-internally and across word boundaries, including words that belong to different clause constituents. In (3.79), for instance, doubling occurs across the two verb clauses *odhowá* 'she went' and *ogulá* 'she bought'. On the other hand, the penult H tone in *orayíla* 'she threw away' does not double on account of the Nonfinality constraint, as *orayíla* constitutes a whole sentence.

(3.79)   *orayíla. odhow' óógulá íína, odhana.*   {ddoo.8}

o-rayíla	o-dhowá	ó-gulá	é-ína	o-dha=na
NAR-throw	NAR-go	NAR-buy	9-other	NAR-go=COM

'She threw it away, went and bought another one, and took it home.'

(3.80)   *Ddóólríndd' óottamág' óodhowá vátákûlu*   {ddoo.14}

ddóólrínddó	o-ttamágá	o-dhowá	vá-tákûlu
ddoolrinddo	NAR-run	NAR-go	16-9a.house

'Ddoolrinddo ran, went back home'

Note however that constraints on HTD are not very strict. For instance, in the case of a noun phrase composed of a final-HØ noun and an initial-H demonstrative, doubling is not expected as attested in (3.81). Still in the same environment, it does occur in (3.82). Such a variation mostly depends on the speech rate: in fast speech as is the case in (3.82), the liaison tends to level the Ø-toned mora surrounded by H tones.

(3.81)   *mbílr' ij' aánúna vaddíddi*   {mbílri.17}

mbílri	éjó	e-a-hí-núna	vaddíddi
9a.fish.sp	9.DEM.I	9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat	much

'that fish was very fat (i.e. healthy)'

(3.82)   *ból' ééjíle wááǹjugaári na músóró:*   {maria.152}

bólá	éjíle	ó-á-ni-jugáári	na	músólro
9a.ball	9.DEM.III	1-PST-IPFV.DJ-play	with	3.head

'he was playing with that ball with the head'

3.5.2   Tone long-distance spreading

Broadly speaking, tone spreading applies whenever a primary H is repeated on the following mora(s). In this respect, tone spreading includes HTD processes discussed above. However, in this study, it is distinguished from HTD in that it is strictly used to refer to long-distance spreading, i.e. to plateau or tonal bridge. More specifically, tone long-distance spreading consists in repeating a H tone rightward on every available mora found between two primary H tones. In Cuwabo, tone spreading only applies on nouns (3.83)a or verbs (3.83)b which are inherently H-toned, as was already discussed in the aforementioned sections on nominal and verbal tone patterns.

(3.83)   a.   *mú-ńtúrúzu*   'lizard.sp'

         b.   *ó-kwéttéńkwa*   'to limp'

In both *múńtúrúza* 'lizzard.sp' and *ókwéttéńkwa* 'to limp', a plateau is formed between the grammatical H on the prefix and the lexical H on the penult syllable.

Tone spreading is also attested in certain tenses. The reader is referred to section 3.4.2.3 for an in-depth discussion.

3.5.3 Predicative Lowering

"Predicative Lowering", coined by Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000), is a tone process which consists in deleting the first underlying H of a word, usually a noun. As a matter of fact, it does not seem that the expression "Predicative Lowering" is the most appropriate one to describe such a process. First it is not limited to predicates as, for instance, the vocative cases (section 3.5.3.4) make clear. Second, tone *deletion* rather than tone 'lowering' occurs. An expression like "first-H deletion" would probably be less ambiguous to characterise this phenomenon. However, and because there is some sort of established tradition among descriptive works on P30 languages toward the term "Predicative Lowering", I am using it here. As far as we know, this process is indeed restricted to P30 languages and was first discussed by Stucky (1979), followed by Kathupa (1983), Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000) and van der Wal (2006), covering different Makhuwa varieties. In Cuwabo, when a word undergoes Predicative Lowering (PL), its first primary H tone is deleted, along with the doubled H resulting from HTD. Importantly, PL only targets the first H tone, and leaves any other H tone unaffected. This means that if a word only contains one primary H tone, PL will produce a toneless word as in (3.84)a. However, when a word is underlyingly H and thus contains two primary H tones, it loses its first primary H, but retains the second, i.e. the lexical H, as in (3.84)b.

(3.84) a.   ØHØ   *musáno*   'queen'   ▶   ØØØ   *musano*   'it is a queen'

   b.   HØH   *múyaná*   'woman'   ▶   ØØH   *muyaná*   'it is a woman'

In this respect, PL represents a helpful way of identifying and localising the lexical H tone in a H-toned noun, especially with HØH patterns in which the lexical H on the final mora is not always easy to hear, since there is a radical downstepping of the final H tone. By eliciting them into a PL environment such as 'this is a + Noun', the underlying final H tone on the noun clearly emerges (HH ØØH), although phonetically downstepped.

PL occurs in several different environments: 1) in non-verbal predication, to express a structure like 'this is a + Noun'; 2) after conjoint verb forms; 3) after negative tensed verbs;

4) in vocative expressions; 5) after certain prepositions; 6) as a noun complement. Each of these environments is discussed in turn.

Following van der Wal's line (2006), the first primary H tone of a noun in citation form is attributed to the augment (or the pre-prefix). PL thus corresponds to the absence of the augment. This is made clear if we compare P30 languages (which include Cuwabo and Makhuwa) with some Bantu languages which still have a formal manifestation of the augment, such as Soga (JE16), Luganda (JE15, Hyman and Katamba 1993) or Zulu (S42, Doke 1945). In her 2006 paper, van der Wal thus compares three different environments in which Makhuwa (Enahara) resorts to PL whereas Luganda and Zulu exhibit an augmentless form of the noun. By way of illustration, I repeat here some examples found in her paper.

(3.85)   Environment 1: Non-verbal predication ('this is …')
Makhuwa	*namárókolo*	'hare'	▸	*namarokoló*	'it's the hare'
Lusoga	*o-mú-géní*	'guest'	▸	*mu-géní*	'it is a guest'

(3.86)   Environment 2: Focused constituent after a conjoint verb form
Makhuwa	*nakhúwo*	'maize'	▸	*kinthítá nakhuwó*	'I pound maize'
Luganda	*ebí-tábó*	'books'	▸	*ya-gúla bitábó*	'he bought books'

(3.87)   Environment 3: Vocative expressions
Makhuwa	*mwánn' áka*	'my husband'	▸	*mwann' aká*	'husband of mine!'
Zulu	*abafana*	'boys'	▸	*bafana*	'boys!'

In these examples, the use of PL in Makhuwa and the deletion of the augment in Luganda and Zulu convey equivalent functional properties, hence the relevant link made by van der Wal. In the next subsections, I will show that Cuwabo functions as in Makhuwa, and will provide further evidence in favour of van der Wal's PL/augmentless hypothesis with a fourth environment in which comparison can be drawn with other Bantu languages: negative tensed verbs (section 3.5.3.3).

3.5.3.1   PL and non-verbal predication

Predicative tone lowering represents one of the strategies used in Cuwabo to express non-verbal predication. This is commonly applied on nouns which thus become predicative nouns, as is the case in (3.84). Note that a Ø-toned predicative noun, supposed to surface as completely toneless, may receive a H tone when uttered in phrase-final position, as illustrated in (3.88), but such a boundary H tone is though not obligatory (3.89). Note that boundary H tones (discussed below in section 3.6) are not represented in the segmentation line.

(3.88) *k' uúîle, óîlé ki* **namarogoló**, *[k' úúîle olí mudhúlú ḿpúle]*   {ddingí.19}

	ku	óîle	óîle	ki	namarogolo
	17.COP	1.DEM.III	1.DEM.III	EMPH	1a.hare.PL

'here it is, that one there is the hare, [that one there is at the top of the tree sp.]'

(3.89) *[ééloóḿfwará wíílél' aaḿpe, wíílá] namárógoló* **namapuja**   {ddingí.10}

	namárógolo	namapuja
	1a.hare	1a.joker.PL

'[they were following him to kill him, because] the hare is a joker'

When used in non-verbal predication, infinitives (3.90) and adjectives (3.91) may also be subject to PL.

(3.90) *omúlága mwááná: oṁvadá: ?*   {semi-elic.}

	o-mú-lága	mwááná	o-mu-vadá
	15-OM1-educate	1.child	15-OM1-beat.PL

'is beating a way to educate a child?' (lit. 'educate a child, it is beating him?')

(3.91) *misúwo dha nyúmb' eési dhinddimúwa*   {elic.}

	misúwo	dha	nyúmba	ési	dhi-nddimúwa
	4.door	4.CON	10a.house	10.DEM.I	4-small.PL

'the doors of these houses are small'

Note that a detailed analysis of the non-verbal predication expressed by means of predicative tone lowering is proposed in section 9.2.1.

3.5.3.2 Conjoint verbs + PL

Predicative tone lowering is also attested after certain tensed verb forms, referred to as "conjoint" verb forms (in opposition to "disjoint" verb forms). In brief, conjoint and disjoint forms form a subset of tenses which function in pairs, encoding the same tense-aspect-mood (TAM) semantics by means of distinct TAM markers. The alternation between both forms is in fact linked with information structure. For an in-depth discussion of the conjoint/disjoint system in Cuwabo, the reader is referred to section 11.3. Of particular interest here is the fact that conjoint verbs cannot appear in sentence-final position and always introduce a constituent with a focus interpretation, toward which they entertain a strong relationship. Among the different elements which may occupy this focus position, certain necessarily undergo PL. This is very clear with nouns, as illustrated in (3.92).

(3.92) *míyó niḿfúná mulobwana*   ▸ *múlóbwana* (HHØØ)   {maria.62}

míyó   ni-ní-fúná   **mulobwana**

1SG.PRO   1PL-IPFV.CJ-want   1.man.PL

'I want a man'

In case of complex noun phrases, only the first element, i.e. the noun, undergoes PL. For instance, in (3.93), the adjective modifier *énddímúwa* 'small' appears as in citation form.

(3.93) *míyó ddiḿfúná nyumb' eénddímúwa vaddíddí*   ▸ *nyúmba* (HØ)   {maria.59}

míyó   ddi-ní-fúná   **nyumba**   é-nddímúwa   vaddíddí

1SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   9a.house.PL   9-big   much

'I want a very big and beautiful house, with everything in it'

Note that a HØH noun undergoing PL may still surface with the same tone pattern if the preceding conjoint form ends in a final primary H tone. For instance, in (3.94), the H tone anchored to the prefix of the lowered nominal predicate *muyaná* is doubled from the lexical H found on the final mora of the verb stem *-oná* 'see'.

(3.94) *onímóoná múyaná w' oókóddéla vaddíddí*   {maria.106}

o-ní-mú-oná   **múyaná**   wa   ókóddéla   vaddíddi

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see   1.woman.PL   1.CON   15.be.beautiful   much

'he sees a very beautiful woman'

3.5.3.3 Negative + PL

In Cuwabo, any constituent following a negative verb form undergoes PL. This is the case with nouns, adjectives, locative NP, infinitives, demonstratives.

(3.95) Negative + PL on nouns

kaddaájá abalacáwu, ók' wíiyeléga   ▸ *ábálacáwu* (HHØHØ)   {semi-elic.}

ka-ddi-á-já   **abalacáwu**   ókú   oyeléga

NEG-1SG-PST.IPFV-eat   2.shrimp.PL   15.DEM.I   15.poverty.PL

'I would not eat those shrimps sp., this is food for poor people'

(3.96) Negative + PL on adjective

ehíb' ééjó kiǹgwáddá dereetú nínga dhíína sabwáyá j' aani ?   {elic.}

ehíbá   éjó   ki-ni-gwáddá   **dereetu**   nínga   dhí-ína   sabwá=yá

9.hoe   9.DEM.II   NEG.9-IPFV-cut   good.PL   like   10-other   because=DEF

ji   aani

9.COP   who

'why does that hoe not cut as well as the others?'

(3.97)   Negative + PL on infinitive verb

míyó kaddiḿvódhá waaméla   ▸ wááméla (HHHØ)   {ddingí.4}

míyó   ka-ddi-ní-vódhá   **waaméla**

1SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-IPFV-can   15.chase.PL

'I cannot protect it (lit. 'I cannot chase')'

(3.98)   Negative + PL on locative NP

mwáán' óólle kaádhówa omundda   ▸ omúndda (ØHØ)   {mute.2}

mwááná   ólle   ka-á-dhówa   **o-mundda**

1.child   1.DEM.III   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-go   17-3.field.PL

'that child did not go to the field'

(3.99)   Negative + PL on demonstratives

weérlé keérlé dhaawo   ▸ dhaáwo (ØHØ)   {maria.1}

[o-ér-íle]REL   ka-ér-íle   **dhaawo**

1-do-PFV.REL   NEG.1-do-PFV   like.this.II.PL

'Once upon a time (lit. 'who did it did not do that way')'

Again, the PL observed in Cuwabo is most likely reminiscent of the lack of augment in negative contexts, as one finds in Luganda and Zulu. Buell (2006: 17) postulates for Zulu that "a negative verb followed by a bare (determinerless) noun is interpreted as negatively quantified". The example he provides, *angigqoke sigqoko*, is thus understood as 'I am not wearing *any* hat'. This bare or augmentless noun necessarily follows a conjoint negative verb form, which implies that the disjoint negative verb form is followed by an augmented noun. In Cuwabo, the conjoint/disjoint alternation is neutralised in negative forms. This means that for any given tense, only one negative form exists, resorting either to the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* (for independent tenses) or the post-initial negative marker *-hi-* (for dependent tenses). And as the aforementioned examples show, the element following a negative verb form systematically undergoes PL. However one tense can be considered as an exception, the subjunctive. This tense has two negative forms, an independent one (3.100)a, and a dependent one (3.100)b. Interestingly, the first triggers PL on the following object, whereas the second does not.

(3.100) a. Independent negative subjunctive

kaddigulihe nígágádda (HHHØ)   kaddimukokole naámbêdde (ØHFØ)

ka-ddi-gul-ih-e   **nígágádda**   **ka**-ddi-mu-kokol-e   **naámbêdde**

NEG-1SG-buy-CAUS-SBJ 5.dry.cassava   NEG-1SG-OM1-thresh-SBJ 1a.maize

'I cannot sell dry cassava'   'I cannot thresh maize'

b. Dependent negative subjunctive

ddihigule nigagádda (ØØHØ)   *ddihimukokole naambedde* (ØØØØ)

ddi-**hi**-gul-ih-e   nigag<u>á</u>dda   ddi-**hi**-mu-kokol-e   naambedde

1SG-NEG-buy-CAUS-SBJ   5.dry.cassava.PL   1SG-NEG-OM1-thresh-SBJ   1a.maize.PL

'I cannot sell dry cassava'   'I cannot thresh maize'

The explanation for the presence or absence of PL depending on the negative subjunctive form is not clear, especially since there is no such a dichotomy with the affirmative subjunctive, which is never followed by a lowered predicate. Furthermore, the only other tense which exhibits two (independent and dependent) negative forms, the counterexpectational (also called the 'not yet' tense), does not trigger PL on the following element, as shown in (3.101).

(3.101) a. Independent counterexpectational   b. Dependent counterexpectational

kaddinágúliha nígágádda (HHHØ)   *ddihinágúliha nígágádda* (HHHØ)

ka-ddi-n<u>á</u>-gúl-ih-a   **n<u>í</u>gág<u>á</u>dda**   ddi-**hi**-n<u>á</u>-gúl-ih-e   **n<u>í</u>gág<u>á</u>dda**

NEG-1SG-CE-buy-CAUS-Fi   5.dry.cassava   1SG-NEG-CE-buy-CAUS-Fi   5.dry.cassava

'I have not bought dry cassava yet'   'before I sell dry cassava'

Three other negative verb forms do not trigger PL on the following element: the prohibitive (3.102), the negative past continuous (3.103) and another form of negative counterexpectational (3.104).

(3.102) Prohibitive

ddináágúlíhe nígágádda (HHHØ)

ddi-n<u>áá</u>-gúl-íh-e   **n<u>í</u>gág<u>á</u>dda**

1SG-FUT-buy-CAUS-PROH   5.dry.cassava

'I cannot buy dry cassava'

(3.103) Negative past progressive

kaddééloogulíha nígágádda (HHHØ)

ka-ddi-<u>á</u>-íla-ogul-íh-a   **n<u>í</u>gág<u>á</u>dda**

NEG-1SG-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.buy-CAUS-Fi.PL   5.dry.cassava

'I was not buying dry cassava'

(3.104) Negative counterexpectational perfective

kaddiílóogulíha nígágádda (HHHØ)

ka-ddi-<u>í</u>lá-ogul-íh-a   **n<u>í</u>gág<u>á</u>dda**

NEG-1SG-CE-15.buy-CAUS-Fi.PL   5.dry.cassava

'I have not bought dry cassava yet'

The last two forms in (3.103) and (3.104) are in fact analytical tenses, compound of an auxiliary and an infinitive lexical verb. In this case, PL does not occur on the object, since it already applied on the infinitive verb, which constitutes the second part of the compound verb form. Now to explain the absence of PL on the element following the prohibitive in (3.102), we need to compare sentence (3.102) with sentence (3.105). Formally, the two verb forms are strictly identical. The difference between both sentences lies in the tone pattern of the following object: the future, as a conjoint form, necessarily implies PL on *nígágádda* (< *nigagádda*). It is thus likely that the prohibitive form does not submit its object to PL in order to distinguish the two possible interpretations of this verb form.

(3.105) Conjoint future

    ddináágúlíhe nigagádda (ØØHØ)

ddi- náá-gúl-íh-e	**nigagádda**
1SG-FUT.CJ-buy-CAUS-IRR	5.dry.cassava.PL

    'I cannot buy dry cassava'

3.5.3.4 PL and vocative

The vocative is prosodically marked by PL on the noun. It is frequently attested in discourse, as illustrated in the following examples.

(3.106) *saá, alobwána, ottólón' uúkúl' ookálá fúlóór' iinííbá vacélâni* ▸ *álóbwana* {ddoo.25}

saá	**alobwána**	o-ttóló=ni	ókúle	o-hi-kálá	fúlóóri
INTER	2.man.PL	17-well=LOC	17.DEM.III	17-PFV.DJ-be	9a.flower

[e-ní-íbá	va-célâ=ni]REL
9-IPFV.CJ-sing	16-well=LOC

    'Ooh, men! There at the well there is a flower which sings in the well.'

(3.107) *supeéyó supeéyo míyó ddímfúná mulobwana* ▸ *súpééyo* (HHHØ) {maria.62}

supeéyo	**supeéyo**	míyó	ni-ní-fúná	mulobwana
9a.mirror.PL	9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.CJ-want	1.man.PL

    'Mirror, mirror, I want a man'

(3.108) *mwaadhagá, míyó ddínótél' oók' úutákúlu* ▸ *mwáadhí* (HØH) {maria.110}

mwaadhaga	míyó	ddí-ni-ótéla	ókú	o-tákúlu
1.wife.POSS.1SG.PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-marry	17.DEM.I	17-outside

    "My wife, I am marrying up there"

(3.109) *"ǹngá máriya" "papá" "míím' óol' úuví?"*   ▸ *maríya* (ØHØ); *pápa* (HØ)   {ddoo.29}

ningá	máriya	papa	míímá	o-lí	uuví
VOC	maria.PL	dad.PL	1.child	1-be	where

"Maria!" "Father." "Where is the child?"

Interestingly, when the vocative expression is preceded by a 2SG personal pronoun, a short form of this pronoun may be cliticised to the vocative noun phrase, as shown in (3.110).

(3.110) *wéyó mwaanáwe oǹnyínddâ dhaáwó, kája!*   {semi-elic.}

wéyó	mwaaná = we	[o-ni-nyínddâ	dhaáwó]REL	ká-ja
2SG.PRO	1.child.PL = 2SG.PRO	1-IPFV.CJ-oppose	like.this	IMP-eat

'you, rebellious child, eat !'

As the vocative is typically restricted to a second person addressee, only the corresponding plural version *nyúwó ayimá = nyu* 'you children' is attested.

3.5.3.5 Prepositions + PL

It also seems that certain prepositions imply a PL on the following noun. Illustrating examples are found with *na* 'and, with' (3.111), *sé* 'without' (3.112), *até* 'until' (3.113), and *para* 'till' (3.114). Note that except for *na*, all have been borrowed from Portuguese (*sé* < PTG *sem*, *até* < PTG *até*; *para* < PTG *para*).

(3.111) a. *olóótélúwá viína na mulobwan' oóddu*   ▸ *múlóbwana* (HHØØ)   {maria.176}

ó-lé-ótél-úw-a	viína	na	mulobwana	óddu
1-CE-15.marry-PASS-Fi	too	with	1.man.PL	1.DEM.I

'she got married with that man'

b. *ánólúpa ǹmúríní na kabala*   ▸ *kabála* (ØHØ)   {elic.}

á-ni-ólúpa	mu-múrí = ní	na	kabala
2-IPFV.DJ-15.pull	18-3.tree = LOC	with	9a.rope.PL

'they are pulling the tree with a rope'

(3.112) a. *ddabunó: múlóbwana okala sé muyaná:*   ▸ *muyaná* (HØH)   {mbílri.44}

ddabunó	múlóbwana	o-kala	sé	muyaná
then	1.man	NAR-be	without	1.woman.PL

'then the man remained without any woman'

b. *oómútelá mwánámwíyaná sé kóobilri*   ▸ *koóbîlri* (ØHFØ)   {mute.24}

  o-hí-mú-telá   mwáná-mwíyaná   sé   kóobilri

  1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry   1.child-1.woman   without   9a.money.PL

  'he married that girl with no money'

(3.113) *nivíré voósálún' aápá: até kóbel' eéjílé ya mwínji*   ▸ *kobéla* (ØHØ)   {mbílri.13}

  ni-vír-é   va-ósálú=ni   ápá   até   kóbela   éjíle   ya   mwínji

  1PL-go.by-SBJ   16-14.thread=LOC   16.DEM.I   until   9a.bankPL   9.DEM.III   9.CON   3.river

  'let's go through this thread to the other bank of the river.'

(3.114) *órómáná labónén' ńttíle par' oosongólro*   ▸ *ósóngólro* (HHHØ)   {mute.19}

  órómá=ná   labó=néne   ńttíle   para   osongólro

  15.start=COM   5.day=5.INT   5.DEM.III   to   17.future.PL

  'from that day on'

3.5.3.1 PL and complement ?

In the following examples, *baàku* 'boat' follows and modifies the noun *m̀vávíha* 'pilot'. The tone modification on *baàku* (uttered *baáȓku*) in citation form) is somewhat unexpected in this context. The only possible explanation so far deals with the deverbal morphology of the noun *m̀vávíha*, derived from the verb *ováva* 'fly'. It is may be the case that the tonally 'lowered' noun following the deverbal noun transposed the behaviour of a noun following a conjoint verb form (which necessarily undergoes PL in this context, see section 3.5.3). However, in absence of further illustrative examples, it is difficult to prove it conclusively.

(3.115) *óddú m̀vávíha baàkú ol' úwénéwal' óókúle*   ▸ *baáȓku* (ØHFØ)   {maria.150}

  óddú   m̀vávíha   baàku   o-lí   wénéwale   ókúle

  1.DEM.I   1.pilot   1a.boat.PL   1-be   17.EDEM.III   17.DEM.III

  'the pilot is here'

(3.116) *óĺle namáváviya baàk' úkúl' agaadhow' óófffff*   ▸ *baáȓku* (ØHFØ)   {maria.145}

  óĺle   namáváviya   baàku   ókúle   a-gaa-dhowá   ufffff

  1.DEM.III   1a.pilot   1a.boat.PL   17.DEM.III   1-SIT-go   IDEO

  'that pilot, going in there 'fffff''

3.6 Intonation

In addition to the different tone patterns assigned on the different constituents of a sentence, and the tonological rules applied, additional tones may anchor to certain moras for intonational purpose. Ladd (2008: 4) defines intonation as "the use of suprasegmental phonetic features to convey 'postlexical' or sentence-level pragmatic meanings in a linguistically structured way."

In Cuwabo, intonation is relevant in different environments: it marks non-finality of the sentence (section 3.6.1), it allows differentiating polar questions from declarative utterances (section 3.6.2), and it indicates rhetorical emphasis on certain constituents (section 3.6.3). Note that in each example, intonational H tones are indicated on the first phonetic-related tier (i.e. the first line), but not on the following segmentational tiers, since they are extraprosodic tones, i.e. non-primary H tones. More particularly, they apply regardless of the primary H already assigned on the words, and are not conditioned by any specific tone rule discussed in section 3.5 above, nor involved in their application.

3.6.1   Speech continuation

In a sequence of clauses or phrases, tones play an active role in indicating continuation between these syntactic units. In fact, continuation tones are best referred to as boundary tones, in that they participate in the recognition of prosodic units within the sentence (which are in many Bantu languages more easily identified by an automatic penultimate lengthening). The edgemost syllables on which boundary tones apply may belong to two different syntactic environments: the phrase and the clause. In each case, they (almost) systematically lengthen the final syllable to which they anchor.

Clausal boundary tones are commonly used to connect consecutive (3.117) or enumerated (3.118) actions, cause-consequence sequences (3.119), or an *if-*clause to the main clause (3.120). They can highlight a contrast between two clauses (3.121), or relate an interpolated clause to the rest of the sentence (3.122).

(3.117) a. *odhow' óókúl' owiíkǒː , otapuul' oósálú wááyěː ,*   {mbílri.16}
        oórómá íyééne múúnyénéː ówélâvo

o-dhowá	ókúle	o-íkó	o-tapuula	ósálú	wááye
NAR-go	17.DEM.III	17-river	NAR-untie	14.thread	14.POSS.3SG

o-hí-rómá	íyééne	múúnyá = éne	ówélâ = vo
1-PFV.DJ-start	3SG.PRO	1.owner = INT	15.climb = 16.LOC

'He went to the river, untied his thread and, as the boss, started to climb onto it.'

   b. *eǹtã̌wu vénévaléěː mwánábwa ookáána ráyíva*   {páaká.34}

eǹtáwu	vénévalé	mwánábwa	o-hi-káána	ráyíva
then	16.EDEM.III	1.dog	1-PFV.DJ-have	9a.rage

'at that moment, the dog got nervous'

(3.118) *ból' ééjíle wááǹjugaári na músólrǒː wááǹjugaár' na máráwǒː , wááǹjugaári*   {maria.152}
     n' íńttúúdhíː , wááǹjugaári ni méénǒː , wááǹjugaári na púnǒː , wááǹjugaári na méńtǒː

bólá	éjíle	ó-á-ni-jugáári		na	músólro	...	na	máráwó
9a.ball	9.DEM.III	1-PST-IPFV.DJ-play		with	3.head		with	6.buttocks

na	ńttúúdhí ...	ni	méénó	...	na	púnó	...	na	méńtó
with	5.shoulder	with	6.tooth		with	9a.nose		with	6.eye

'he was playing with that ball with the head, was playing with the buttocks, was playing with the shoulder, was playing with the teeth, was playing with the nose, was playing with the eyes'

(3.119) *óɭle onimútéyiha mwánâgaáː , onómútelā*   {mute.7}

óɭle	[o-ni-mú-téy-ih-a	mwánâga]_{REL}	o-ni-ó-mú-telā
1.DEM.III	1-IPFV-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi	1.child.POSS.1SG	1-IPFV-15-OM1-marry

'whoever makes my daughter laugh will marry her'

(3.120) *akala ańfúná awúpúttuléěː , míyó viíná ddabunó ddińfúná*   {body.12}
        dduúpúttulení mwéetééne.

akala	a-ní-fúná	a-ú-púttul-e	míyó	viíná	ddabunó
if	1-IPFV.CJ-want	1-OM2SG-despise-SBJ	1SG.PRO	too	today

ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-ú-púttul-e = ní	mú-eté = ene
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-OM2SG-despise-SBJ = PLA	2PL-all = INT

'Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you.'

(3.121) *waabaál' aánááwá eel' áánááyanā : m̀modha ńzínáné waálí Maríyá:*   {ddoo.2}
m̀modha waáli Ddóólrínddo.

o-a-baála	áná = áwá	a-ilí	áná-áyanā	mu-modha
NAR-OM2-give.birth	2.child = POSS.3PL	2-two	2.child-2.woman	1-one

ńziná = né	o-á-lí	maríyá	mu-modha	o-á-li	ddóólrínddo
5.name = 5.POSS.3SG	1-PST.IPFV-be	maria	1-one	1-PST.IPFV-be	ddoolrinddo

'They had two children, both girls: one was called Maria, the other was Ddoolrinddo.'

(3.122) *ábáal' aa Maríy' aábalé: aatelúwê̂: , aateléyilé aáligi vadéréétú: , aádha*   {maria.69}

ábáale	a	M.	ábale	[a-a-tel-úw-é]REL	[a-a-tel-éy-ilé]REL
2.sister	2.CON	M.	2.DEM.III	2-PST-marry-PASS-PFV.CJ	2-PST-marry-NTR-PFV.CJ

[a-á-lígi	va-déréétú]REL	a-hí-dha
2-PST.IPFV-be.HAB	16-good	2-PFV.DJ-come

'Maria's sisters, those who were married and well married, who were in a comfortable place, came.'

In case boundary H apply on a word which already contains a primary H, they do not replace it but are simply added with a lengthening effect, as seen in (3.118) with *máráwó* 'bottom', *méénó* 'teeth', and *méńtó* 'eyes'.

Further note that the additional length of the emphasised syllable is subject to display tone contrasts. This is visible with *vénévalê̂:* in (3.117)b, *awúpúttulê̂:* in (3.120) and *aatelúwê̂:* in (3.122). These words end in a HØH tone pattern, characterised by a short fall before an extra high pitch. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 6 in which the pitch contour for *eǹtãw̃u vénévalê̂:* in (3.117)b is drawn.

Figure 6   Pitch contour for *eǹtǎ̃wu vénévalêé:*
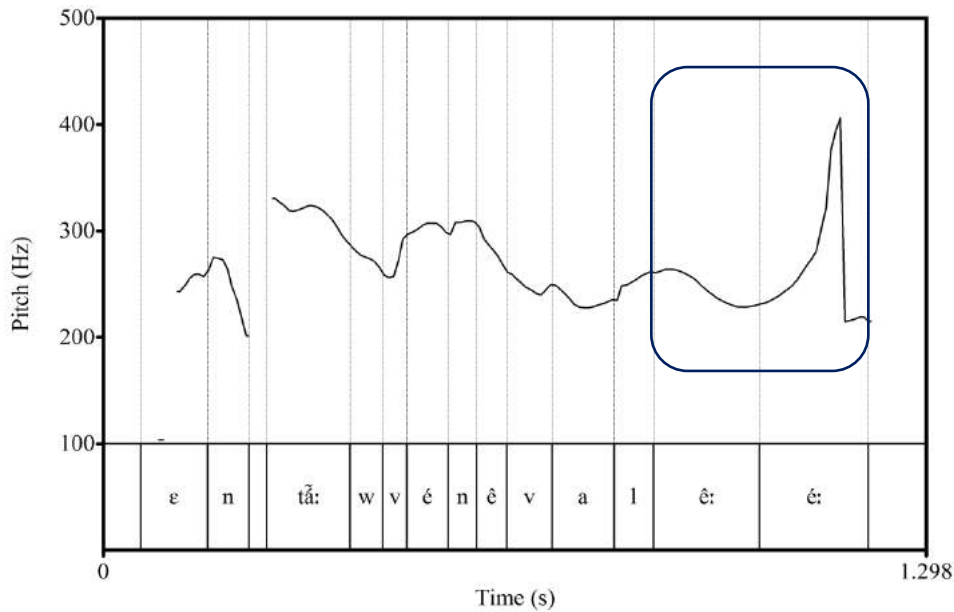
Following are some examples of phrasal boundary tones.

(3.123) *áyím' aábá: awúúnúwa vañgónó vañgónó n' aabaabá: vatákúluvawá:*   {maria.4}
         va fúmú Juwáw' úúddo.

áyíma	ábá	a-hí-únúwa	vañgónó	vañgónó	na	abaaba
2.child	2.DEM.I	2-PFV.DJ-grow	16.little	16.little	with	2.their.parents.PL

va-tákúlu=vawa	va	fúmú	juwáwú	óddo
16-9a.house=16.POSS.3PL	16.CON	1a.mister	joão	1.DEM.II

         'These children grew up little by little in their parents' house, at this Mr.João's place.'

(3.124) *vapambánón' aápálé: , aáfwánya dílá eńdhów' óókú [...]*   {maria.29}

va-pambánó=ni	ápále	a-hí-fwánya	dílá	[e-ní-dhówá	ókú]REL
16-9a.crossroads=LOC	16.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-meet	9a.way	9-IPFV.CJ-go	17.DEM.I

          'at this crossroads, they found a path which goes here [...]'

(3.125) *waákála maánddáakú: gwée vaddíddíí: , máríí: , yaálí dila y' oonyákúwa viína* {maria.30}

o-á-kála	maánddáaku	gwé	vaddíddi	mári	e-á-lí
17-PST.IPFV-be	10a.excrement	much	much	6.excrement	9-PST.IPFV-be

dila	ya	onyákúwa	viína
9a.way.PL	9.CON	15.be.dirty	too

         'there were on it a lot of excrements, it was a dirty path'

In (3.125), the last syllables of *vaddíddîː* and *márîː* receive a doubled H tone. In this case, the interaction with the boundary tone gives rise to the (already mentioned) fall-rise sequence *îː* (HØH pattern).

Phrasal boundary tones commonly apply to express enumeration. In this case, if an exhaustive listing is presented, the last one has a phrase-final lowering to conclude the sentence, as shown in (3.126) with *manyálo* 'feet'. On the other hand, if the list is non-exhaustive, as in (3.118) above and (3.127), a continuation H is also added on the last element to allow an endless effect, usually translated as 'etc' in English.

(3.126)   *waáli Mádáː Ērúgúlúː na Manyálo*   {body.1}

        o-áli   mádá   érúgulu   na   manyálo

        1-PST-be 6.hand   9.belly   and   6.foot

        'there once was Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet'

(3.127)   *eǹtã̌wú, odhagavo afúmu báaláː , afúmûː dówuúː , afúmu ttéboóː*   {mute.8}

        eǹtáwú   o-dh-ag-a＝vo   afúmu   báala   afúmu   dówu

        then   NAR-come-HAB-Fi＝16.LOC   2.mister 1a.bushbuck 2.mister 9a.elephant

        afúmu   ttébo

        2.mister 9a.elephant

        'then came Mr.Bushbuck, Mr.Elephant, Mr.Elephant, etc'

3.6.2 Polar questions

Unlike *wh*-questions, polar questions do not ask for a clausal content. Instead, they do raise a clausal content and enquire about its truth value, hence they are also called yes/no questions. In Cuwabo, no morphological device (e.g. the presence of a question particle) is used to mark a polar question[31]. This means that the only way to distinguish polar questions from corresponding declarative sentences is by means of intonation, often combined with illocutionary force. More particularly, the final word is subject to a question melody final H tone, as shown in Figure 7, which illustrates the pitch contour of the question in (3.128).

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[31] Note however that conjoint verb forms are not allowed in polar question, but are rather restricted to *wh*-questions, since they enquire about some focused element. Conversely, disjoint verbs are only attested in polar questions and not *wh*-questions (see section 10.2 for more details on *wh*-questions).

(3.128)   *kunámál' oōsíńtínáárí́: ?*   {páaká.31}

ku-ná-mála   ósíńtínáárí

NEG.2SG-CE-finish   15.defecate

'are you not done yet with your necessities?

Figure 7   Pitch contour of *kunámál' oōsíńtínáárí́: ?* {páaká.31}
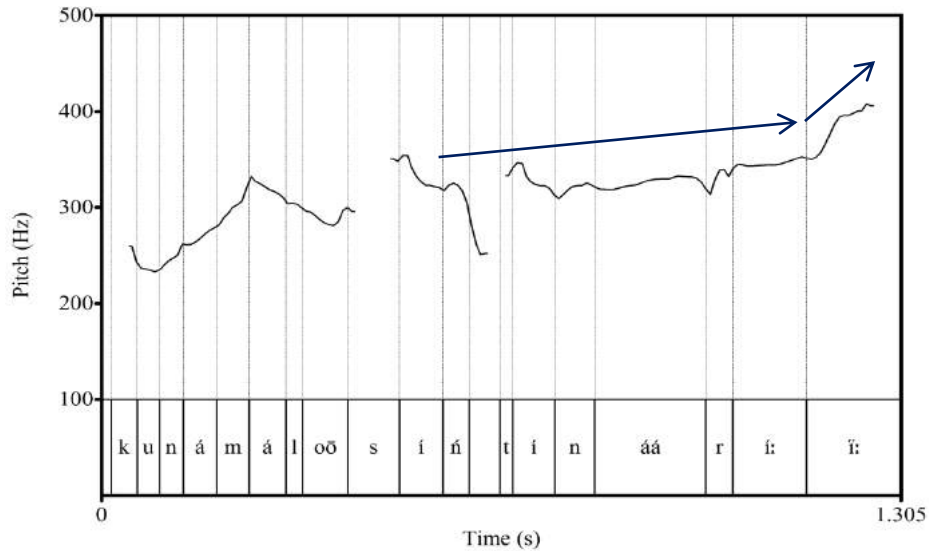
Other examples of polar questions are provided below. In each case, the surface (intonational) H tone is indicated in bold on the first line.

(3.129)   *"owííwá Maríyá?" Maríya : "ddiwííwa"*   {maria.51}

[o-hí-íwa   maríyá]QUES.   maríya   [ddi-hí-íwa]ANSW.

2SG-PFV.DJ-hear   maria   maria   1SG-PFV.DJ-hear

'did you hear, Maria? Maria : I did.'

(3.130)   *Maríy' óowáávuúza : "míyó munóddíziwá: ?*   {maria.86}

       áwééne : "yiíí ! kanuwíídhi." "míyó kamuddíídhí: ?" belá: "kánuwíídhi."

maríyá   o-hí-á-vuúza   [míyó   mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwa]QUES.

maria   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask   1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know

áwééne   yiíí   [ka-ni-ú-ídhi]ANSW.   [míyó   ka-mu-ddí-ídhi]QUES.

3PL.PRO   INTER   NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know   1SG.PRO   NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know

ba-ilá   [ká-ni-ú-ídhi]ANSW.

SEQ.1-say   NEG-1PL-OM2SG.know

'Maria, asked them: Do you know who I am? They: no, we don't. You don't know me? We don't know you.'

   Answers yes/no questions are either positive or negative. As can be seen from the examples above, positive answers usually repeat the verb affirmatively (3.129), while

negative answers repeat the verb in its negative form (3.130). In both cases, the answer may involve a change of person. And occasionally, it may be preceded by the positive particle *ńdde* 'yes' (in case of affirmations), or the negative particle *ńnee* 'no' (in case of negations). More rarely, answers solely composed of the particle also occur, as in (3.131).

(3.131) *owáávuúz' áábál' aálîvo. "ósál' uúb' úupátûwa ?" múkwááye : "náda"*   {mbílri.23}

o-hí-á-vuúzá	ábále	[a-á-lî = vo]REL	ósálu	óbu
1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask	2.DEM.III	2-PST-be = 16.LOC	14.thread	14.DEM.I

o-hi-pátúwa	múkwé = áye	náda
14-PFV.DJ-break	1.friend = POSS.3SG	no

'he asked those who were there : did this thread break? his friend : no.'

Note in the example above that the polar question is not marked by a final rising intonation, but only by the illocutionary force of extra H tones on the verb.

3.6.3 Rhetorical emphasis

In assertive sentences, differences in prominence may be noticed among syllables: certain moras have an extra high pitch. Such an intonational pattern is used to mark emphasis on the corresponding part of speech. A few examples are provided below.

(3.132) *ma íyééne baahalá dhawééné s' óótelíwa*   {mute.4}

mas	íyééne	ba-a-halá	dhaawó = éne	sé	ótelíwa
but	3SG.PRO	SEQ-1-stay	like.that.II = INT	without	15.get.married.PL

'but she remained like this, without getting married'

(3.133) *rāpáási oovény' óokobélâ: , oofíy' óokobélâ:*   {mbílri.22}

rāpáási	o-hi-vényá	o-kobéla	o-hi-fíya	o-kobéla
1a.boy	1-PFV.DJ-leave	17-9a.bank	1-PFV.DJ-arrive	17-9a.bank

'The boy (man) left the river bank and reached the other one.'

(3.134) *ólle ḿpóntáárî: wéélootóónya : "va Nikúrábedh' áápálê: !"*   {maria.146}

ólle	ḿpóntáárí	o-á-íla-otóónya	va	N.	ápále
1.DEM.III	1.tracker	1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.indicate	16.CON	D.	16.DEM.III

'that tracker was indicating : Mr.Dugong is over there!'

(3.135) *dhiǹlábá míyó dheetɛ́dhêne, ońjá ddi wéyo*   {body.3}

[dhi-ni-lábá   míyó   dhi-etɛ́ = dhêne]_{REL}   [o-ní-já]_{REL}   ddi   wéyo

10-IPFV.CJ-work   1SG.PRO   10-all = 10.INT   1-IPFV.CJ-eat 1.COP   2SG.PRO

'Everything I produce, the one who enjoys is you.'

Emphatic intonation is also found in vocative exclamations, as illustrated in (3.136).

(3.136) *wɛ́yőː omfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo*   {maria.25}

wéyó   o-mú-fwár-eg-e   kurúmáanje = éne   óddo

2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ   1a.bee.sp = INT   1.DEM.I

'do follow this very bee.sp.'

4

Nouns

In the present chapter I discuss the morphology of the noun. As in other Bantu languages, the structure of the Cuwabo word consists of prefixes, root and some suffixes. More specifically, nouns in Bantu languages have this common property to belong to noun classes, marked by means of a noun class prefix attached to a noun stem. The form of this noun prefix and the agreement pattern it triggers on other grammatically associated words determines the noun class to which the noun belongs. An extensive study of the noun phrase constituents and their agreement system is undertaken in chapter 5. In the present chapter, I first describe this elaborate class system (section 4.1), including a discussion of some underlying semantic properties attributed to certain classes.

As an open lexical class, Cuwabo nouns are formally characterised by the types of inflectional and derivational morphological processes that their stems undergo. While inflectional morphology deals with the noun class system and is thus undertaken in section 4.1, section 4.2 discusses the different ways of incorporating new nouns into the language. Besides borrowing, which will be exemplified all along the chapter, mechanisms of derivation by affixation, compounding, reduplication are other strategies used in Cuwabo to enrich lexicon.

Remember that contrary to many Bantu languages, the pre-prefix, a.k.a. the augment, is not morphologically attested in Cuwabo. Instead, it manifests itself through tones, as mentioned in section 3.3.

4.1   Noun classes

4.1.1   Noun class prefixes and their allomorphs

The noun class system has been viewed as an important aspect of Bantu linguistics, whose presence has sometimes been considered as "a litmus test for membership of the Bantu family" (Katamba 2003: 108). Cuwabo is no exception: each noun belongs to a noun class. Each noun thus consists of a noun stem preceded by a noun class prefix, which can have a null phonological shape in certain classes.

The noun class prefixes of Cuwabo are shown in Table 19, together with their numbering according to the system first established by Meinhof (1948) for comparative purposes across Bantu languages. Note that the prefixes are given in their basic form. Details of these gender pairings are discussed below.

Table 19   Noun class marking on nouns

	SG			PL	
Class	NP	Ex.	Class	NP	Ex.
1	mu-	*múttu* 'person'	2	a-	*áttu* 'people'
1a	Ø	*páaká* 'cat	2	a-	*ápáaká* 'cats'
3	mu-	*múri* 'tree'	4	mi-	*míri* 'trees'
5	ni-	*nífunddó* 'knot'	6	ma-	*máfunddó* 'knots'
5a	Ø	*sekéso* 'sieve'	6	ma-	*masékêso* 'knots'
9	e-	*enáma* 'animal'	10	dhi-	*dhináma* 'animals'
9a	Ø	*ñgómbe* 'cow'	10a	Ø	*ñgómbe* 'cows, cattle'

Unpaired classes			
14	o-	*olíbo* 'birdlime'	
15	o-	*ódhowá* 'go'	
16	va- (=ni)	*vattólôni* 'at the well'	
17	o- (=ni)	*omúndda* 'at the farm'	
18	mu- (=ni)	*mucélâni* 'in the well'	

From this table, we observe that certain classes are arranged in singular-plural pairings, sometimes referred to as 'genders'. For instance, the singular noun *mú-ttu* 'person' belongs to class 1, whereas its plural form *á-ttu* 'people' belongs to class 2. Among these paired classes, some are further divided in subclasses, indicated by the letter a, consisting of nouns

controlling the same agreement system, but having a null prefix. This is the case with class 1a *páaká* 'cat', class 5a *sekéso* 'sieve', and classes 9a and 10a, with *ñgómbe* 'cow(s)'.

Inversely, other noun classes occur only in a single noun class, i.e. they are not morphologically marked for singular or plural. This includes class 14 (abstract nouns) and class 15 (infinitives), as well as the three locative classes.

Cuwabo has thus thirteen such noun classes, eight of which are paired for singular and plural. This means that in comparison with the approximately twenty-four noun classes reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Katamba 2003: 104), Cuwabo has a reduced - but still canonical - noun class system. Augmentative and diminutive classes, which generally borrow nouns from other classes and derive them by means of a pre-prefix, are not attested in the language. Also note that classes 7/8 and 9/10 have merged. In this process, the consonant of the typical class 7 prefix *ki-* has evolved to Ø, which is an exceptional sound evolution in Eastern Bantu, only attested in Cuwabo and Makhuwa.

The prefix in itself is often a good indication of the noun class. However, and as Table 19 makes clear, it happens that two or more classes carry the same form of prefix. *mu-* is a good illustration as it is used in classes 1, 3 and 18. In such cases, the agreement system reflected in the associated parts of speech throughout the clause, allows distinguishing between the noun classes, and is usually taken as the fundamental basis for classification. Compare the three following sentences, presenting class 1, 3, and 18 agreement systems on nominal and pronominal prefixes, indicated in the interlinear translation by the noun class number.

(4.1)   a. Class 1 agreement

íyééne múnddímúw' óóddó oómvuúza   {adapted from maria.43}

íyééne   mú-nddímúwá   óddó   o-hí-mú-vuúza

3SG.PRO   1-old.man   1.DEM.II   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask

'that old man asked her'

b. Class 3 agreement

muúzík' oóbw' óoǹzívá dhaáyi, oǹdhá uuvi ?   {ddingí.13}

muúzíka óbó   [o-ni-zívá   dhaáyi]_{REL}   o-ní-dhá   uuvi

3.music   3.DEM.II   3-IPFV.CJ-be.nice   like.this.I   3-IPFV.CJ-come   where

'such beautiful music, where does it come from?'

c. Class 18 agreement

ḿpúle m̀bara, muukálá mwánéenámá [oǹkúwélíwa Nikúrábedha]_{REL}   {maria.104}

ḿpúle   mu-bara   mu-hi-kálá   mwáná-enámá

18.DEM.III   18-9a.sea.PL   18-PFV.DJ-be   1.child-9.animal

'there in the sea, there is an animal [called Mr.Dugong]'

The noun classes thus represent agreement markers, and as such, they function as part of a larger concordial agreement system ruled by the noun. This latter belonging to a given class indeed implies that every noun phrase constituent such as adjectives, pronouns and numerals agree with the noun class prefix. A noun class is therefore traditionally defined as a group of nouns that do not differ in prefix and that determine the same agreement patterns.

Note that for each noun prefix, different forms exist, which vary in function of the phonological features of the noun stem. These phonologically conditioned allomorphs are listed and illustrated in Table 20.

Table 20   Noun classes allomorphs

Class	Basic form	Allomorph	Example	Translation
1	mu-	m-	m̀málâbo	'outsider'
		mw-	mwáaná	'child'
3	mu-	m-	m̀páddo	'bench'
		mw-	mwáangó	'mount'
4	mi-	my-	myáangó	'mounts'
5	ni-	n-	ǹtába	'leaf'
9	e-	y-	yúunú	'waist'
14	o-	w-	wíci	'smoke'
15	o-	w-	wuúrûdha	'shake'
17	o-	w-	wiirímu	'in the sky'
18	mu-	m-	m̀ba	'inside'
		mw-	mwaári	'into'

The alternation between these forms is highly predictable. First, the class prefixes *mu-* (classes 1, 3 and 18) reduce to *m-* before bilabial or labio-dental consonants, whereas the class 5 prefix *ni-* reduces to *n-* before coronal consonants (see section 2.3.1.2 on syllabic nasals). Second, *mi-* (class 4) and *e-* (class 9) prefixes get palatalised and are thus realised [my] and [y], respectively, followed by a vowel compensatory lengthening. Palatalisation occurs before any vowel-initial stem for the prefix *e-*, but is restricted to stem-initial a, e or o for the prefix *mi-*. Before stem-initial i and u, vowel coalescence (mii) takes place. Now, regarding back-vowel prefixes, *mu-* (classes 1, 3 and 18) and *o-* (classes 14, 15 and 17) get labialised and appear as [mw] and [w], respectively. Again, this happens before any vowel-initial stem for *o-*, but only before i, e and a in the case of *mu-*. Elision (*moo*) and vowel coalescence (*muu*) apply with back vowels o and u, respectively (see section 2.4.1 for a more detailed analysis of vowel processes).

Second, noun classes whose onset is a nasal consonant become nasal syllables before certain stem-initial consonants (labial consonants for *mu-* prefixes, coronal consonants for

ni- prefix). In this case, the nasal prefix is homorganic with the initial consonant of the stem (see section 2.3.1.2 for more details on the syllabic nasals).

In Cuwabo, as common in Bantu, noun classes serve number marking, and represent mainly a grammatical system. Still, although the assignment of nouns to specific classes involves a certain degree of arbitrariness (Maho 1999), a few tendencies toward natural categorisation can be highlighted, in that particular semantic concepts are often assigned to certain noun classes. For example, human and agent nouns tend to appear in classes 1 and 2; many animal nouns are hosted in classes 9(a) and 10(a), although they are not restricted to these classes and also appear elsewhere. The semantic characteristics of each class are further detailed in the next subsections.

A noun stem is normally assigned to a single noun class and its corresponding plural class, but it happens that some stems occur in several classes, forming words with different meanings, always based on the basic (concrete) concept displayed by the nominal stem. This derivational use is developed in section 4.2.1.1 below.

4.1.2   Classes 1/1a and 2

While a single prefix *a-* exists for class 2, class 1 is marked by a variation in the prefix forms (referred to as class 1 and class 1a), which nonetheless has no influence on the remainder of the agreement system. Consider first the typical class 1 prefix *mu-*. Class 1 marked by this prefix in semantically very coherent, and consists almost entirely of words denoting humans, human activities and kinship, as exemplified in the singular-plural pairs in (4.2).

(4.2)   Class 1 and 2: Human and kinship denoting

Class 1	Class 2		Class 1	Class 2	
mwáadhí	*áadhí*	'wife'	*mwáaná*	*áaná*	'child'
mwánábúru	*ánábúru*	'young lady'	*ḿbáali*	*ábáali*	'same-sex sibling'
mudháâri	*adháâri*	'slave'	*múddááwi*	*áddááwi*	'sinner'
múdhúulu	*ádhúulu*	'grandchild'	*m̀fúngîwi*	*afúngîwi*	'prisoner'
mukúmbi	*akúmbi*	'fisherman.sp'	*múkwe*	*ákwe*	'friend'
múkwirí	*ákwirí*	'wizard'	*múlâmu*	*álâmu*	'brother-in-law'
muláwûla	*aláwûla*	'fortune-teller'	*mulíba*	*alíba*	'owner'
múlîvi	*álîvi*	'goldsmith'	*múlóbwana*	*álóbwana*	'man'
mulúgu	-	'god'	*m̀máâro*	*amáâro*	'friend'
ḿmûdhi	*ámûdhi*	'relative'	*múnânddi*	*ánânddi*	'co-wife'

ḿpááwi	ápááwi	'orfan'	ḿpâli	ápâli	'young man'
murógôri	arógôri	'other-sex sibling'	musáno	asáno	'queen'
mútelí	átelí	'husband'	múttu	áttu	'person'
múwéénya	áwéénya	'daughter-in-law	múyaná	áyaná	'woman'

Many agent nouns of classes 1 and 2 are productively derived from verbs (see section 4.2.1.2 below on the derivation of nominal stems), by means of the nominalising suffix -i, as exemplified in (4.3).

(4.3)   Deverbatives classes 1/2 nouns

ḿbáali	'brother/sister	<	óbáála	'give birth'
mmújâni	'greedy'	<	ója	'eat'
mukúmbi	'fisherman'	<	okúmba	'fish'
múlebí	'who can write'	<	ólebá	'write'
mwéêddi	'boyfriend'	<	wéeddá	'walk'

   Very few non-human nouns belong to classes 1 and 2. (4.4) provides the full list extracted from my database.

(4.4)   Class 1 and 2: Non-human denoting

Class 1	Class 2		Class 1	Class 2	
mwánâbwa	ánâbwa	'dog'	mwánâku	ánâku	'hen'
mwáánáma	áámáma	'abscess'	mwánámúndda	ánámúndda	'garden'
mwáánéénáma	ánéénáma	'animal'	mwaánéettu	aánéettu	'blight'
m̀pérêka	apérêka	'purifying slop'	múrúmíwi	árúmíwi	'order'
muzógwe	-	'rain'			

Some of these nouns are compound words, built upon the human noun mwáaná 'child', whose long vowel has been reduced in the compounding process (see section 4.2.2 below on compound nouns).

   In comparison, class 1a, which has a null morphological prefix, has a wider semantic range of references. First, as class 1, it serves to denote humans being as shown in (4.5).

(4.5)   Class 1a and 2: Human denoting

Class 1a	Class 2		Class 1a	Class 2	
mwaáddâni	amwáádani	'sister-in-law'	mwááñgánéli	ámwááñganéli	'guard'
mwáásáno	ámwáasáno	'son-in-law'	mwáázámbo	ámáazámbo	'pilot'
báâbi	ábáabi	'father'	cíwiwí	acíwiwí	'deaf person'
cúwânga	acúwânga	'translator'	ddáya	áddâya	'midwife'
fúmu	áfûmu	'mister'	kalába	akálâba	'old person'
máámbááli	ámáambaáli	'parent'	mákâzi	amákâzi	'mistress'

mámûni	*ámámuni*	'husband'	*mbáva*	*ámbâva*	'thief'
móoyá	*ámóoyá*	'father-in-law'	*námáfulá*	*anámáfulá*	'blacksmith'
namálîma	*anámálima*	'farmer'	*námásuńza*	*anámásuńza*	'pupil'
nyarúbi	*anyárûbi*	'undertaker'	*nyéézáttu*	*ányéezáttu*	'parent-in-law'

Class 1a further has the particularity of designating a great number of animals (4.6). It is likely that these nouns were originally in class 9 and 10 but lost the typical nasal prefix from these classes and began to induce a class 1 agreement on its dependent elements, regardless of their lack of prefix. This is also reminiscent of the fact that, in many Eastern Bantu languages, the nouns which designate an animate entity tend to adopt classes 1/2 agreement patterns.

(4.6)   Class 1a and 2: Animal nouns

Class 1a	Class 2		Class 1a	Class 2	
bóngwe	*ábôngwe*	'monkey.sp'	*bwérúbwerú*	*ábwérubwerú*	'shrimp.sp'
capúngu	*acápûngu*	'ray.sp'	*cenééne*	*acénéene*	'cricket'
cívéevé	*acívéevé*	'swallow'	*káárúnye*	*ákáarúnye*	'crab.sp'
kába	*ákâba*	'turtle.sp'	*kanámúsasa*	*akanámúsasa*	'snake.sp'
kogó	*ákogó*	'fish.sp'	*kónóóno*	*ákónoóno*	'fish.sp'
koómbwe	*akóômbwe*	'shrimp.sp'	*kurúmáanje*	*akúrúmaanje*	'bee.sp'
kwaddé	*akwaddé*	'dog.sp'	*máarwé*	*ámáarwé*	'bird.sp'
málááwu	*ámálaáwu*	'eel'	*naáhe*	*anááhe*	'gazela'
nafúwo	*anáfûwo*	'mole'	*námáabé*	*anámáabé*	'cobra.sp'
námamé	*ánámamé*	'bird.sp'	*namárógolo*	*anámárogolo*	'hare'
nánddwe	*anánddwe*	'frog'	*nyáákúngu*	*ányáakúngu*	'crow'
páaká	*ápáaká*	'cat'	*séeswé*	*áséeswé*	'hummingbird'

Finally, class 1a also includes a great deal of loans, mostly from Portuguese, usually indicating objects of a non-human character. (4.7) gives a sample of examples.

(4.7)   Class 1a: loan words (from Portuguese)

árígóra	<	*argola*	'piercing'	*árímoóso*	<	*almoço*	'lunch'
bííśku	<	*bispo*	'bishop'	*cápééwa*	<	*chapéu*	'hat'
kácííbwi	<	*cachimbo*	'pipe'	*kúmbóóyu*	<	*comboio*	'train'
mááritélu	<	*martelo*	'hammer'	*mácááddo*	<	*machado*	'axe'
meésîlri	<	*mestre*	'master'	*pápóóro*	<	*vapor*	'boat'
rápóóyo	<	*repolho*	'cabbage.sp'	*sámbóólra*	<	*cebola*	'onion'
sízééla	<	*sisal*	'sisal'				

As seen in the various examples above, the plural form of these class 1a nouns requires the class 2 noun prefix, which thus constitutes an extraprosodic morpheme compared to the

singular prefixless form. In Cuwabo, this additional mora is underlyingly toneless, but adapts to the tone pattern of the singular form. For instance, if the noun is lexically H, the prefix *a-* will be assigned a H, which will in most cases spreads to the lexical H anchored on the penult mora. See section 3.3 for an exhaustive analysis of tones on nouns.

As is common in Bantu noun classes, the singular and the plural forms of some nouns may be cross-gendered, i.e. they belong to non-canonical pairings. It is thus common to have nouns with class 1a singulars forming their plural in class 6. This includes a few loanwords.

(4.8)   Cross-gender 1a/6

Class 1a	Class 6		Class 1a	Class 6	
cibwéríbwe	*macíbwéribwe*	'bird.sp'	*baarku*	*mabáárku*	'boat'
gámbóóya	*mágámbooya*	'fish trap'	*kabúddûlra*	*makábúddulra*	'bermuda shorts'
kóólríyo	*mákóolríyo*	'big hoe'	*naángûra*	*manáángura*	'anchora'
nyapéddo	*manyépêddo*	'oven'	*pápóóro*	*mápápoóro*	'steamer'
sekérêke	*masékéreke*	'loincloth'			

Illustrations of the agreement pattern of class 1/2 nouns are given in (2.144) for class 1 and (4.10) for class 2.

(4.9)   Class 1 agreement system

mwáán' óóddó w' oókóddélâ oǹkálá wuunddaaví   {elic.}

mwááná	óddó	wa	ókóddélâ	o-ni-kálá	wuundda = ví
1.child	1.DEM.II	1.CON	15.be.beautiful	1-IPFV.CJ-remain	15.cry.PL = RESTR

'this beautiful child does not stop crying'

(4.10)   Class 2 agreement system

āyím' aábw' ááraarw' ááńdhówá úuvi ?   {elic.}

āyíma	ábó	araarú	a-ní-dhówá	úuvi
2.child	2.DEM.II	2.three	2-IPFV.CJ-go	where

'where are these three kids going ?'

4.1.3 Classes 3 and 4

Classes 3 *mu-* and 4 *mi-* include most of botanic names in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (4.11) with trees and plant nouns, and in (4.12) with nouns denoting parts of trees or plants.

(4.11)   Classes 3 and 4: Trees and plants

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
mwáadhí	*myáadhí*	'tree.sp'	*m̀bízi*	*mibízi*	'sugar cane.sp'
múcéenddú	*mícéenddú*	'palm tree'	*múcérére*	*mícérére*	'aquatic tree'
m̀fûgi	*mímfûgi*	'banana tree'	*múgáleégo*	*mígáleégo*	'lemon tree'
múgâyi	*mígâyi*	'tree.sp'	*muhále*	*mihále*	'sugar cane'
múrêre	*mírêre*	'reed'	*mwíinddú*	*míinddú*	'palm tree'
mujélêle	*mijélêle*	'tree.sp'	*mukárâra*	*mikárâra*	'tree.sp'
mukínîti	*mikínîti*	'tree.sp'	*mukúdda*	*mikúdda*	'raffia palm'
múláála	*míláála*	'plant.sp'	*mulóla*	*milóla*	'tree.sp'
múlrâmba	*mílrâmba*	'baobab tree'	*múlrâzi*	*mílrâzi*	'bamboo'
m̀máangíra	*mímáangíra*	'mango tree'	*m̀bíla*	*mimbíla*	'tree.sp'
múnâzi	*mínâzi*	'coconut tree'	*m̀páajíli*	*mípáajíli*	'tree.sp'
m̀pílra	*mipílra*	'tree.sp'	*m̀púdho*	*mipúdho*	'tree.sp'
m̀pûru	*mípûru*	'tree.sp'	*múrâba*	*mírâba*	'plant.sp'
murága	*mirága*	'pumpkin plant'	*múri*	*míri*	'tree, woodstick'
múrôga	*mírôga*	'thorn-tree'	*murótto*	*mirótto*	tree.sp'
múrûbi	*mírûbi*	'sorghum'	*murúmo*	*mirúmo*	'raffia palm'
mútôva	*mítôva*	'tree.sp'	*muttógôma*	*mittómôga*	'plum tree'
m̀vêdhe	*mívêdhe*	'swamp tree'	*múyéébe*	*míyéébe*	'tree.sp'

(4.12)   Classes 3 and 4: Tree or plant parts

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
múcîci	*mícîci*	'root'	*mwíingá*	*míingá*	'splinter'
múkombó	*míkombó*	'calabash'	*mukúso*	*mikúso*	'calabash'
múlîma	*mílîma*	'crop'	*múlrînga*	*mílrînga*	'branch of banana'
m̀mídho	*mimídho*	'seed'	*mungúri*	*mingúri*	'aquatic plant's rhizome'
m̀puddú	*mípuddú*	'empty coconut'	*músambó*	*mísambó*	'resin'
mutádámela	*mitádámela*	'foliage'	*mútâla*	*mítâla*	'stem, stalk'
mutóma	*mitóma*	'shoot'	*mútûtu*	*mítûtu*	'ear of corn'

By extension, wood objects made from trees or plants also belong to classes 3 and 4.

(4.13)   Classes 3 and 4: Objects made from trees or plants

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
mwáálágo	*myáálágo*	'spear'	*mwáándíya*	*myáándíya*	'canoe'
m̀bâdda	*mímbâdda*	'cage.sp'	*m̀bímba*	*mimbímba*	'barrel'
mugónddá	*migónddá*	'loincloth'	*múcókólo*	*mícókólo*	'wooden sharp object'
mugógo	*migógo*	'plough'	*múgôyi*	*mígôyi*	'rope'
mwíhi	*míhi*	'pestle'	*mwíihí*	*míihí*	'belt'
mujánga	*mijánga*	'basket'	*mujégêle*	*mijégêle*	'barrel'
mujére	*mijére*	'cage.sp'	*mujíddu*	*mijíddu*	'feminine loincloth'

múko	*míko*	'wood ladle'	*múkóngózo*	*míkóngózo*	'cane'
mukóri	*mikóri*	'wood stick'	*múkuró*	*míkuró*	'wood fence'
múláandéza	*míláandéza*	'long hoe'	*múñgambó*	*míñgambó*	'flute'
m̀páddo	*mipáddo*	'bench'	*murábêla*	*mirábêla*	'drum.sp'
múrigó	*mírigó*	'skewer'	*muságâla*	*miságâla*	'hut'
musása	*misása*	'hut'	*músâtti*	*mísâtti*	'pillar'
múséélo	*míséélo*	'broom'	*musíjîli*	*misíjîli*	'joist'
musózo	*misózo*	'drums.sp'	*mútâga*	*mítâga*	'ritual rope'
musúwo	*misúwo*	'door'	*muúva*	*miíva*	'cart'
múvi	*mívi*	'arrow'	*m̀viní*	*míviní*	'hoe's handle'
múwásúlo	*míwásúlo*	'whip'	*muzínga*	*mizínga*	'shotgun'
múziyó	*míziyó*	'wood plate'			

A property common to this semantic field of plants and trees deals with the shape of the objects, generally long, thin and extended. And interestingly, classes 3 and 4 also host a disparate set of other nouns with the same semantic feature. In the following examples, different semantic fields are exemplified: objects (4.14), animals (4.15), and (human or animal) body parts (4.16).

(4.14)   Classes 3 and 4: Object with long, thin or extended shape

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
m̀bêni	*mímbêni*	'knife'	*muddíddîra*	*middíddîra*	'queue, line'
muddónddo	*middónddo*	'procession'	*múcúrúru*	*mícúrúru*	'gutter'
m̀fõnddo	*mímfõnddo*	'drill'	*mukítto*	*mikítto*	'phone'
múkufú	*míkufú*	'current'	*mukúgu*	*mikúgu*	'subterrean way'
mukúma	*mikúma*	'climb'	*mukúpo*	*mikúpo*	'fan'
múkúrekúre	*míkúrekúre*	'stream'	*múkúruwéla*	*míkúruwéla*	'ditch'
mukwáso	*mikwáso*	'path'	*mulálámaga*	*milálámaga*	'shooting star'
mulíkîho	*milíkîho*	'anchor'	*múnyímbíra*	*mínyímbíra*	'faeces'
múlrînga	*mílrînga*	'clay jar'	*múno*	*míno*	'vase'
múnobí	*mínobí*	'beak'	*múnyâza*	*mínyâza*	'crevice'
murátto	*mirátto*	'bridge'	*múrûttu*	*mírûttu*	'corpse'
mútidó	*mítidó*	'cigar'	*mútílíli*	*mítílíli*	'sun ray'
múttôtto	*míttôtto*	'nail'	*mwiínje*	*miínje*	'river'

(4.15) Animals with long, thin or extended shape

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
mbóbo	*mibóbo*	'long cobra'	*moóngôlro*	*myoóngôlro*	'centipede'
múhêgu	*míhêgu*	'antilope'	*muhágo*	*mihágo*	'intestinal worm'
múkáámba	*míkáámba*	'shrimp'	*múngu*	*míngu*	'caterpillar'
múnyôka	*mínyôka*	'earthworm'	*mutípa*	*mitípa*	'maggot'
mútundú	*mítundú*	'leech'	*mutúrúbunju*	*mitúrúbunju*	'lizard'

(4.16) (Human or animal) body parts with long, thin or extended shape

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
ńbôlo	*mímbôlo*	'penis'	*mbúla*	*mimbúla*	'stinger'
mmélo	*mimélo*	'throat'	*móonó*	*myóonó*	'arm'
muléba	*miléba*	'trunk'	*móottó*	*myóottó*	'umbilical cord'
mulómo	*milómo*	'mouth, lip'	*murúbo*	*mirúbo*	'intestine'
mútâna	*mítâna*	'spine'	*mútéekú*	*mítéekú*	'navel'
múttênga	*míttênga*	'feather'	*mwéddo*	*myéddo*	'leg'

It is thus coherent to state that classes 3 and 4 in Cuwabo are semantically mostly associated with long, thin and extended things. Such a semantic property associated with these classes has already been observed by Moxley (1998).

On the other hand, there is also a considerable number of classes 3/4 nouns whose classification cannot be accounted for on obvious semantic grounds. The list provided in (4.17), gathering both concrete and abstract nouns, underlines this semantic heterogeneity.

(4.17) Classes 3 and 4: Miscellaneous

Class 3	Class 4		Class 3	Class 4	
mwááléla	*myááléla*	'sacrifice'	*mwáâlra*	*myáâlra*	'stone'
mwámbo	*myámbo*	'ritual rules'	*mwánáása*	*myánáása*	'popular belief.sp'
mwáangó	*myáangó*	'mount'	*ńburó*	*mímburó*	'place'
mucésa	*micésa*	'sand'	*múdhîdhi*	*mídhîdhi*	'time, moment'
múhâla	*míhâla*	'madness'	*mwíinyú*	-	'salt'
mujíla	-	'iron'	*múkâka*	*míkâka*	'milk'
múkatté	*míkatté*	'rice cake'	*múkonó*	*míkonó*	'present, gift'
múkôwe	*míkôwe*	'rust'	*mukúkûtta*	*mikúkûtta*	'car'
múkúrábwe	*míkúrábwe*	'mould'	*múlâddu*	*mílâddu*	'problem'
múlrûvi	*mílrûvi*	'whistle'	*munddúûra*	*mindúûra*	'ashes'
múnowé	*mínowé*	'ulcer'	*ńpuló*	*mípuló*	'flood'
murábo	*mirábo*	'cloud'	*murádda*	*mirádda*	'pastry'
múrûdda	*mírûdda*	'village'	*mutténgo*	*mitténgo*	'dance.sp'

Examples (4.18) and (4.19), illustrate the agreement pattern of classes 3 and 4 nouns.

(4.18)   Class 3 agreement system

mwírí óbó múnddímúw' óogwadduwé mwa masíkú mañgónô:vi   {elic.}

mwírí	óbó	mú-nddímúwa	o-gwadd-uw-é	mwa	masíkú	ma-ñgónó = vi
3.tree	3.DEM.II	3-old	3-cut-PASS-PFV.CJ	18.into	6.day	6-few = RESTR

'that old tree was cut not long ago'

(4.19)   Class 4 agreement system

mírí ésó miraarú dhínddímúwa dhittuuluwé yáak' ééjîle   {elic.}

mírí	ésó	mi-raarú	dhí-nddímúwa	dhi-ttuul-uw-é	yáaká	éjîle
4.tree	4.DEM.II	4-three	4-old	4-uproot-PASS-PFV.CJ	9.year.PL	9.DEM.III

'these three old trees were uprooted last year'

4.1.4   Classes 5 and 6

Like classes 1 and 1a, a prefix variation exists in class 5, between the prefix *ni-* and a null morpheme (referred to as class 5a prefix). But unlike classes 1 and 1a, no semantic difference can be attributed to this variation in prefix.

Classes 5(a) and 6 cover a large semantic array. Still, a few semantic trends are observable. First, classes 5 and 6 usually denote paired body parts, as shown in (4.20).

(4.20)   Class 5 and 6: Paired body parts

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
íyâru	*máyâru*	'ear'	*ǹcápo*	*macápo*	'fin'
ńdhâdhu	*mádhâdhu*	'lung'	*neépêlo*	*meépêlo*	'wing'
nibádda	*mabádda*	'molar'	*níbelé*	*mábelé*	'breast'
nibída	*mabída*	'animal leg'	*níbôddo*	*mábôddo*	'knee'
nifĩyo	*mafĩyo*	'kidney'	*nivéwu*	*mavéwu*	'fin'
ǹlákálaka	*malákálaka*	'fin'	*ǹláda*	*máda*	'hand'
nígûgu	*mágûgu*	'cheek'	*níkâpwa*	*mákâpwa*	'wing'
nikúkûru	*makúkûru*	'hip, flank'	*nikúta*	*makúta*	'knee'
nlákálaka	*malákálaka*	'fin'	*ǹlâwa*	*málâwa*	'fish gill'
ńnyâga	*mányâga*	'horn'	*ǹnyálo*	*manyálo*	'foot'
ǹráma	*maráma*	'cheek'	*ńrawó*	*márawó*	'buttocks'
ǹrédha	*marédha*	'wrist'	*sóko*	*masóko*	'fist'
ńtúúdhi	*mátúúdhi*	'shoulder'	*níǹtó*	*méǹtó*	'eye'

Other nouns from different semantic fields but still involving pairs are hosted by classes 5 and 6.

(4.21)   Classes 5 and 6 : Nouns implying pairs of objects

nikúlúgano	*makúlúgano*	'crossroads'	*níngûza*	*mángûza*	'bark's side'
nípâlra	*mápâlra*	'roof side'	*nipálrûwa*	*mapálrûwa*	'ditch'
ǹsékêre	*masékêre*	'maracas'	*macááca* or	*macárîma*	'maracas.sp'
níkonó	*mákonó*	'armful of' (measure)			

Second, many class 5/6 nouns denote flat objects, which usually cover something. This includes most lexicon items referring to leaves and mats, as seen in (4.22).

(4.22)   Classes 5 and 6: Flat and covering/protecting objects

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
nikárâdha	*makárâdha*	'dry leaf'	*nikúbáare*	*makúbáare*	'palm leaf'
nikúku	*makúku*	'leaf'	*ǹtába*	*matába*	'leaf'
nibóndde	*mabóndde*	'mat'	*bwéndde*	*mábwêndde*	'mat'
nípêse	*mápêse*	'mat.sp'	*ńsêse*	*másêse*	'old mat'
kagála	*makágâla*	'mat'	*ǹttáddo*	*mattáddo*	'mat.sp'
nikánje	*makánje*	'mat.sp'	*nikúkwe*	*makúkwe*	'carpet'
ǹréba	*maréba*	'stretcher'	*ǹtéte*	*matéte*	'stretcher'
nikícêla	*makícêla*	'fishing net'	*ńttâvi*	*máttâvi*	'net'
nigógôro	*magógôro*	'fencing'	*ǹsíto*	*masíto*	'fencing'
nígárúgáru	*mágárúgáru*	'shell, box'	*nígúrúgúru*	*mágúrúgúru*	'shell'
níwôwo	*máwôwo*	'pastry's crust'	*nikába*	*makába*	'crust, skin'
ǹttúba	*mattúba*	'penis skin'	*nihúwo*	*mahúwa*	'sloughing'
nikákárunya	*makákárunya*	'bark, scale'	*nígulá*	*mágulá*	'tree bark'

Circular (and generally flat) objects are also much attested in classes 5 and 6, comprising round flat-bottomed baskets, winnowers, or frying pans, rings, holes, and other circular objects or body parts. An overview is given in (4.23).

(4.23)   Classes 5 and 6: Circular objects

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
níkôbwa	*mákôbwa*	'basket.sp'	*nípâva*	*mápâva*	'basket.sp'
sekéso	*masékêso*	'winnower'	*ńttáátta*	*máttáátta*	'old winnower'
ǹsíko	*masíko*	'old frying pan'	*sízáára*	*másízaára*	'clay frying pan'
ǹttáddo	*mattáddo*	'frying pan.sp'	*nigóddo*	*magóddo*	'stump'
nípará	*mápará*	'stump'	*ǹttúku*	*mattúku*	'stump'
nígangó	*mágangó*	'ring'	*níyêra*	*máyêra*	'ring.sp'
ǹlrúwâtti	*malrúwâtti*	'ankle ring'	*kósa*	*makósa*	'bracelet'
ǹléje	*maléje*	'hole'	*ńtórówo*	*mátórówo*	'hole'
ǹjóma	*majóma*	'snake hole'	*nífunddó*	*máfunddó*	'knot'
nígaraándhi	*mágaraándhi*	'glass'	*kálrúúnga*	*mákáruúnga*	'sickle'
níkátúpe	*mákátúpe*	'old ball'	*ǹtúmu*	*matúmu*	'anus'

| *ńttîtti* | *máttîtti* | 'hair' | *nikótti* | *makótti* | 'neck' |
| *ńlumí* | *málumí* | 'tongue' | | | |

Many names of trees in classes 3/4 have matching names for their fruits in classes 5/6, as illustrated in (4.24).

(4.24)   Class 5 and 6: Fruits

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
nddúddu	*maddúddu*	'unripe coconut'	*ńdhûgu*	*mádhûgu*	'pumpkin.sp'
níbâle	*mábâle*	'unripe mango'	*níbûgu*	*mábûgu*	'sugar cane'
nífûgi	*máfûgi*	'banana'	*nígágádda*	*mágágádda*	'dry cassava'
níkâmwa	*mákâmwa*	'rotten mango'	*nikúkûnya*	*makúkûnya*	'young coconut'
nikútti	*makútti*	'yam'	*níkúsalriínya*	*mákúsalriínya*	'cucumber'
ǹlrúwa	*malrúwa*	'flower'	*ńlrôwa*	*málrôwa*	'flower (fruit)'
ńddîmwi	*mánddîmwa*	'lemon.sp'	*nipwéto*	*mapwéto*	'shoot (plant)'
ǹrága	*marága*	'pumpkin.sp'	*ńttíyeelé*	*máttíyeelé*	'fruit.sp'
nívudhé	*mávudhé*	'watermelon'	*níyéébe*	*máyéébe*	'pine cone'

Classes 5 and 6 also serve to refer to landscapes, and natural elements or phenomena.

(4.25)   Class 5 and 6: Landscapes, natural elements and phenomena

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
nadháwûla	*madháwûla*	'big wave'	*ǹddíba*	*maddíba*	'plain, low land'
níbâra	*mábâra*	'sea, ocean'	*nigáme*	-	'dew'
nikwála	*makwála*	'milky way'	-	*makwéle*	'neap tide'
líbwe	*malíbwe*	'stone'	*ńlûgu*	*málûgu*	'stone'
ǹlúwa	*malúwa*	'desert'	*nimááluwe*	*mamááluwe*	'echo'
néêbe	*manéebe*	'storm'	*nínyo*	-	'dew'
níporú	*máporú*	'foam'	*nímpémbézu*	*mámpémbézu*	'whirl, swirl'
ńráráára	*máráráára*	'hail'	*ńsaká*	*másaká*	'time, season'
ǹsíku	*masíku*	'day time'	*ńtâla*	*mátâla*	'fallow land'
ńttabó	*máttabó*	'sky'	*ǹtógólabalaga*	*matógólabalaga*	'first rains'
ńttâdda	*máttâdda*	'lake'	*ńttâtti*	*máttâtti*	'swamp'
ǹttíttîmo	*mattíttîmo*	'storm'	*ǹttíttwa*	*mattíttwa*	'plain, grassland'
ńttiyú	*máttiyú*	'night'	*ǹttóba*	*mattóba*	'still water'
ńttúbi	*mattúbi*	'dust, dry soil'	-	*mázaró*	'confluent'
ńzingó	*mázingó*	'whirl'	*ńzûndde*	*mázûndde*	'plantation'
ńzuwá	-	'sun'			

Most diseases and physical abnormalities are hosted in classes 5 and 6.

(4.26)   Class 5 and 6: Diseases or physical abnormalities

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
níbâba	mábâba	'scare'	nímbâzi	mámbâzi	'scar, spot'
ńlêba	málêba	'stain'	ǹttóbóttobo	mattóbóttobo	'stain'
nigúma	magúma	'wound'	níkwâdda	mákwâdda	'wound'
nikúrábedha	makúrábedha	'lethal wound'	-	máányémba	'chicken pox'
nyarúttûnddu	anyárúttunddu	'disease.sp'	-	matówa	'rheumatism'
nipáddâwe	-	'fever, malaria'	nípâda	-	'boldness'
nípunddú	mápunddú	'himp, knot'	níputté	máputté	'boil, furuncle'
nípûttu	mápûttu	'virgin land'	nepwésa	-	'rheumatism'
ǹsíba	masíba	'elephantiasis'	-	marímâddi	'palpitation'
ǹtútûmwa	matútûmwa	'swelling'	-	maváwu	'asthma'
ńtárááto	mátárááto	'female hysteria'	-	márânya	'leprosy'

Many nouns from classes 5 and 6 have abstract meanings, usually linked with cultural concepts and practices. Some examples are given in (4.27). Note that many of them are derived from verbs by means of the nominalising suffix -*o* (see section 4.2.1.2 below for more details on noun derivation)

(4.27)   Classes 5 and 6: Abstract nouns

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
nibása	mabása	'work'	níbûga	mábûga	'hatred'
ńcîga	mácîga	'vengeance'	nigáno	magáno	'law, rule'
nigúdúlano	magúdúlano	'controversy'	níhêlu	máhêlu	'disrespect'
níhimó	máhimó	'tribe, ethnic group'	níkâpu	mákâpu	'hunger, famina'
nikáttámiho	makáttámiho	'problem'	ǹlámûlo	malámûlo	'law, duty'
ǹlávi	malávi	'misfortune'	ńlebó	málebó	'writing'
ǹléjêlo	maléjêlo	'greeting'	ǹlélo	malélo	'education'
ńlóbélo	málóbélo	'petition'	ńlógélo	málógélo	'request'
ǹlógo	malógo	'people' generation'	ǹddálrâza	manddálrâza	'dowry'
nipáddûwo	mapáddûwo	'unexpected event'	nipíkílrelo	mapíkílrelo	'promess'
ǹránjûlo	maránjûlo	'gain, profit'	ńrimá	márimá	'envy'
ǹríyo	maríyo	'honor, dignity'	ńrúwáno	márúwáno	'insult'
ǹsákúlano	masákúlano	'preference'	ńségédho	máségédho	'problem'
ńsóóso	másóóso	'suffering, torture'	ńtáábuco	mátáábuco	'punishment'
ǹtówa	matówa	'curse'	ǹttíttímiho	mattíttímiho	'glory'

Note that certain abstract nouns only have a class 6 form, as illustrated in (4.28). Several of them are linked with cultural and ritual practices.

(4.28)   Class 6: Abstract nouns

máare	'idea'	*másóóso*	'suffering'	*majíni*	'hysteria'
makéwakéwa	'gossip'	*makúrúmulo*	'instruction'	*malágo*	'sagacity'
mahéle	'misfortune'	*mákâga*	'oracle'	*mangáwu*	'debt'
mañgóñgo	'secret'	*manyázo*	'shame'	*mápâna*	'pride'
mápôka	'challenge'	*máráábwa*	'complain'	*márombó*	'danse.sp'
masárápitto	'magic'	*maséle*	'bad luck'	*masíkôno*	'dowry'
máteló	'wedding'	*máttânga*	'feast, party'	*mazóka*	'danse'
mázuwá	'famina'	*málumí*	'courtship proposal'		
málrombó	'curative ceremony'	*marónddo*	'oracle consultation'		
marúru	'hurry, impatience'	*manyígâlo*	'subornation, corruption'		
malróndda	'trading, business'				

Another well-known property exclusively attributed to class 6 has to do with mass concepts, which includes most liquids and uncountables, as illustrated in (4.29). These nouns have no singular/plural opposition.

(4.29)   Class 6: Mass nouns

maánje	'water'	*mahúzi*	'hairs'	*máddúgúddo*	'flour.sp'[32]
mákurá	'oil'	*mattáka*	'soil, sand'	*mákânya*	'coconut lees'
mára	'saliva'	*maníngo*	'body'	*mári*	'excrement'
manúna	'fat'	*maróve*	'mud'	*marávâra*	'barren land'
masáza	'water.sp'[33]	*mátâgu*	'pounded rice'		

Nouns denoting such abstract and mass concepts rarely display singular-plural pairing. Still, not all the mass nouns systematically receive the class 6 plural marker as shown in (4.29), where liquids nouns belong to class 5.

(4.30)   Class 5: Mass nouns

nikáme	'blood'	*níciwó*	'vomit'	*ǹddíbwi*	'poison, venim'

Many nouns of animals are also hosted in classes 5/6.

(4.31)   Class 5 and 6: Animals

Class 5	Class 6		Class 5	Class 6	
níkúráttebo	*mákúráttebo*	'ostrich'	*nikúrúkumwa*	*makúrúkumwa*	'wild cat'
nikúrúǹtá	*makúrúǹtá*	'butterfly.sp'	*níkûvi*	*mákûvi*	'eagle'
nikúwa	*makúwa*	'fish'	*ǹjógôri*	*majógôri*	'bird.sp'
ǹjóro	*majóro*	'fish.sp'	*ǹlúwa*	*malúwa*	'wild cat'

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[32] maize and coconut flour

[33] water from cooked rice

naáje	maáje	'fish.sp'	ǹdárándara	mandárándara	'wasp'
nípulá	mápulá	'fish.sp'	nipwíhi	mapwíhi	'worm'
ǹráwe	maráwe	'cobra.sp'	ńriyé	máriyé	'bird.sp'
ǹsíbwe	masíbwe	'crab.sp'	ńsimé	másimé	'monkey.sp'
ǹtálátala	matálátala	'caterpillar'	ǹtángwe	matángwe	'mud wasp'
ńtórósa	mátórósa	'hen'	ǹtúûlu	matúûlu	'crab.sp'
ńttêsi	máttêsi	'toad'	ǹttóôro	mattóôro	'swamp crab'
nivúmbe	mavúmbe	'rat.sp'	níwêre	máwêre	'fish.sp'
niwíwîri	mawíwîri	'cobra.sp'			

In several cases, the class 5 prefix has disappeared. Such prefixless nouns represent a sub-class, referred to as class 5a. Their plural form is normally marked by class 6 prefixation. An illustrating list is given in (4.32). Note that many loans from Portuguese are found in classes 5a and 6, as shown in (4.33).

(4.32) Classes 5a and 6

Class 5a	Class 6		Class 5a	Class 6	
bwéndde	mábwêndde	'mat.sp'	cárâmba	macárâmba	'doorbell'
cíkwi	macíkwi	'a thousand'	cípóósi	mácípoósi	'Monday'
cíttááttu	mácíttaáttu	'Wednesday'	gátta	magátta	'herd'
geddégêdde	magéddégedde	'drum.sp'	kagála	makágâla	'mat.sp'
kálrúúnga	mákálruúnga	'sickle'	lénti	maléñti	'coco milk'
língwáádda	málíngwaádda	'fish.sp'	líbwe	malíbwe	'stone'
póso	mapóso	'food portion'	rittímûla	maríttímula	'drums.sp'
sakáli	masákâli	'torch'	sanjálra	masánjâlra	'camp'
sekéso	masékêso	'winnower.sp'	sízáálra	másízaálra	'frying pan'
súpáádda	másúpaádda	'cutlass'	ttúmbi	mattúmbi	'bag'
zángo	mazángo	'bead'	zíza	mazíza	'clan'
zúmbéélra	mázúmbeélra	'bag.sp'	zúngu	mazúngu	'garbage'

(4.33) Class 5 and 6: Portuguese loans

Class 5	Class 6			Portuguese	
bóoní	mábóoní	'hat'	>	boné
ddímííngu	máddímiíngu	'Sunday'	>	domingo
gárááfwa	mágáraáfwa	'bottle'	>	garafa
jánééla	májáneéla	'window'	>	janela
lańta	maláñta	'tin'	>	lata
lápízéra	málápizéra	'pen'	>	lapiz
leńso	maléńso	'tissue'	>	lenso
lózha	malózha	'shop'	>	loja
niívûru	maníívuru	'book'	>	livro

péréégu	*mápéreégu*	'nail'	>	*prego*
rámáádda	*márámaádda*	'arbor'	>	*ramada*
sángîri	*masángîri*	'blood'	>	*sangre*
síkáádda	*másíkaádda*	'ladder'	>	*escada*

Examples of the agreement system displayed in classes 5 and 6 nouns are provided below.

(4.34)   Class 5 agreement system

    ńzáyi ńttó níńgóóno nińgúlúwá macíkwí kumí   {elic.}

ńzáyi	ńttó	ní-ñgóóno	ni-ń-gúl-úw-á		ma-cíkú	kumí
5.egg	5.DEM.II	5-small	5-IPFV.CJ-buy-PASS-Fi		6-50cts	ten

    'this small egg costs 5 meticais'

(4.35)   Class 6 agreement system

    māzáy' aábó maraarú oocéna ańgúlúwa [na mútténgó múnddímúwâ]   {elic.}

māzáyi	ábó	ma-raarú	a	océna	a-ní-gúl-úw-a
6.egg	6.DEM.II	6-three	6.CON	15.be.white	6-IPFV.CJ-buy-PASS-Fi

    'these three white eggs are expensive'

4.1.5   Classes 9/10 and 9a/10a

Classes 9 and 10 are respectively marked by the prefixes *e-* and *dhi-*, as in *ehíba* 'hoe' and *dhihíba* 'hoes', while the classes 9a and 10a have prefixless nouns, which thus have one form for both singular and plural. For example, *mbúzi* represents both class 9a 'goat' and class 10a 'goats'. The distinction between the singular and the plural forms is determined only by the agreement marks on the depending elements, as is made clear in (4.36).

(4.36)   a. Class 9a agreement system

    mbúz' ííjo: y' ooríb' éewuúlúválâ vaddíddí   {elic.}

mbúzí	éjo	ya	oríbâ	e-wuúlúválâ	vaddíddí
9a.goat	9.DEM.II	9.CON	15.be.black	9-be.old	very

    'this black goat is very old'

    b. Class 10a agreement system

    mbúz' íísó ttaarú dhíiyelé méémbeéséêne   {elic.}

mbúzí	ésó	ttaarú	dhí-iyel-é	méémbeésí=ene
10a.goat	10.DEM.II	10.three	NEG-10-go.back-PFV	3.morning=INT

    'these three goats did not come back early'

Furthermore, if we compare the agreement systems of classes 9a/10a in (4.36) above with classes 9/10 in (4.37) below, we clearly see that classes 9 and 9a on the one hand, and class 10 and 10a on the other hand, require perfectly identical agreement markers. This is the reason why they are classified under the same noun class numbering.

(4.37)   a. Class 9 agreement system

   ehíb' ééjó y' ooríbá [ddivahiwé báddilí músuńzi]   {elic.}

   ehíbá   éjó   ya   oríbá
   9.hoe   9.DEM.II   9.CON   15.be.black

   'I was given this black hoe [when I was an apprentice]'

   b. Class 10 agreement system

   dhihíb' éésó ttaaró dh' óolápa dhirimeeÌlé vóorúrúmuca véêne   {elic.}

   dhiíbá   ésó   ttaaró   dhá   olápa   dhi-rimeel-ilé
   10.hoe   10.DEM.II 10.three   10.CON   15.be.tall 10-disappear-PFV.CJ

   vá-orúrúmuca véêne
   16-15.startle   16.INT

   'these three goats did not come back early'

Historically, nouns belonging to classes 9a/10a bear a nasal prefix. Synchronically, several Bantu languages have lost this nasal, except in front of voiced stops, where it is easily recognisable, in spite of its non-functional status. Some examples of prenasalised consonants are provided in (4.38) with a few cognate words of Sena (N44), extracted from Torrend (1900).

(4.38)   CB reconstructions   Sena
   *N-bɛgʊ   (CS 85)   >   *mbeu*   'seed'
   *N-gùbɔ̀   (CS 873)   >   *nguwo*   'cloth'
   *N-jìdà   (CS 940)   >   *njira*   'road, path'

In Cuwabo, the nasal prefix has also been dropped, but interestingly, and somewhat exceptionally, such a denasalisation process also applied in the vicinity of voiced stops, as shown in (4.39).

(4.39)   CB reconstructions   Cuwabo
   *N-bégú   (CS 85)   >   *béwu*   'seed'
   *N-gùbɔ̀   (CS 873)   >   *gúwo*   'cloth'
   *N-jìdà   (CS 940)   >   *díla*   'road, path'

The loss of the nasal prefix is part of a broader process in Cuwabo, namely the denasalisation of PB voiced prenasalised clusters. Such a phonological evolution represents

a strong divergence in relation to other Bantu languages, and is in fact an internal innovation shared by P30 languages, which brings evidence toward a genetic relationship between Cuwabo and Makhuwa. Note however the few exceptions in (4.40), in which class 9a words begin with a nasal cluster. It is likely that such words have been borrowed from other Bantu languages.

(4.40)   Classes 9a/10a: Nasal-initial nouns

m̀bílri	'fish.sp'	*ḿbólríyo*	'ditch, stream'
ǹddálrâma	'gold'	*ǹddálre*	'fight'
ńddâsi	'scare, spot'	*ǹddévu*	'beard'

The lexical items included in classes 9/10 and 9a/10a are quite heterogeneous semantically, encompassing inanimate objects or tools (4.41), body parts (4.42), animals (4.43), diseases and physical abnormalities (4.44), land cultivation and landscapes (4.45), and Portuguese loan words (4.46).

(4.41)   Object or tools: classes 9 and 10

yaábâlo	*dhaábâlo*	'cloth'	*ebále*	*dhibále*	'bowl'	
ébúúwa	*dhíbúúwa*	'sacrifice table'	*écínyúlo*	*dhícínyúlo*	'toothpick'	
eddíyêlo	*dhiddíyêlo*	'cork'	*édhúléla*	*dhídhúléla*	'suspended triangle'	
yéêre	*dhéêre*	'cellar.sp'	*efíníko*	*dhifíníko*	'wallet'	
ehíba	*dhihíba*	'hoe'	*ekálâgo*	*dhikálâgo*	'pan'	
ékâsi	*dhíkâsi*	'calabash'	*émezó*	*dhímezó*	'fishhook'	
yoóbo	*dhoóbo*	'basket'	*yóogá*	*dhóogá*	'cage, trap'	
epáno	*dhipáno*	'tool'	*épîtti*	*dhípîtti*	'knife's handle'	
ésámúlo	*dhísámúlo*	'comb'	*etélo*	*dhitélo*	'winnower'	

Object or tools: classes 9a and 10a

bádho	'axe'	*bíya*	'stove'	*cebélo*	'sharp iron'	*cíli*	'stake'
fíbo	'sceptre'	*fúba*	'mat.sp'	*ddóddo*	'cudgel'	*góndda*	'stick'
fugúlo	'key'	*fútti*	'gun'	*gábâdda*	'lock'	*góba*	'cage'
gúwo	'cloth'	*jómbo*	'boot'	*gútte*	'drums.sp'	*kabála*	'rope'
kúgûlu	'bed'	*karíko*	'pan.sp'	*kátta*	'wood cup'	*kóbe*	'wood spoon'
seséya	'adz.sp'	*nyúmba*	'house'	*ñgómbo*	'paddle'	*nyínddo*	'hammer'
sémo	'adz.sp'	*singáno*	'needle'	*kwángwa*	'axe'	*súpííya*	'plane'
cipála	'blacksmith's tools'						

(4.42)   Classes 9 and 10: Body parts

yáalá	*dháalá*	'nail, claw'	*ebúno*	*dhibúno*	'finger'	*ebwí*	*dhibwí*	'white hair'
ehába	*dhihába*	'viscera'	*ékâpi*	*dhíkâpi*	'eyelid'	*enána*	*dhinána*	'bladder'
épêru	*dhípêra*	'fish's tail'	*ésupí*	*dhísupí*	'crest'	*éttôtto*	*dhíttôtto*	'fish's tail'
yúunú	*dhúunú*	'waist'	*étilí*	*dhítilí*	'heel'	*étúúri*	*dhítúúri*	'shoulder'

erúru	dhirúru	'chin'	éddûni	dhíddûni	'back'	érúgulu	dhírúgulu	'belly'
eríttîma	dhiríttîma	'chest'	etótôkwa		dhitótôkwa		'hoof'	
égúgúnyo	dhígúgúnyo	'elbow'	éjongóóri		dhíjongóóri		'crest'	
ézônddo	dhízônddo	'heel'	eddwáráddwara	dhiddwáráddwara		'chin'		

Classes 9a and 10a: Body parts

júga	'chest'	ttébe	'skin'	nyángâzi	'mane'	nyizínyîzi	'eyelash'
kóve	'face'	púno	'nose'	fwáfwa	'liver'	belébêdhu	'kidney'
táku	'thigh'	púlu	'testicle'	finyínji	'gizzard'	ttoméla	'fontanelle'
ttúmbo	'womb'	pottóko	'heel'	nyánga	'cock's spur'		

Animals, and especially birds and fish, belong overwhelmingly to classes 9/10 and 9a/10a.

(4.43)   Animals: classes 9 and 10

yáâdhu	dháâdhu	'flea'	ebú	dhibú	'mosquito'
edúûndu	dhidúûndu	'grasshopper'	édhîdhi	dhídhîdhi	'owl'
egwíli	dhigwíli	'fly'	élîga	dhílîga	'pigeon'
enáma	dhináma	'animal'	enwí	dhinwí	'bee'
épûngu	dhípûngu	'eagle'	yuúkûru	dhuúkûru	'owl'
évîli	dhívîli	'puffadder'	erúnddûlu	dhirúnddûlu	'bird.sp'

Animals: classes 9a and 10a

báâla	'gazelle'	baláme	'bird'	ceńce	'fly'	fúle	'water turtle'
gúdduwé	'bird.sp'	gulúwe	'pig'	gwenddé	'mole'	kága	'guinea fowl'
kangáhîwa	'dove'	kála	'crab'	kokótti	'bird.sp'	kóro	'monkey.sp'
kólôgwe	'snail.sp'	kóru	'snail'	kúci	'cobra.sp'	kúve	'mole'
kúnguní	'bedbug'	m̀bílri	'fish.sp'	mbúzi	'goat'	nówa	'snake'
kwáli	'partridge'	nári	'buffalo'	ñgómbe	'ox'	óba	'peixe'
nyenéyle	'ant'	nyíbu	'zebra'	péndde	'fish.sp'	pómbo	'grasshopper.sp'
pénêmbe	'lizard.sp'	táláakú	'ant.sp'	ttóddwe	'clam'	ttébo	'elephant'
tálááwa	'louse'	ttúbo	'louse'	kúrúwelé	'shoveler'	pwétte	'rhinoceros'

(4.44)   Classes 9 and 10: Diseases and physical abnormalities

ébêdha	dhíbêdha	'ulcer'	ejíléjile	dhijíléjile	'epilepsy'
ekótókoto	dhikótókoto	'cough'	énddôko	dhínddôko	'gangrene'
enyérínyeri	dhinyérínyeri	'polyuria'	éreddá	dhíreddá	'disease'
évâda	dhívâda	'baldness'	éviddí	dhíviddí	'wound.sp'
évûvu	dhívûvu	'pimple'	ézîmba	dhízîmba	'elephantiasis

Classes 9a and 10a: Diseases and physical abnormalities

jiráro	'hernia'	*péle*	'scabies'	*sísíínya*	'blindness'
kúrurú	'hernia'	*kwénje*	'hysteria'	*saángóttula*	'disease.sp'
sivínddo	'remedy.sp'	*ttóba*	'smallpox'	*ttonyóla*	'smallpox'
zóka	'hysteria crisis'	*viríga*	'disease.sp'		

(4.45)   Classes 9 and 10: Land

ébúúmwa	*dhíbúúmwa*	'land.sp'	*ehává*	*dhihává*	'land.sp'
ekúdu	*dhikúdu*	'parterre'	*ettáya*	*dhittáya*	'soil, ground'
yúûbwa	*dhúûbwa*	'raised land'	*elábo*	*dhilábo*	'country, territory'

Classes 9a and 10a: Land

ttáttâmwa	'plot'	*ddíma*	'plot to work'	*kárééra*	'plot to work'
kokóla	'wild forest'	*púdhûgu*	'wild forest'	*púgûru*	'wild forest'
tákwa	'forest'	*kóttôkwa*	'building land'		

(4.46)   Classes 9a and 10a: Portuguese loans

bárirí	'barrel'	<	*barril*	*bíríñku*	'earring'	<	*brinco*
bóla	'ball'	<	*bola*	*fiíjîga*	'crossbow'	<	*fisga*
fólóóri	'flower'	<	*flor*	*fóóśko*	'match'	<	*fósforo*
kádééra	'chair'	<	*cadeira*	*kámííza*	'shirt'	<	*camisa*
kápééla	'church'	<	*capela*	*kázááko*	'coat'	<	*casaco*
párááto	'plate'	<	*prato*	*sáyóóta*	'under-skirt'	<	*saiota*
síkáléta	'bicycle'	<	*bicicleta*	*síkóóla*	'school'	<	*escola*
símítále	'hospital'	<	*hospital*	*álídéya*	'village'	<	*aldeia*

Note that cross-gendered system happens with several class 9a nouns, which use the class 6 prefix *ma-* to form their plural. In the list given in (4.47), no semantic homogeneity among cross-gender 9a/6 is observed, still it contains many loans from Portuguese.

(4.47)   Cross-gender 9a and 6

Class 9a	Class 6		Class 9a	Class 6	
fútti	*mafútti*	'gun'	*káni*	*makáni*	'quarrel'
kádééra	*mákádeéra*	'chair'	*kúni*	*mákûni*	'log'
pétte	*mapétte*	'ring'	*túna*	*matúna*	'small vagina lip'
ńddâsi	*mánddâsi*	'scare'	*fólóóri*	*máfóloóri*	'flower'
gáróóso	*mágóroóso*	'caju nut'	*kánúúnddu*	*mákánuúndda*	'cigarette'

4.1.6   Class 14

Class 14 consists predominantly of abstract concepts derived from other nouns, from verbal bases, or even from adjectives. When attached to such elements, the prefix *o-* allows creating nouns which express the quality denoted by the element being derived. Examples are provided in (4.48).

(4.48)   Class 14: Abstract concepts

óbûre	'harm'	<	*búre* (adv.)	'bad'
océna	'whiteness'	<	*océna* (cl.15)	'be white'
odháâri	'servitude'	<	*mudháâri* (cl.1)	'slave'
ódhúulu	'kinship'	<	*múdhúulu* (cl.1)	'grandchild'
ókwirí	'black magic'	<	*múkwirí* (cl.1)	'wizard'
olápélana	'distance'	<	*olápa* (cl.15)	'be long'
ólêddo	'trip'	<	*múlêddo* (cl.1)	'guest, traveler'
ónddímúwa	'authority'	<	*-ndímúwa* (adj.)	'big'
óyîma	'childhood'	<	*áyîma* (cl.2)	'child'
ópa	'pain'	<	*ópa* (cl.15)	'hurt'
ópâli	'youth'	<	*ḿpâli* (cl.1)	'young man'
ópóosí	'rivalry'	<	*póôsi* (cl.1a)	'rival, co-wife'
oréêla	'richness'	<	*oréêla* (cl.15)	'be rich'
ótáduwá	'madness'	<	*táduwá* (cl.1)	'mad'
ówodhá	'power'	<	*ówodhá* (cl.15)	'can, succeed'
ózômbwe	'youth'	<	*múzômbwe* (cl.1)	'young man'

Class 14 also contains non-countable nouns, as shown in (4.49).

(4.49)   Class 14: Mass nouns

waálûwa	'drink.sp'	*wáya*	'wire'	*ógóógo*	'marrow'	*wíyi*	'honey'
olíbo	'birdlime'	*ólôgo*	'clay'	*ópûttu*	'drink.sp'	*otéga*	'drink.sp'
óttu	'flour'	*óza*	'pus'	*óyêma*	'palm wine'		

Because they represent abstractions or mass concepts, most of these nouns have no plural forms, and class 14 constitutes by itself a "single class gender". Still, a few may take the class 4 plural, as seen in (4.50). Interestingly, most of these nouns correspond to the semantic properties typically found in gender 3/4, that is long, thin and/or extended entities.

(4.50)   Classes 14 and 4: Long, thin and extended entities

ómbúlrólro óbu/ési	'this/these dress(es)'
órêze óbu/ési	'this/these fish.sp'
ósâga óbu/ési	'this/these necklace(s)'
ósâlu óbu/ési	'this/these thread(s)'
óséeléle óbu/ési	'this/these bird(s)'
ósémbe óbu/ési	'this/these crack(s)'

A few nouns in class 14 have two noun prefixes, formed by adding the class 14 prefix *o-* to a stem which already includes a prefix. The full list is given in (4.51).

(4.51)   Pre-prefix

omúlûgu	'divinity'	<	*mulúgu*	'god'
ómûttu	'mankind'	<	*múttu*	'person'
ómwâni	'infantilism'	<	*mwáaná*	'child'
ómwêne	'supremacy'	<	*mwêne*	'head, chief'

An example of the agreement system displayed by class 14 nouns is given in (4.52).

(4.52)   Class 14 agreement system

akála ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúwe   {mbílri.21}

akala	ddi	míyó＝ene	ósálu	óbú	o-patúw-e
if	1.COP	1SG.PRO＝INT	14.thread	14.DEM.I	14-break-SBJ

'if it is me, may this thread break'

Class 14 nouns are morphologically identical with class 15 verb infinitives[34].

4.1.7   Class 15

Class 15 is another single class gender, used for infinitives, marked by the prefix *o-*, or its variant *w-*, when the verbal stem is vowel-initial. Class 15 concords the same way as class 14 but contains only verbal stems, which behave as nouns. Class 15 constitutes a particular class, made of infinitives or "verbo-nominal forms of verbs" (Dunham 2004). Infinitives indeed have nominal properties in that they induce class 15 agreement on their dependents. Such an agreement is shown on the connective in (4.53)a, and on the verbal predicate in (4.53)b.

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[34] Since the prefixes of classes 14 and 15 are identical, it would be coherent in a strict analysis to annotate 14/15 altogether, rather than 14 on one side and 15 on the other.

(4.53) a. wíibá   wa   Maríya   b. ótélá   o-lí   gari

        15.sing   15.CON   Maria   15.marry   15-be 9a.luck.PL

        'Maria's singing'   'get married is a luck'

See chapter 6 on verbal morphology for more details on the infinitive.

The agreement system displayed by class 15 nouns is exemplified in (4.52).

(4.54)   Class 15 agreement system

      wíibá bugákuw' óónowáákupaár' áánámáándámáani   {elic.}

      wíibá   bu-gá-kuwá   o-ni-o-á-kupaárí   ánámáándámáani

      15.sing   SEQ.15-SIT-shout   15-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-disturb   2.neighbour

      'singing loudly annoys the neighbours'

4.1.8   Classes 16, 17 and 18: locative classes

Cuwabo retained the three historical proto-Bantu locative classes *pa (class 16), *ku (class 17), and *mu (class 18), realised as *va-*, *o-* and *mu-*, respectively. Certain nouns are inherently locative (section 4.1.8.1), while others are made locative by derivation (section 4.1.8.2). Of particular interest are the tendency toward double marking by means of an additional locative enclitic (section 4.1.8.3), and the question of agreement (section 4.1.8.4).

4.1.8.1   Inherent locative nouns

Synchronically, several stems inherently belong to the locative noun classes, i.e. the locative prefixes directly precede the nominal stem, without intervening noun class prefix. This means that the locative prefixes represent the primary noun prefixes, and that no corresponding non-locative form (i.e. the stem on its own) is attested in the language. The full list is given in (4.55).

(4.55)   Inherent locative nouns

    a. Class 16

vákûvi	'near'	*vaári*	'between, in the middle'
valeló	'finally'	*valúli*	'tooth hole'
váñgóóno	'few, little'	*vatákûlu*	'at home'
vatí	'down, on the ground'	*vógo*	'at some place'

b. Class 17

odhúlu	'sky; above, at the top'	*osongólro*	'front, in the future'
owââni	'at home' (birth place)	*ováno*	'now'
wále	'in the past, formerly'		

c. Class 18

m̀ba	'inside'	*mucíddo*	'below, at the bottom'
munddúni	'behind, back, in the past'	*mwaáno*	'in the mouth'
mwaári	'inside, into'	*mwaawonó*	'this year'

Some are grammaticalised forms derived from body parts, e.g. *munddúni* 'behind' < *eddúni* 'back'. All these locative expressions are usually analysed as adverbs or prepositions with a specific locative meaning. In order to denote location, they may be used on their own (4.56), but are more often inserted into a connective construction toward a reference object designating a place (4.57). In this case the connective relator correspondingly agrees with the preceding locative noun.

(4.56)   *[...] moonélíiyé: mánééra aácéya namárógolo m̀búga,*   {mute.16}
          bagázúgúnúca mícíc' uudhúlú mááníya vatí, [...].

mánééra	[a-á-céya	namárógolo	m̀búga]ᴿᴱᴸ	ba-gá-zúgúnúca
6.way	6-PST.IPFV.CJ-sow	1a.hare	3.rice	SEQ.1-SIT-turn

mícíci	**odhúlú**	máání=ya	**vatí**
4.root	17.top	6.herb=DEF	16.soil

'[...] the way the hare was sowing rice, turning the roots up and the leaves down the soil'

(4.57)   a. Class 16

oofíyá vaárí: va yiíkó   {mbílri.30}

o-hi-fíyá	**vaárí**	**va**	**yiíkó**
1-PFV.DJ-arrive	16.middle	16.CON	9.river

'she reached the middle of the river'

b. Class 17

ovítómeya odhúlú wa muyére   {ddingí.10}

o-ví-tómeya	**odhúlú**	**wa**	**muyére**
NAR-REFL-hang.up	17.top	17.CON	3.tree.sp

'he climbed up the tree.sp'

c. Class 18

nówá yaávólówa m̀ba mwa múzûgu   {elic.}

nówá	e-a-hí-vólówa	**m̀ba**	**mwa**	**múzûgu**
9a.snake	9-PST-PFV.DJ-enter	18.in	18.CON	1.European

'the snake had entered into the white man's house'

4.1.8.2   Derived locative nouns

While inherent or primary locative nouns are fossilised forms, a very productive way of forming new locative expressions is by prefixing a locative noun class to already existing nouns. In Cuwabo, as in many Bantu languages, there are three locative class prefixes corresponding to classes 16, 17 and 18. Their pre-prefix position is made clear in (4.58), where they attach to nouns which already bear a lexical class prefix. Note that most non-human nouns may acquire a locative meaning by means of the locative prefixation (in principle, every noun may be shifted to a locative class, except proper names of people and animates in general).

(4.58)   Class 16   Class 17   Class 18
         vamúrîni   *omusíka*   *m̀bíyâni*
         va-múrî=ni   o-musíka   mu-bíyâ=ni
         16-3.tree=LOC   17-3.market   18-9a.stove=LOC
         'at the tree'   'to the market'   'in the stove'

Each locative prefix is commonly associated with a general locative meaning, normally rendered by prepositional phrases in English. Class 16 *va-* indicates nearness (4.59) or adjacency (4.60), specific place (very often 'at a house') (4.61); it usually involves a contact (4.62), but not necessarily (4.63).

(4.59)   *okupuwavo máánjé váttolón' áápálé*   {ddoo.32}
         o-kup-uw-a=vo   máánjé   vá-ttoló=ní   ápálé
         NAR-fish.sp-PASS-Fi=16.LOC   6.water   16-well=LOC   16.DEM.III
         'they took the water out of that well'

(4.60)   *aafîyá vapambánóoni*   {maria.28}
         a-hi-fîyá   va-pambánó=ni
         2-PFV.DJ-arrive   16-9a.crossroads=LOC
         'they arrived at a crossroads'

(4.61)   *óĺleeká Nikúrábedha, olí vatákúlúvâye*   {maria.148}
         oĺle-eká   N.   o-lí   va-tákúlú=vâye
         1.DEM.III-alone   D.   1-be   16-9a.house=16.POSS.3SG
         'There is Mr.Dugong, he is in his house'

(4.62)   *kurúmáanj' ooneelóómwerela vańlúgúni*   {maria.47}
         kurúmáanje   o-naa-ilá-ómwerela   va-ńlúgú=ni
         1a.bee.sp   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL   16-5.stone=LOC
         'the bee.sp will land on a stone'

(4.63)   *pááká ovirilé vâdhúlú va mééza*   {elic.}

   pááká   o-vir-ilé   vâ-dhúlú   va   mééza

   1a.cat 1-go.through-PFV.CJ   16-top   16.CON   6.table

   'the cat jumped over the table'

   Class 17 *o-* indicates remoteness, unspecific location, a relative distance with sight (4.64). It is also much used with motion verbs, to express actual localisation ('at, in'), departure ('from'), and purpose ('to, toward'). This semantic extension is illustrated in (4.65) and (4.66). Note in (4.65) that the locative prefixes are also prefixed to names of places.

(4.64)   *ol' úumabásâni, kańzíwá dhiṁpáddúwa vatákúlúvaye*   {maria.121}

   o-lí   o-mabásâ = ni   ka-ní-zíwá   [dhi-ni-páddúwa   va-tákúlú = vaye]$_{REL}$

   1-be 17-6.work = LOC   NEG.1-IPFV-know 10-IPFV.CJ-happen   16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

   'he is at work, he does not know what is happening at home.'

(4.65)   *míyó ddilí oMokúbá, ddińdhán' ooCuwábó, ddivirilé: oNikúwádala*   {elic.}

   míyó   ddi-lí   o-Mokúbá   ddi-ní-dhána   o-Cuwábó

   1SG.PRO 1SG-be   17-Mocuba   1SG-IPFV.CJ-bring   17-Quelimane

   ddi-vir-ilé   o-Nikúwádala

   1SG-go.through   17-Nicoadala

   'I am in Mocuba, I come from Quelimane, I passed through Nicoadala'

(4.66)   *rāpáási oovény' óokobélâ: , oofíy' óokobélâ:.*   {mbílri.22}

   rāpáási   o-hi-venyá   o-kobéla   o-hi-fíya   o-kobéla

   1a.boy   1-PFV.DJ-leave   17-9a.bank   1-PFV.DJ-arrive   17-9a.bank

   'The boy (man) left the river bank and reached the other one.'

While class 16 *vatákûlu* means 'at home', class 17 *otákúlu* means 'outside', as shown in (4.67).

(4.67)   *kamáh' áaañgán' ootákúlú, oníḿóoná múyaná [w' oókóddéla vaddíddí]*   {maria.106}

   kamáhíni   a-añgán-e   o-tákúlú   o-ní-mú-oná   múyaná

   barely   1-look-SBJ   17-outside   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see   1.woman.PL

   'barely had he (the dugong) looked outside (outside the sea, toward the beach) when he sees a [very beautiful] woman'

In some cases, the semantic distinction between class 16 and class 17 is not clear. By comparing (4.68) with (4.62) above, we note that the object on which the bee lands can be introduced by both class 16 and class 17.

(4.68) *íyééne waámwérel' ólóbo dhaáyí y'oobúrúnga:*   {maria.44}

       íyééne   o-a-hí-mwérela   ó-lóbo   dhaáyí   ya   obúrúnga

       3SG.PRO   1-PST-PFV.DJ-land   17-thing   like.this.I   9.CON   15.make.round

       'he (had) landed on a round thing like this (i.e. a fruit)'

Class 18 *mu-* denotes withinness, interiority, enclosed place (e.g. in a house), as shown in (4.69), or an object surrounded by an entity (4.70). The context and the semantic value of the verbs help in determining the direction.

(4.69) Withinness, interiority

    a. *éjí yaapíléew' éénééwúna m̀mádaní:*   {maria.48}

       éjí   [e-ap-ílé = ewe]_{REL}   [e-ná = éwé = na   mu-máda = ní]_{REL}

       9.DEM.I   9-pluck-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO   9-have = 2SG.PRO = COM   18-6.hand = LOC

       'what (the fruit) you plucked and now have in your hands'

    b. *aádhówá m̀mátákulu mwááwá:*   {maria.12}

       a-hí-dhówá   mu-mátákulu   mwááwá

       2-PFV.DJ-go   18-6.home   18.POSS.3PL

       'they lived in their houses'

(4.70) In the middle of some entity

    a. *oomóttéla m̀máánjéní "kíbííí:"*   {mbílri.42}

       o-hi-mótt-él-a   mu-máánjé = ní   kíbííí

       1-PFV.DJ-fall-APPL-Fi   18-6.water = LOC   IDEO

       'she fell into the water "splash!"'

    b. *oshága onom̄pémbelríha múttu, mwiilábôni*   {mute.23}

       oshága   o-ni-o-mú-pémbelr-íh-a   múttú   mu-elábô = ni

       14.smartness   14-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-be.fair-CAUS-Fi   1.people   18-9.society = LOC

       'cleverness often benefits man in our society'

In a few cases, the locative prefix triggers noun class prefix deletion. Here are some illustrating examples:

(4.71) Class prefix deletion

    o-ttóló = ni ókúle   'there at the well'   <   *ǹttólo* (cl.5)   'well'

    va-célâ = ni   'at the well'   <   *ǹcéla* (cl.5)   'well'

    wiíko, mwiíko   'to the river, in the river'   <   *yiíko* (cl.9)   'river' (> e-íko)

    ólôbo   'on something'   <   *élôbo* (cl.9)   'thing'

The reason for noun class prefix deletion is not clear. Both nouns in (4.71) belong to class 5, but this cannot be the reason why the nasal prefix gets deleted, since there are several

counterexamples whereby the nasal is maintained when the locative prefix is added, e.g. *o-n-ttúkú=ni* (cl.5) 'to the stump' *va-ń-lúgú=ni* (cl.5) 'on a stone'. At this point I remain unsure what significance should be attributed to these cases. A more systematic investigation on this issue would be needed to determine the contexts in which such a deletion may occur or not.

Regarding tones, the presence of the locative prefix does not alter the tone pattern found before locative derivation. The locative prefix is thus not treated as being part of the word when tones get assigned, and may thus be considered as a proclitic.

Locative markers can be used with the verb *omála* 'finish, complete' (or a derived form) to form temporal adverbs, as seen in the two following examples.

(4.72)   a. *m̀malélááaní: ǹǹfíyá ńsáká na wúúnúwá:*   {maria.10}

mu-mal-él-á=ní   ni-hi-fíyá   ńsáká   na   wúúnúwá

18-finish-APPL-Fi=LOC   5-PFV.DJ-arrive   5.time   5.CON   15.grow

'Then came the growing phase'

b. *eǹtáwú, omamálélowa ofíyîlé ddi fúmú Namárógolo*   {mute.9}

eǹtáwú   o-mamálélo=wa   [o-fíy-îlé]_{REL}   ddi   fúmú   namárógolo

then   17-6.end=17.DEF   1-arrive-PFV.REL   1.COP   1a.mister   1a.hare

'finally the one who came is (was) mister Hare'

In a general way, class 17 allows forming temporal adverbs derived from verbs like 'start' or 'finish' as seen above in (4.72)b (*mamálêlo* 'end' > *omála* 'finish'), but also locative adverbs derived from motion verbs. In this case, the adverb indicates the place where the action expressed by the verb takes place, as shown in (4.73) with *oméyélélo* 'on the way back' derived from *wííyéla* 'come back'. See section 4.2.1.2 for further details on this derivation process.

(4.73)   *oméyélél' oóku [...], kurúmáanj' ooneelóómwerela vańlúgúni*   {maria.47}

oméyélélo   óku   kurúmáanje   o-naa-ilá-ómwerela   va-ńlúgú=ni

17.way.back   17.DEM.I   1a.bee.sp   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL   16-5.stone=LOC

'On the way back [...], the bee.sp will land on a stone.'

Locative markers can be used with the temporal adverb *mángwáána* 'tomorrow', as seen in (4.74).

(4.74)   *m̀mángwánáním' oottamágúw' óódha*   {maria.113}

mú-mángwááná=ní=mwa   o-ttamágá   o-dha

18-tomorrow=LOC=18.DEF   NAR-run   NAR-come

'The next day, he went (to the seaside) running.' (lit. he ran and went)

4.1.8.3   The enclitic =ni

So far, I focused on the left-periphery of the locative derivational process, i.e. on the prefixation of one of three locative prefixes *va-*, *o-* and *mu-*. However, a second aspect of locative derivation must be taken into account, namely the suffixation of the locative enclitic =*ni*. This clitic, considered as the grammaticalised form of **-ini* 'liver' (Samsom and Schadeberg 1994), is widespread in Eastern Bantu languages, where it supposedly originates, but is also well attested in Southern Bantu. This formal innovation is normally complementary to the historical locative prefixes, i.e. a language does in principle not exhibit both markers on a same lexical item. For instance, in Swati (Nguni group, Swaziland and South Africa), locative phrases are marked either by the class 17 locative prefix *ku-* (4.75)a, or by the prefix *e-* (4.75)b, productively combined with the clitic =*ini* (4.75)c. These examples, extracted from Marten (2010), are originally from Taljaard, Khumalo and Bosch (1991).

(4.75)   a. *bafana*   'boys'   >   *ku-bafana*   'to/at the boys'
         b. *sitolo*   'shop'   >   *e-sitolo*   'at the shop'
         c. *indlu*   'house'   >   *e-ndl=ini*   'at the house'

In Cuwabo, both locative prefixes and the clitic =*ni* do co-occur in most locative expressions, as evidenced in the different examples mentioned so far. This double locative marking, which represents an innovation shared by P30 languages (Makhuwa group), is an exceptional feature in Bantu languages.

Still, note that this enclitic =*ni* is not systematically suffixed to all nouns. The following lists provide examples of locative phrases with (4.76) and without (4.77) =*ni*. All are extracted from narratives.

(4.76)   Locative phrases with =*ni*

mu-baárúku=ní	(cl.1a)	'in the boat'
m̂púle m̀-mú-rúdda=ni	(cl.3)	'there in the village'
ókúle o-mu-yérê=ni	(cl.3)	'there at the tree.sp'
o-ǹ-ttúkú=ni	(cl.5)	'to the stump'
mu-máánjé=ní	(cl.6)	'in the water'
mu-kásháwú=ní	(cl.9)	'in the box'
mwiilábô=ni	(cl.9)	'in society'
mu-dhoójá=ni m̂púle	(cl.10)	'in that food'
va-ó-sálú=ni ápa	(cl.14)	'to that thread'
mu-weédda=ni	(cl.15)	'on the walking path'

(4.77)   Locative phrases without =*ni*

va-takúlu	(cl.9a)	'at home'
mu-díla	(cl.9a)	'on the way'
wiíkó / mu-íko	(cl.9 yiíko)	'to the river' / 'in the river'
ḿpúle mu-bárá	(cl.9a)	'there in the sea'
ókúle mu-ttémbá	(cl.9a)	'there in the village'

a. m̀pu = nó   **mú-makúúzi**   **ó-máttíyu**   oku = no   {mbílri.1}
    18.DEM.I = PROX   18-Macuse   17-6.night   17.DEM.I = PROX
    'here in Macuze, at night'

b. **o-múnddá**   o-mabásá = ní   {body.11}
    17-3.field   17-6.work = LOC
    'on the field, at work'

c. rapáási   o-hi-vényá   **o-kobéla**   o-hi-fíya   **o-kobéla**   {mbílri.22}
    1a.boy   1-PFV.DJ-leave   17-9a.bank   1-PFV.DJ-arrive   17-9a.bank
    'the boy left the river bank and reached the other one'

d. o-a-hí-mwérela   **ó-lóbo**   dhaáyí   ya   obúrúnga   va-múrí = ní
    1-PST-PFV.DJ-land   17-(9.)thing   like.this.I   9.CON   15.make.round   16-3.tree = LOC
    'he (had) landed on a round fruit in a tree'   {maria.44}

e. *adhowiléná voolápélána na ńbâra*   {maria.172}
    a-dhow-ilé = ná   **va-olápélána**   na   ńbâra
    2-go-PFV.CJ = COM   16-14.distance   with   5.sea
    'they went away at some distance from the beach'

For the word *pápóóro* 'boat' (from Portuguese *vapor*), both forms are attested.

(4.78)   a. **mu-papóóro = ni**   ḿpúle   OR   b. ḿpúle   **mu-pápóóro**
        18-1a.boat = LOC   18.DEM.III   18.DEM.III   18-1a.boat
        'into that boat' {maria.143}   'in there in the boat' {maria.159}

The conditioning for this apparent variability is difficult to account for. The semantic load of the derived words may play a role in determining the addition of the locative enclitic: a word inherently locative may not require to carry further locative information, and vice versa. Another hypothesis would consist in tracking the different pragmatic situations in which the locative phrases occur, so that some dynamic considerations may also possibly be involved. These are research directions to be further explored.

4.1.8.4 Agreement

Within the noun phrase, the question of agreement on the locative phrases' modifiers is interesting in that two patterns exist, which differ according to the modifiers. In most cases, the modifier agrees with the locative noun class (and not the inherent class of the noun). This is illustrated with the possessives (4.79), the demonstratives (4.80), and the adjectives (4.81).

(4.79)   Locative agreement on possessives

va-tákúlu	*váawa*	*osogólró*	*waaye*	*m̀-mátákulu*	*mwááwa*
16-9a.house	16.POSS.3PL	17.front	17.POSS.3SG	18-6.home	18.POSS.3PL
'at their home'		'in front of her'		'in their houses'	

(4.80)   Locative agreement on demonstratives

va-tákûlu	*ápa*	*o-ttolo-ni*	*ókó*
16-9a.house	16.DEM.I	17-well＝LOC	17.DEM.II
'at this house'		'at that well'	

(4.81)   Locative agreement on adjectives

olába	*vógó*	*va-déréétú*	*… [a-á-lígi*	*va-déréétú]*REL
15.work	16.place	16-good	2-PST.IPFV-be.HAB	16-good
'work in a good place'			'…who were in a comfortable place'	

Now, in connective constructions headed by locative phrases, the connective relator does not agree with the locative class, but with the inherent noun class of the head constituent (4.82), unless the locative form of the head noun carries inherently the locative prefix and is endowed with what is commonly considered an adverbial reading (4.83).

(4.82)   a.

va-méémbeésí	*wa*	*ddabuno*
16-3.morning	3.CON	today
'this morning'		

b.

o-mízéréré＝ni	*dha*	*ddímííngu*
17-4.ceremony＝LOC	4.CON	9a.Sunday
'at Sunday ceremony' (elic.)		

c.

mu-sidádi	*ya*	*o-Maputo*
18-9a.city	9.CON	17-Maputo
'in the city of Maputo' (elic.)		

(4.83)   a.

vaárí	*va*	*yiíkó*
16.middle	16.CON	9-river
'at the middle of the river'		

b.

odhúlú	*wa*	*muyére*
17.top	17.CON	3.tree.sp
'to the top of the *muyére*'		

c.

mwaárí	*mwa*	*máttádda*
18.inside	18.CON	6.lake
'inside the lakes' (elic.)		

d.

m̀bá	*mwa*	*m̀mááni*
18.home	18.CON	1.my.mother
'into my mother's house'		

Still, *vatákúlu* 'at home' constitutes one exception to examples in (4.82), since it seems to function as an inherent locative noun, thus implying locative agreement, as shown in (4.84). This may indicate that *vatákûlu* has achieved the final step of locative derivation, and must synchronically be considered as an inherent locative noun, rather than a derived locative noun. The fact that the basic stem *tákûlu* 'home, household' is rarely attested in my data supports this hypothesis.

(4.84)   *va-tákúlu*   *va*   *ábáabe*
         16-9a.house   16.CON   2a.parent
         'at the parents' house'

Locative noun phrases may also function as subjects in inverted constructions, known as locative inversion. In this case, the three-way morphological contrast (class 16 *va-*, class 17 *o-*, and class 18 *mu-*) found on the locative head operates on agreeing subject markers, as shown in (4.85). See section 11.1.4 for more details on locative inversion in Cuwabo.

(4.85)   a. Class 16 locative inversion
         vattólóní vâmeĺlé foloóri énddímúwá   {ddoo.23}
         va-ttóló=ní   vâ-mel-ilé   foloóri   é-nddímúwá
         16-well=LOC   16-blossom-PFV.CJ   9a.flower.PL   9-big
         'there at the well a big flower blossomed'

         b. Class 17 locative inversion
         ottólón' uúkúl' ookálá fúlóóri   {ddoo.25}
         o-ttóló=ni   ókúlé   o-hi-kálá   fúlóóri
         17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III   17-PFV.DJ-be   9a.flower
         'there at the well there is a flower'

         c. Class 18 locative inversion
         m̀púle m̀bara, muukálá mwánéenámá ońkúwélíwa Nikúrábedha   {maria.104}
         m̀púle   mu-bara   mu-hi-kálá   mwáná-enámá   [o-ní-kúwél-íw-a   N.]REL
         18.DEM.III   18-9a.sea.PL   18-PFV.DJ-be   1.child-9.animal   1-IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi   D
         'There in the sea, there is an animal called Mr.Dugong.'

4.1.9   Agreement in coordinate noun phrases

In coordinate noun phrases, several situations arise: first, if the two nouns belong to the same class, the agreement is made with the corresponding plural prefix. For instance, two

coordinated class 1 nouns imply a class 2 plural agreement on the verb, whether they are animate (4.86)a or not (4.86)b.

(4.86)   Class 1 + Class 1 = class 2 agreement

    a. *báábe na mááye aazívéliwa*   {mute.18}

       báábe   na   mááye   a-hi-zívéliwa

       1a.father and   1.mother 2-PFV.DJ-like

       'the father and the mother liked (it)'

    b. *mácááddó na kóólríyó awííndééya*   {elic.}

       mácááddó   na   kóólríyó   a-hí-índ-ééy-a

       1a.axe   and   1a.big.hoe 2-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi

       'the axe and the big hoe are broken'

Now, when coordinate noun phrases belong to different noun classes, a gender conflict arises, which seems to be resolved in quite a regular way in Cuwabo: irrespective of the semantics of the two nouns involded in coordination (human or not, animate or not), it is normally the plural class of the second in the sequence which triggers agreement on the following verb, as shown in (4.87). Note that most sentences were obtained through elicitation, since such coordinate noun phrases are not very productive in spontaneous speech.

(4.87)   a. Class 1a + class 5 = class 6 agreement

      pááká na ńcílú anoshágâ vaddíddi   {elic.}

      pááká   na   ńcílú   a-ni-oshágâ   vaddíddi

      1a.cat and 5.rat   6-IPFV.DJ-15.be.clever much

      'the cat and the rat are clever'

    b. Class 1a + class 9a = class 10 agreement

      poddógóma na nári dhiívíra   {elic.}

      poddógóma na   nári   dhi-hí-víra

      1a.lion   and 9a.buffalo 10-PFV.DJ-pass

      'the lion and the buffalo passed by'

    c. Class 3 + class 10 = class 10 agreement

      [waábulélá vaddíddí,] musébweé: , pélé kadhaáḿmala   {maria.6}

      musébwe   pélé   ka-dhi-á-mú-mala

      3.measles 10a.scabies   NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-stop

      '[she always got sick:] measles, scabies never stopped (with her).'

4.2 Derivational processes

Several derivational morphological processes contribute to the formation of new nouns in Cuwabo. The most common and most productive consists in modifying noun or verb stems by derivational suffixes and/or class prefixes (section 4.2.1). Other Cuwabo nouns may stem from compounding (section 4.2.2) or reduplication (section 4.2.3) of existing forms in the languages. Finally, some Cuwabo nouns are also formed by means of specific formatives prefixed to the stem; these are complex nouns (section 4.2.4).

4.2.1   Noun derivation by affixation

Nouns may be derived either from action verbs or from other nouns by adding various derivational affixes. This section discusses three derivation processes: noun-to-noun (section 4.2.1.1), verb-to-noun (section 4.2.1.2), and (although more rarely attested) adjective-to-noun (section 4.2.1.3).

4.2.1.1   Noun-to-noun derivation (by means of class alternation)

Although the majority of nouns belong to a single class only, some may be hosted by more than one class: the change of class prefix implies a change in meaning. More specifically, while the core meaning of the basic nominal stem is preserved through such a noun-to-noun derivation, the class prefixation brings shades of semantic categorisation. Several instances are provided here, always in form of pairs. First, names of trees in classes 3/4 have matching names for their fruits either in classes 5/6 (4.88), or in class 9a/10a (4.89).

(4.88)   Class 3/4 for trees and 5/6 for fruits

Class 3		Class 5	
ḿfûgi	'banana tree'	*nífûgi*	'banana'
múnddîmwi	'lime tree'	*ńddîmwi*	'lime'
murága	'pumpkin plant'	*ǹrága*	'pumpkin.sp'
muttíyéelé	'tree.sp'	*ǹttíyéelé*	'fruit.sp'
múyéébe	'pine tree'	*níyéébe*	'pine cone'

(4.89) Class 3/4 for trees and 9a/10a for fruits

Class 3		Class 9a	
mucámbárawe	'grapevine'	*cambárâwe*	'grape'
muttógôma	'plum tree'	*ttogóma*	'plum'
m̀púdho	'fruit tree'	*púdho*	'fruit.sp'
ḿpûru	'fruit tree'	*púru*	'fruit.sp'
mutóngôma	'fruit tree'	*tongóma*	'fruit.sp'
ttegérêge	'fruit tree'	*muttégérege*	'fruit.sp'

Furthermore and as already seen in section 4.1.6, class 14 nouns typically derive from other nouns, which typically belong to classes 1/2 or to class 15. A few examples are given in (4.90).

(4.90) Class 14: Abstract concepts

odháâri	'servitude'	<	*mudháâri* (cl.1)	'slave'
ókwirí	'black magic'	<	*múkwirí* (cl.1)	'wizard'
ópâli	'youth'	<	*ḿpâli* (cl.1)	'young man'
ótáduwá	'madness'	<	*táduwá* (cl.1)	'mad'
olápélana	'distance'	<	*olápa* (cl.15)	'be long'
ópa	'pain'	<	*ópa* (cl.15)	'hurt'
oréêla	'richness'	<	*oréêla* (cl.15)	'be rich'
ówodhá	'power'	<	*ówodhá* (cl.15)	'can, succeed'

Morphologically, the aforementioned examples show nominal stems which shift from one class to another. Still, another derivation process exists, in which the whole noun (including its class prefix) is transferred into another class. The obtained derived noun thus carries two class prefixes. This derivation process is less common and only occurs with a few abstract words derived from human referees, as illustrated in (4.91).

(4.91) Pre-prefixation

omúlûgu	'divinity'	<	*mulúgu*	'god'
ómûttu	'mankind'	<	*múttu*	'person'
ómwâni	'infantilism'	<	*mwáaná*	'child'
ómwêne	'supremacy'	<	*mwêne*	'head, chief'

4.2.1.2 Verb-to-noun derivation

Nouns may be deverbative, i.e. derived from verbal bases, by adding an appropriate noun class prefix, as well as a nominalising suffix, which comes and replaces the stem final vowel *-a.* Each of these nominalising suffixes hints toward some semantic categorisation of the

noun. The three different deverbal noun suffixes *-i*, *-a*, and *-o*, attested in Cuwabo, are developed in turn. Note that in every case, the derived nouns maintain the tonal structure of the verbal stems.

-i

Many agent nouns hosted in classes 1 and 2 are derived from verbs by means of the nominalising suffix *-i*. This derivation is a productive process in the language, which applies to both transitive and intransitive verb stems. Different examples are listed in (4.92).

(4.92)   Suffix *-i* : Agent nouns

múddááwi	'sinner'	<	*óddááwa*	'sin'
mwíímééli	'chief'	<	*wííméla*	'stand'
m̀mújâni	'greedy'	<	*ója*	'eat'
m̀pááwi	'orfan'	<	*ópááwa*	'be poor, miserable'
m̀páddûci	'creator'	<	*opáddûca*	'create'
m̀pémbéélri	'winner'	<	*ópémbéélra*	'win'
mukúmbi	'fisherman'	<	*okúmba*	'fish'
múlebí	'who can write'	<	*ólebá*	'write'
múrééli	'rich man'	<	*órééla*	'be rich'
músúnzi	'student'	<	*ósúnza*	'learn'
mwííddâni	'ennemy'	<	*wíídda*	'hate'
múyéélégi	'poor person'	<	*óyééléga*	'be poor'

Note that the noun *m̀báali* 'brother/sister', derived from *óbáála* 'give birth' in a similar agentive morphological pattern, is a semantic exception to the agentivity rule in that it does not refer to the agent of the action performed by the verb. According to the meaning of the verb *óbáála* 'give birth', we would expect *m̀báali* to mean 'genitor'.

-a

Other agent nouns hosted in classes 1/1a and 2 are attested in my database with the final vowel *-a*. Examples are provided in (4.93), followed by the verb used for derivation.

(4.93)   Class 15 for infinitive verbs and class 1/1a for agent nouns

ddangúrânya	'chatterbox'	<	*oddángúranya*	'chat, lie'
jebérûwa	'prostitute'	<	*ojébéruwa*	'prostitute'
mápítéla	'spy'	<	*ópitá*	'hide'
muláwûla	'fortune-teller'	<	*oláwûla*	'foretell'

m̀págányedha	'sender'	<	*opágányedha*	'send to'
mwaáddéliwa	'disciple'	<	*waáddêla*	'inform'
táduwá	'madman'	<	*ótádúwa*	'get crazy'
m̀vávîha	'pilot'	<	*ováva*	'fly'
máwáníha	'troublemaker'	<	*ówaná*	'fight'

-e

Derivation by means of the suffix *-e* added to a verb root is not productive at all in Cuwabo. The only attested examples are given in (4.94), where this suffixation seems to indicate a state, at least with *kwettéṅkwe* 'crippled person'.

(4.94)	*kwettéṅkwe*	'crippled person'	<	*okwéttéṅkwa*	'limp'
	elávélave	'insatisfaction'	<	*oláválava*	'disobey'
	nimááluwe	'echo'	<	*waálûwa*	'scatter'

-o

The derivational suffix *-o* is very frequent and productive. It allows creating nouns with vague or abstract meaning usually denoting the result (action or state) of the verbal action or process. Unlike noun stems formed with the suffix *-i*, noun stems formed with the suffix *-o* may be associated with different classes, as shown in (4.95), even though a majority belong to classes 5/6.

(4.95)   Suffix *-o* : Abstract nouns

a. Class 5   Verb

nífumó	'richness'	<	*ófumá*	'be rich'
nigáno	'law, rule'	<	*ogána*	'decide'
nikáttámiho	'problem'	<	*okáttámiha*	'make difficult'
nikókómezo	'advise' (n)	<	*okókómeza*	'advise' (v)
níkúmbílro	'request' (n)	<	*ókúmbílra*	'ask, request'
ǹlámûlo	'law, duty'	<	*olámûla*	'order'
ńlebó	'writing'	<	*ólebá*	'write'
ǹléjêlo	'greeting'	<	*oléjéela*	'greet'
ǹlélo	'education'	<	*oléla*	'educate'
ńlógélo	'request'	<	*ólógéla*	'implore'
nipáddûwo	'unexpected event'	<	*opáddûwa*	'happen'
nipíkílrelo	'promess' (n)	<	*opíkílrela*	'promess' (v)
ǹránjûlo	'profit, gain' (n)	<	*oránjûla*	'profit, gain' (v)

ńrúwáno	'insult' (n)	<	*órúwána*	'insult' (v)
ǹsákúlano	'preference'	<	*osákûla*	'choose'
ńségédho	'problem'	<	* óségédha*	'cause trouble'
ńsóóso	'suffering, torture'	<	*ósóósa*	'torture'
ńtáábuco	'punishment'	<	*ótáábúca*	'punish'
ǹttíttímiho	'glory'	<	*ottíttímiha*	'glorificate'

b. Class 9   Verb

ekálêlo	'behaviour'	<	*okála*	'be'
éléméelélo	'habit'	<	*ólémééléla*	'get used to'
enónêlo	'meaning'	<	*onóna*	'know'
epánêlo	'death throes'	<	*opána*	'be dying'
építaálo	'hide-and-seek'	<	*ópitá*	'hide'
esámbêlo	'menstruation'	<	*osámba*	'menstruate'
éttáwélo	'way to flee'	<	*óttawá*	'flee, run away'
yeéddêlo	'behaviour'	<	*weédda*	'walk'

c. Class 3

mukálêlo	'behaviour'	<	*okála*	'be'

In combination with classes 9(a)/10 (4.96)a and 3/4 (4.96)b, but more rarely 5/6 (4.96)c, the suffix *-o* also forms nouns which denote instruments that are involved in the activity described by the verb.

(4.96)   Suffix *-o* : Instrument

a. Class 9/9a   Verb

écínyúlo	'toothpick	<	*ócínyúla*	'pick one's teeth'
eddíyêlo	'stopper'	<	*oddíya*	'stop up'
élógélo	'language'	<	*ólogá*	'speak'
émezó	'fishhook'	<	*ómezá*	'fish'
ésámúlo	'comb' (n)	<	*ósámúla*	'comb' (v)
etélo	'winnow' (n)	<	*otéla*	'winnow' (v)
fugúlo	'key'	<	*ofúga*	'open'
togólo	'point, tip'	<	*otógôla*	'sharpen'
yaábâlo	'cloth'	<	*waábâla*	'dress'

b. Class 3   Verb

mukúpo	'fan'	<	*okúpa*	'fan'
ńfônddo	'drill'	<	*ofóndda*	'pierce'
ǹfúgo	'handle'	<	*ofúga*	'open'
múlebó	'card'	<	*ólebá*	'write'
mulíkîho	'anchor'	<	*olíka*	'drop anchor'
ǹpímo	'measure tool'	<	*opíma*	'measure'

músáméélo	'support'	<	*ósámééla*	'lean against'
múséélo	'broom'	<	*ósééla*	'sweep'
musúgûlo	'strainer'	<	*osúgûla*	'strain, filter'
muttíddêlo	'handle' (n)	<	*ottídda*	'handle' (v)
múwásúlo	'whip' (n)	<	*owásúla*	'whip' (v)
mwéddo	'leg'	<	*weédda*	'walk'

c. Class 5   Verb

nífuló	'anvil'	<	*ófulá*	'work iron'

Note that in this derivational process, a few instrument nouns are added the applicative extension *-el-*, while it is not contained in the verbal base. And interestingly, several *-elo* (applicative + *-o*) nouns belong to the locative class 17, with a temporal (4.97)a or locative (4.97)b adverbial meaning.

(4.97)   Class 17 *-elo* derived nouns

a. | *omágómélo* | 'at the end' | < | *ógomá* | 'finish' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *omamálêlo* | 'at the end' | < | *omála* | 'finish' |
| *omamáríhelo* | 'at the end' | < | *omáríha* | 'finish' |
| *omárómélo* | 'at the beginning' | < | *óromá* | 'begin, start' |

b. | *omáándálélo* | 'place to spread crops' | < | *wáándála* | 'spread, extend' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *omadhéélo* | 'to the East' | < | *odhéêla* | 'come to' |
| *omáddóówélo* | 'to the West' | < | *óddóówéla* | 'lay down, set (sun)' |

4.2.1.3   Adjective-to-noun derivation

Out of the seven adjectives attested in Cuwabo (see section 5.4), only two allow noun formation: *-nddímúwa* 'big, old' (4.98)a, and *-ñgóóno* 'small' (4.98)b.

(4.98)   a. | *múnddímúwa* (cl.1) | 'chief' | < | *-nddímúwa* | 'big, old' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ónddímúwa* (cl.14) | 'greatness' | < | *-nddímúwa* | 'big, old' |

   b. | *óñgóóno* (cl.14) | 'smallness' | < | *-ñgóóno* | 'small' |

4.2.2   Compound nouns

Besides derivation, compounding constitutes another word formation strategy. Compounding consists in combining two words, generally both nouns, with different meaning into one with a new meaning. Contrary to many Bantu languages, Cuwabo has lost its diminutive

noun class prefixes (usually classes 12/13). Instead, a productive pattern of nominal compounding in Cuwabo consists in juxtaposing the class 1 head element *mwáná-* to a common noun (with its nominal prefix), as shown in (4.99).

(4.99)   *ñsáká nimodhá waákálawo mwánámwííyaná mwánánámwáli,*   {mute.1}
          [woonúwíle vatákúlu vaábáabé.]
          ñsáká ni-modhá   o-á-kála = wo   **mwáná-mwíyaná   mwáná-námwáli**
          5.time 5.one   1-PST.IPFV-be = 17.LOC   1.child-1.woman   1.child-1a.girl
          'once upon a time, there was a girl [who grew up in the parent's house]'

In such compounds, the first element modifies the second, and it always controls agreement on the dependent constituents. Tonally, it bears a high tone on its first mora, which doubles on the next mora, while the second noun exhibits the same tone pattern as in isolation.

The origin of the diminutive *mwáná-* is the lexical word for 'child' *mwáaná*, reconstructed as **-yánà* 'child' (Guthrie's CS 1922). Three arguments support this assertion: first, there is a clear phonological similarity between the diminutive prefix and the word for 'child'. When assuming its function of "relational term" (Schadeberg 1992: 12), the element *mwááná* is in fact reduced to *mwáná-*. Second, the association between this diminutive formative and the word for 'child' has long been established from a diachronic viewpoint over the Bantu domain (Güldemann 1999, Creissels 1999, among others). The third argument deals with semantic grounds. Cross-linguistically, the head noun 'child' used in compounding is considered as a diminutive, and as such, is commonly associated with an interpretation of smallness, assigned to an object or a quality. Jurafsky (1996: 534) defines the diminutive as "any morphological device which means at least 'small'". In Cuwabo, this meaning is attested to the diminutive *mwáná-*, as shown in (4.100).

(4.100) Smallness
         Compound noun   *mwááná* 'child' +
         mwánámúndda   'garden'   *múndda*   'field'
         mwánááaká   'little cat'   *páaká*   'cat'
         mwánám̀páddo   'small bench'   *m̀páddo*   'bench'
         mwánáńlûgu   'small stone'   *ńlûgu*   'stone'

However, the diminutive *mwáná-* is not confined to smallness, and in fact displays various other interpretations. For instance, *mwáná-* may suggest the meaning 'young', usually applied on a human or an animal, as shown in (4.101). Note that this idea of offspring displays a close semantic relation to the aforementioned concept of smallness, as young entities are usually expected to be of smaller size.

(4.101) 'young' (offspring)

Compound noun			mwááná 'child' +	
mwánábúru	'young lady'			
mwánámúyaná	'young woman'	>	múyaná	'woman'
mwánánámwâli	'young lady'	>	námwâli	'young virgin'
mwánákwáádhúni	'orfan'			
mwánéénáma	'animal, offspring'	>	enáma	'animal'

Furthermore, membership is a common source for diminutive compounding, and is in fact the most attested meaning evidenced by the prefix *mwáná-*. The entities referred to are part of a semantic group or category, denoted by the base word. In particular, nouns expressing a physical or social condition are much attested, as exemplified in (4.102). Such forms no longer convey the idea of smallness as part of their meaning.

(4.102) Membership

Compound noun			mwááná 'child' +	
mwánákálâba	'old person'	>	kálâba	'old person'
mwánámágulá	'customer'	>	mágulá	'customer'
mwánámóóvi	'assistant'	>	móvi	'assistant'
mwánámúkatti	'messenger'			
mwánámúlúgu	'albino'	>	múlûgu	'god'
mwánámúrâla	'host'	>	múrâla	'family, home'
mwánáwéédda	'foreigner'	>	weédda	'walk'
mwánówááni	'noble person'	>	owááni	'birth place'
mwánámáánddámáni	'neighbour'	>	wááddámâna	'be neighbour
mwánámúrúvi	'godfather, godmother'			

As seen in various examples above, the second compounding element, the one which is modified, is not always recognisable in isolation, and may in fact no longer exist in the current lexicon. Two examples are given in (4.103), and compared to Guthrie's proto-form, as well as surrounding languages in which such short forms exist: Sena (Anderson 1897, Torrend 1900) and Ngazija (Lafon 1991).

(4.103)

Cuwabo		Unattested	PB	Sena	Ngazija
mwánâbwa	'dog'	#bwa	*-búà (CS 174)	(mwanambwa)	mbwa
mwánâku	'fowl'	#ku	*-kúkù (CS 1203x)	nkuku	nkuhu

4.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication represents another widespread word formation strategy, which involves repetition of the noun stem, with a H tone reassignment. Two types of reduplication are distinguished, total or partial, which differ according to the portion (complete or not) of the duplicated form. In Cuwabo, only total reduplication is attested, and although a certain number of nouns are affected, nominal reduplication is not a productive process. The following sets of examples illustrate total reduplication applied on disyllabic stems (4.104) and on trisyllabic stems (4.105). As the examples show, reduplication affects all the major words classes, but does not involve semantic homogeneity among the variety of words created by this process. Note that, in most cases, the base of the word is not attested synchronically in the language.

(4.104) Total reduplication with disyllabic stems

a. Classes 1(a)/2

naḿ-píta-pita	'hide-and-seek'	*naḿ-púra-pura*	'plant.sp'
naḿ-péla-pela	'medicinal water'	*nań-lóko-loko*	'larynx'
neé-ttúku-ttuku	'watermelon'	*m̀-púrú-puru*	'bird.sp'
bwérú-bwerú	'shrimp.sp'	*koró-kôro*	'fish.sp'

b. Classes 3/4

mú-kúre-kúre	'brook, stream'

c. Classes 5/6

ní-gárú-gáru	'shell'	*ní-gúrú-gúru*	'shell'
ní-kátá-káta	'beeswax'	*má-kéwa-kéwa*	'gossip'
ǹ-láká-laka	'fin'	*ǹ-tálá-tala*	'caterpillar'
ǹ-ttóbó-ttobo	'stain, mark'		

d. Class 9/10

e-bárá-bara	'width'	*e-bárí-bari*	'truth'
e-ddwárá-ddwara	'chin'	*e-dhúlú-dhulu*	'in the north'
e-jílé-jile	'epilepsy'	*e-góní-goni*	'talent'
e-gúddú-guddu	'dusk, twilight'	*e-kótó-koto*	'cough'
e-kóttó-kotto	'wrist'	*e-kwású-kwasu*	'whip'
e-kúmá-kuma	'sadness'	*e-lávé-lave*	'insatisfaction'
e-lókó-loko	'desire'	*e-móní-moni*	'glow-worm'
e-mwérú-mweru	'joy, laugh'	*e-nárí-nari*	'nausea'
e-ngáyí-ngayi	'enraged dog'	*e-ngwíró-ngwiro*	'clarity'

e-pání-pani	'glow-worm'	*e-rókó-roko*	'vice'
e-ttúkú-ttuku	'climb'	*é-ttúwa-ttúwa*	'crab.sp'
e-vírá-vira	'vertigo'		

    e. Class 9a/10a

cebwé-cêbwe	'lips filament'	*geddé-gêdde*	'drum.sp'
gobó-gôbo	'pumpkin's leaf'	*laká-lâka*	'chattering'
lubá-lûba	'wood column'	*kupú-kûpu*	'stick to throw'
kottó-kôtto	'cassava plant'	*nyimbwí-nyîmbwi*	'eyebrow'
nyizí-nyîzi	'eyelash'	*ttómú-ttómu*	'crackling'

    f. Class 15

o-nóngó-nongo	'skill'

(4.105) Total reduplication with trisyllabic stems

    o-ttíyána-ttíyâna   'difference'   *nyangara-nyángâra* 'goose bumps'

When the nouns are prefixless (in class 1a and 9a/10a), the whole word appears as reduplicated. Further note that, in rare cases, reduplication may apply to the whole noun including the nominal prefix. For instance, the nasal prefix in the class 5 noun *ǹttúkúǹttuku* 'concern' is also projected in the reduplicate.

    With regard to tones, the reduplicated noun does not imply a specific new tone pattern, but rather adopts one of the different tone patterns attested for nouns (see section 3.3). This shows that reduplication necessarily occurs before tones are distributed, since reduplicated nouns are considered as units for tone assignment. The only exception is found with the word *nyangara-nyángâra* 'goose bumps'.

4.2.4 Complex nouns

Complex nouns consist of a stem (nominal or verbal) preceded by one or two formatives or "medians" (Meeussen 1967: 95), which do not exist otherwise on their own, i.e. as lexical roots. There are two formatives in Cuwabo: *na-* (and its variant *nya-*) and *ma-*. Most are attested in class 1a nouns, which thus form their plural with the additional class 2 prefix *a-*. Diachronically, the formatives may represent an outer noun prefix, but synchronically, they should be considered as part of the noun stem, as the great majority of the complex nouns are non-segmentable from a semantic point of view.

4.2.4.1   Formative *na-* or *nya-*

Note that a subgroup of class 1a/2 nouns contain a formative *na-* or *nya-* stem-initially. This recurrent element is also attested in Makhuwa (Kisseberth 2003, van der Wal 2009). These formatives do not seem to be used productively; still they appear in several items generally linked with animals or human condition, as illustrated in the (4.106) for the formative *na-* and (4.107) for the *nya-*.

(4.106)   *na-* formative

nabíli	'hyena.sp'	**ná**birí	'otter'
nábûya	'lord'	**na**fúwo	'mole'
nahána	'trad. healer'	**na**jámwa	'monkey.sp'
nakámûla	'sacrifice'	**na**kóma	'cup.sp'
a**ná**kôno	'twins'	**na**kóro	'male'
nakwáli	'desert'	**na**ḿpôro	'shark'
náḿpwaáttu	'frog'	**na**múngûmi	'hyena'
namúsânya	'loincloth'	**ná**músíye	'bird.sp'
namúûgu	'trad.healer'	**na**múwa	'mushroom'
námwâli	'young virgin woman'	**na**ńtûtu	'butterfly'
nańttûba	'uncircumcised man'	**ná**vîli	'cousin'

(4.107)   *nya-* formative

nyácééngwa	'ostrich'	**nya**górôro	'coconut tree'
nyákálrízi	'centipede'	**nyá**kámbéra	'greenhouse'
nyákâtta	'alcoholic man'	**nya**káttéenddéwa	'chameleon'
nyakáwa	'instructor'	**nyá**kôdhe	'antilope'
nyákôko	'crocodile'	**nyá**kóódda	'woman chief'
nyángáséra	'fishing basket'	**nya**péddo	'oven'
nyarúgwe	'leopard'	**nya**zómbe	'grasshopper'

As already mentioned, these class 1a nouns form their plural with the class 2 prefix *a-*, which bears a H when the word is lexically H, and remains otherwise toneless, as in *anákôno* 'twins' (see section 3.3 on tones). A very restricted number of class 1 words, i.e. prefixed with *mu-*, contain the formatives *na-* or *nya-*. The full list is provided in (4.108).

(4.108)   *na-/nya-* in class 1 nouns

mú**ná**káttúmba	'dark mulatto'	mu**nyá**kôddo	'soldier'
mu**nyá**mâzi	'commoner'		

It seems that there is no semantic difference between *na-* and *nya-*, and free variation between the two formatives may in fact occur, as shown in (4.109).

(4.109) Free variation between *na-* and *nya-*

nya*rúbi*	or	**na***rúbi*	'undertaker'
nyá*ttânddo*	or	**ná***ttânddo*	'okra'

Note that the formatives *na-* and *nya-* may appear with a long vowel, as shown in (4.110). In most cases, such a vowel lengthening seems attributable to the adjacency of prenasalised consonants. However, this generalisation does not permit to account for words like *naáddînddi* 'bird.sp', *naálîya* 'baby' *nyáákúngu* 'crow', and *nyáávánga* 'sharp object'.

(4.110) *naa-/nyaa-*

naá*ddînddi*	'bird.sp'	**naá***lîya*	'baby'
náá*mbabáru*	'abscess'	**naá***mbêdde*	'maize'
naá*mbílrolro*	'main root'	**naá***mwe*	'bile'
naá*ngo*	'vagina'	**naá***ngôlri*	'big saw'
náá*ñgómbo*	'water okra'	**naá***ngúddumula*	'nasal mucus'
naá*ngûra*	'anchora'		
nyáá*kúngu*	'crow'	**nyáá***vánga*	'sharp object'

4.2.4.2 Formative *ma-*

The formative *ma-* is used in another set of class 1a nouns. Some examples are given in (4.111).

(4.111) Class 1a nouns with the formative *ma-*

ma*gwédde*	'white person'	**ma***jábwâra*	'fat woman'
má*kâzi*	'mistress'	**má***lááwu*	'eel'
*m̀***má***lâbo*	'outsider'	**má***mééri*	'nun'
má*mûni*	'husband'	**má***pítéla*	'spy'
má*ráfulá*	'dead person'	*m̀***má***râla*	'outsider'
ma*wányêdha*	'selfish person'		

Similarly to the formatives *na-* and *nya-*, *-ma* may undergo vowel lengthening when followed by prenasalised consonants, or even by the bilabial nasal [m], as shown in (4.112). In this respect, *mámééri* 'nun' and *mámûni* 'husband' would constitute two exceptions. More examples would be needed to establish more systematic correlations.

(4.112)   Class 1a nouns with the formative *maa-*

máá*mácíri*	'pregnant woman'	**máá***mbááli*	'parent'
máá*míma*	'second wife'	**máá***múkéla*	'widow'
máá*múnddímúwa*	'first wife'	**máá***mwééri*	'full moon'
máá*ñgómbo*	'water okra'	**máá***ngónya*	'lazy person'
máá*ngóyi*	'unfortunate person'		

Note that the two formatives *maa-* and *naa-* may be used to express 'water okra', resulting in the two complex nouns *mááñgómbo* and *nááñgómbo*, respectively.

The formative *ma-* is also attested in one class 5 noun, namely *nimááluwe* 'echo', which is clearly derived from the verb *waálûwa* 'scatter'. Also note that the several class 17 nouns already seen in deverbal derivation in *-elo* (in (4.97), section 4.2.1.2 above, but repeated here in (4.113)), all make use of *ma-*.

(4.113)   Class 17 *o-* + *ma-* + verb root + *-elo*

a.	*om**á**gómélo*	'at the end'	<	*ógomá*	'finish'
	*om**a**málêlo*	'at the end'	<	*omála*	'finish'
	*om**a**máríhelo*	'at the end'	<	*omárîha*	'finish'
	*om**á**rómélo*	'at the beginning'	<	*óromá*	'begin, start'
b.	*om**á**ándálélo*	'place to spread crops'	<	*wáándála*	'spread, extend'
	*om**a**dhéélo*	'to the East'	<	*odhéêla*	'come to'
	*om**á**ddóówélo*	'to the West'	<	*óddóówéla*	'lay down, set (sun)'

4.2.4.3 Combination of *na-* + *ma-*

Interestingly, the prefix *ma-* may also be pre-prefixed by *na-*, giving rise to poly-compound nouns. Note that *náma* means 'chair' or 'game', and 'animal' when the class 9 *e-* is prefixed (*enama*). This may explain why the combination of *na-* and *ma-* applies almost exclusively for nouns of animals, some of which are listed in (4.114).

(4.114)   *na-* + *ma-* + noun stem

ná*m**á**abé*	'spitting cobra'	**na***m**á**ágala*	'heron'
na*m**á**gûbu*	'drum.sp'	**na***m**á**gûru*	'beetle.sp'
na*m**á**jôvo*	'eel.sp'	**ná***m**á**káyo*	'grinding stone'
ná*m**á**kopeéla*	'vulture'	**na***m**á**kûbi*	'vulture'
na*m**á**lûwa*	'weaver'	**ná***ma**mé*	'fish.sp'
na*m**á**ríbwatta*	'night bird'	**na***m**á**ríyani*	'chameleon'

*nama**rógolo*	'hare'	*namá**rúkudha*	'insect.sp'
*nama**tâba*	'green cobra'	*námá**tombíyo*	'praying mantis'
*namá**ttûbwa*	'weevil'	*namá**yîva*	'squirrel'

When preceding a verb stem, the combination *na-ma-* refers to human entities, which execute the action or represent the condition (or state) expressed by the verb. In this respect, this complex noun formation constitutes an alternative strategy to the aforementioned formative *mwáná-* in compound words (see section 4.2.2).

(4.115)   *na-* + *ma-* + verb stem

Compound noun			Verb	
*namá**áganyedha*	'fortune-teller'	<	*waáganyedha*	'foretell'
*námá**baalíha*	'midwife'	<	*óbáála*	'give birth'
*namá**béddegela*	'investigator'	<	*obéddégela*	
*namá**câpa*	'paddler'	<	*ocápa*	'paddle'
*námá**dduwaála*	'senile person'	<	*óddúwáála*	'forget'
*námá**fulá*	'blacksmith'	<	*ófulá*	'work iron'
*námá**gulíha*	'seller'	<	*ógúlíha*	'sell'
*námá**lebá*	'writer'	<	*ólebá*	'write'
*namá**lîma*	'farmer'	<	*olíma*	'cultivate'
*namá**pa*	'murderer'	<	*ópa*	'kill'
*námá**suńza*	'student'	<	*ósúńza*	'study, learn'
*námá**telá*	'husband'	<	*ótelá*	'marry'
*námá**turuméla*	'spy' (n)	<	*ótúrúméla*	'spy on'
*námé**eyá*	'thief'	<	*wéeyá*	'steal'
*námó**oná*	'witness'	<	*wóoná*	'see

5

The noun phrase

In order to fully appreciate the nature of the noun (studied in detail in the previous chapter), one has to consider the principle of agreement, one of the most characteristic features of Bantu languages, which represents a formal bond of relationship between the elements of a set. This chapter focuses on the noun phrase structure and presents the different classes of words that typically form phrasal constituents with head nouns, to which they are similarly connected via identical or functionally equivalent prefixes. These noun modifiers subsume the connective (section 5.1), demonstratives (section 5.2), possessives (section 5.3), adjectives (section 5.4), quantifiers (section 5.5), numerals (section 5.6) and other pronouns (section 5.7). Most of them share the following properties: they usually follow the head noun with which they exhibit class agreement, and they are considered as functional items, part of closed word categories, i.e. they are not likely to welcome new words. This also concerns adjectives which, although being lexical forms, represent a closed class in Cuwabo.

5.1 Connective

The connective is a 'relator' (Dik 1989) used to link syntactically and semantically two nominal constituents together. The second one, which modifies the first, is introduced by a connective element (also referred to as associative, connexive or genitive). The monosyllabic

connective element is composed of the stem *-a* preceded by a pronominal prefix, which agrees in noun class with the head noun. The connective relator depends on a (pro)nominal head noun and can in principle not appear on its own. The surrounding constituents involved in the connective construction are usually nouns or noun phrases, but not only, as will be shown below. The order of the connective construction is head - connective - modifier.

It is common in Bantu descriptions to write the connective relator and the modifier as one morphological word, in which the first element is cliticised to the second. This tight bond is explained by both syntactic dependency and phonological linkage between both elements. Van de Velde (2013: 219) considers this bonding as "being intermediate between that of a word boundary and that of an affix boundary." I chose in this study to write the connective as a separate particle, and not a proclitic form to the following item. I fully recognise the high degree of bonding between both elements: syntactically, no element can intervene between them, and phonologically, when the modifier is vowel-initial, vowel coalescence occurs between vowels and a long vowel is produced. Still, and as the first transcription line of every example of this thesis shows, phonological bonding between separate words is omnipresent in Cuwabo: it does not seem stronger in connective constructions than in other constructions such as a noun plus a demonstrative (see section 5.2.1). Furthermore it is generally assumed that no pause can intervene between the connective and the second noun, but prosodic pause may happen as illustrated in the sentence in (5.1), followed by a spectrogram representation (extracted from the program Praat), which clearly reveals a long pause between the connective relator *ya* '9.CON' (which refers to *gáhálá* 'story') and the demonstrative pronoun *óddûle* 'that one'. Such a pause underlines the originally independent status of the connective relator that I therefore consider as a particle. Being toneless, the connective does not influence the tone realisation of the following noun.

(5.1)   *gáhálá: eńlógá: ya: óddûle: oǹtóta náma vaddíddi*   {mbílri.2}

    gáhâlá   e-ní-lógá   ya   óddúle   [o-ni-tóta   náma   vaddíddi]_{REL}

    9a.story   9-IPFV.CJ-tell   9.CON   1.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-hunt   9a.game   much

    'The story tells about a great hunter.'

g áá lá: eń ló   gá: ya: *ó ḍúle: oǹ tó tanámavaḍíḍi*
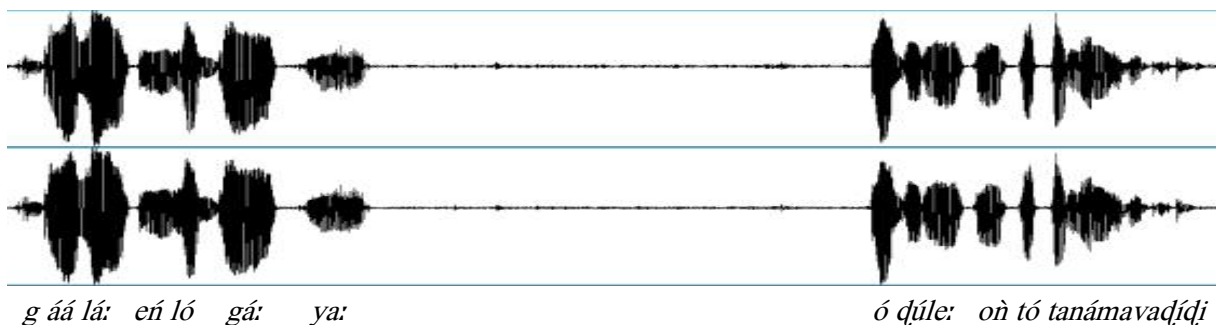
Table 21 presents the connective stem in all noun class agreement patterns.

Table 21   Agreement on connective

cl. 1, 3, 14, 15, 17	wa
cl. 2, 6	a
cl. 4, 10	dha
cl. 5	na
cl. 9	ya
cl. 16	va
cl.18	mwa

In Cuwabo, the connective construction conveys different semantic relations, which mostly depend on the meaning of the two linked constituents. All the examples of this section, in which the abbreviation CON serves as 'connective', present an overview of these semantic relations.

5.1.1   Property-denoting relations

The connective construction is mostly used to denote properties or qualities, which can otherwise be expressed by adjectives in other languages. In such constructions, while the head represents a noun or a pronoun, the modifier can be a noun, an invariable adjective, or an infinitival verb. All these possibilities are exemplified below, starting with the nominal modifiers in (5.2).

(5.2)   a. *múlóbwana **wa**   koóbîlri*   b. *ésíle   **dha**   sagámpira*
      1.man   1.CON 9a.money   9.DEM.III   9.CON 1.artist
      'a rich man' (lit. 'man of money')   'his show' (lit. 'that (thing) of artist')

      c. *námá   **ya**   gulúwe*   d. *máttádda **a**   ǹtówa*
      9.meat   9.CON   9a.pig   6.lake   6.CON 5.curse
      'pork meat'   'cursed lakes'

The modifier designates an entity when considered in isolation, but denotes a property or quality as soon as it entertains a connective relationship with a head (pro)noun, fulfilling the role of an adjective. More examples are given below, in which the connective construction informs on which material the head noun is made of.

(5.3)   *múzíyó **wa** tábwa*   / *mâlruwatti **a** nddálrâma*   / *bíyá **dha** ólôgo*   / *gúwó **ya** tírîle*
      'wooden plate'   'gold medal'   'clay stoves'   'satin cloth'

The next example in (5.4) show that invariable adjectives are necessarily linked with the head via the connective relator.

(5.4)   *épáddé modha ya dēréétú, épádde yiína ya búre*   {elic.}

épáddé	modha	**ya**	déréétú	épádde	é-ína	**ya**	búre
9.side	one	9.CON	good	9.side	9-other	9.CON	bad

‘one side is good, the other is bad’

Infinitival verbs in (5.5) are also much used in connective constructions.

(5.5)   a. *dhílóbo dh' oómwa*   b. *múlóbwana w' oorééla*

dhílóbo	**dha**	ómwa		múlóbwana	**wa**	orééla
10.thing	10.CON	15.drink		1.man	1.CON	15.be.rich

‘things to drink’   ‘rich man’

   c. *gárí y' oóbáála*   d. *múyaná w' oorúûca*

gárí	**ya**	óbáála		múyaná	**wa**	orúûca
9a.chance	9.CON	15.give.birth		1.woman	1.CON	15.steal.off.stove

‘the chance to be parents’   ‘woman who steals off the stove’

Such constructions, in which the infinitival verb has adjectival properties, constitute another strategy of relativisation (see chapter 10 on relativisation). Still, it may convey verbal features, such as the presence of an object marker and the applicative extension (5.6), or the presence of the causative extension (5.7). It may also be accompanied by an object (5.8).

(5.6)   *bagákála nínga múttú w' oómvuuzédha*   {maria.24}

ba-gá-kála	nínga	múttú	**wa**	ó-mú-vuuz-édh-a
SEQ.1-SIT-be	like	1.people	1.CON	15-OM1-ask-APPL-Fi

‘he looked like he was giving her a greeting’ (lit. ‘he was like someone of greeting her’)

(5.7)   *(... ósalu w' oosásányaga) dhílóbo dh' oókóddélíhana vatákûlu*   {maria.100}

dhílóbo	**dha**	ókóddél-íh-a=na	va-tákûlu
10.thing	10.CON	15.be.beautiful-CAUS-Fi=INSTR	16-9a.house

‘(... a thread to make) things to embellish the house’

(5.8)   *nyúwó w' ookáánec' oówâli munááwane*   {semi-elic.}

nyúwó	**wa**	okáán-ec-a	ówâli	mu-náá-wan-e
2PL.PRO	1.CON	15.have-DUR-Fi	14.rage	2PL-FUT-fight-PROH

‘you who are so fierce, don't fight!’

While nothing may intervene between the connective relator and the modifier, the head and the connective can be separated by the defective verb *-li* 'to be' (5.9), by the negative copula (5.10), or by the conjunction of coordination *nínga* 'like' (5.11).

(5.9)   *méńtó ááye alí a matába a mánddîmwi*   {elic.}
        méńtó   ááye   a-lí   a   matába   **a**   mánddîmwi
        6.eye   6.POSS.3SG   6-be   6.CON   6.leaf   6.CON   6.lime
        'his eyes are green'

(5.10) *cíí ! wéyo kayíye wa Maríya ?*   {maria.38}
        cíí   wéyo   kayíye   **wa**   maríya
        INTER   2SG.PRO   NEG.COP   1.CON   maria
        'ohh, are you not maria?'

(5.11) *mírí   nínga **dha**   múgâyi*   {elic.}
        4.tree   like   4.CON   4.tree.sp
        'trees like the *múgâyi*'

In (5.11), it is easy to consider that ellipsis of the noun *mírí* 'trees' took place between *nínga* and the connective, in order to avoid redundancy. The implied sentence would thus be *míri nínga mírí dha múgâyi*, meaning literally 'trees like trees of *múgâyi*', hence the corresponding class 4 agreement on the connective. Now, if such an ellipsis is easily interpretable, since the *múgâyi* tree represents an entity among the aforementioned trees category, in (5.10), the presence of the connective is somewhat unexpected. A possible explanation may arise if we consider that the word *múttu* 'person' is implied between the negative copula and the proper name Maríya. The implicit sentence would thus be *Wéyo kayíye múttú wa Maríya ?*, whose literal translation is 'are you not the person of Maria?'.

Eventually, two subsequent connective constructions can function as modifiers of the same head noun, as in (5.12).

(5.12) *m̀páddó dh' oogíláatí dhâ dereetu*   {maria.99}
        m̀páddó   **dha**   ogíláatí   **dhâ**   dereetu
        4.chair   4.CON   15.sit   4.CON   well
        'confortable chairs'

5.1.2   Genitive, partitive and measure relations

Three other common types of relation expressed by the connectives are what might be called genitive, partitive and measure, although the delimitation between these notions is not always clear, as will be evidenced below.

So-called genitive relations include possession or ownership (5.13), and kinship relations (5.14). In such genitive constructions, the possessee participant is always the first constituent of the sequence, i.e. the head noun, while the possessor always follows the connective.

(5.13)   *mbílrí* **ya** *fúmu*   /   *koóbíri* **dha** *báába*   /   *múróbo* **wa** *Júwão*
      9a.fish.sp 9.CON 1a.master   10.money 10.CON 1a.father   3.medicine 3.con João
      'master's fish.sp'   'father's money'   'João's medicine'

(5.14)   *ábáale* **a** *Maríya*   /   *mwámúna* **wa** *Maríya*
      2.sister 2.CON Maria   1.husband   1.CON maria
      'Maria's sisters'   'Maria's husband'

Note that the connective construction cannot be used when the possessor is a personal pronoun, such as 'the child of mine'. Instead, a possessive pronoun is used (see section 5.3).

In case the possessee is a kinship term and the possessor a proper name, a juxtaposed construction (5.15) does not differ semantically from the connective construction, which becomes optional. Thus, another way of expressing *mwámúna Maríya* 'Maria's husband' in (5.15)a is *mwámúna* **wa** *Maríya*. The same appositive construction with a common name (5.16)a is considered non-grammatical in Cuwabo, as well as the apposition of a term not related to kinship with a proper name (5.16)b.

(5.15)   a. *na mulobwan' oóddu mwámúna Maríya*   {maria.176}
        na   mulobwana   óddu   **mwámúna** **maríya**
        with   1.man.PL   1.DEM.I 1.husband   maria
        'with that man, Maria's husband'

      b. *baamúttúkula mwáádhí Nikúrábédhá:*   {maria.160}
        ba-a-mú-ttúkula   **mwáádhí** **Nikúrábédhá**
        SEQ-1-OM1-take   1.wife   Dugong
        'he took Mr.Dugong's wife'

(5.16)   a. **mwámúna múnânddi*   b. **mukúkútta Júwã̃wu*   {elic.}
        'co-wife's husband'   'João's car'

Beyond a strict meaning of possession, genitive constructions can also link an infinitive verb with its agent as in (5.17).

(5.17) *balámé eńláléhá ofíya wa álêddo*   {elic.}

balámé	e-ní-láléhá	ofíya	**wa**	álêddo
9a.bird	9-IPFV.CJ-announce	15. come	15.CON	2.visitor

‘the bird is announcing the coming of visitors’

The partitive indicates partialness or ‘part of’ relations, either of whole entity (5.18) or of a larger set (5.19). The partitive constituent (or subset) is always the first constituent in the sequence, i.e. the head noun, whereas the whole entity or larger set referred to always follows the connective.

(5.18) *musúwó **wa** nyúmba*   / *dhírási **dha** múri*   / *érútta **ya** kálrúûnga*

‘the door of the house’   ‘the branches of the tree’   ‘the handle of the sickle’

(5.19) *m̀módha **wa** áyîma*

‘one of the children’

Note that the definite marker (see section 7.1.3.1) can be encliticised to the head noun as shown in (5.20).

(5.20) *musúwóya wa nyúmba ónópárúwa*   {semi-elic.}

musúwó = ya	**wa**	nyúmba	ó-ni-ópárúwa
3.door = DEF	3.CON	9a.house	3-IPFV.DJ-15.split

‘the door of the house is spliting’

Eventually, measure relations denote the measure of some entity, delimited by the content possibility of the first constituent.

(5.21) *éfíníngo ya mázâyi*   / *múziyó wa óba*

‘basket of eggs’   ‘plate of fish’

Note that in some cases, the partitive and measure relationships are closely linked from a semantic point of view. For instance, in *enyényéri ya múkatté* ‘fragment of rice cake’, both readings are possible, since *enyényéri* represents both a part of a whole and a measure unit.

5.1.3   Time and space constructions

Temporal (5.22) and locative (5.23) relations also make use of the connective construction.

(5.22)   a. *múdhídhi obúle w'ootámbílra / múdhúdhu w'oófúmúdha*

         múdhídhi   obúle   **wa**   otámbílra   /   múdhúdhu   **wa**   ófúmúdha

         3.time   3.DEM.III   3.CON   15.receive   /   3.time   3.CON   15.rest

         'time to get paid / time to rest'

      b. *ńsáká*   **na**   *wále*

         5.time   5.CON   formerly

         'a long time ago'

(5.23)   a. *Fráńsísco olí épádde ya Jóao*   {elic.}

         Fráńsísco   o-lí   épádde   **ya**   Jóao

         Fransisco   1-be   9.side   9.CON   João

         'Fransisco is next to Joao'

      b. *wéyo onózíwá dílá y' oocélaní: ?*   {elic.}

         wéyo   o-ni-ózíwá   dílá   **ya**   o-céla＝ní

         2SG.PRO   2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.know   9a.way   9.CON   17-well＝LOC

         'do you know the way to the well?'

As already mentioned in section 4.1.8.4, when the head noun bears a locative prefix, the connective relator agrees with the inherent noun class of the head constituent (5.24), unless the head noun is inherently locative and functions mainly as an adverb (5.25).

(5.24)   a. *va-músólró* **wa**   *mwáána*   b. *o-mízéréré＝ni*   **dha**   *ddímííngu*

         16-3.head   3.CON   1.child   17-4.ceremony＝LOC   4.CON   9a.Sunday

         'on the child's head'   'at Sunday's ceremony'

(5.25)   a. *vaárí*   **va**   *yiíkó*   b. *odhúlú*   **wa**   *muyére*

         16.middle   16.CON   9.river   17.top   17.CON   3.tree.sp

         'at the middle of the river'   'to the top of the *muyére*'

Interestingly, *v' ooméémbeésí* 'this morning' in (5.26) presents a situation in which two locative prefixes are attached to the lexical noun. In this case, the connective agrees in class 17, i.e. with the locative which is more closely attached to the noun stem.

(5.26)   *va-o-méémbeésí*   **wa**   *ddabuno*

         16-17-6.morning   17.CON   today

         'this morning'

5.1.4   Ordinal numeral constructions

The connective is also needed in the formation of ordinal numerals (see section 5.6.2 below).

(5.27)	*míyó ddìɲ̀kála nyúmbá y' oórómá ya díla*					{elic.}
	míyó	ddi-ni-kála	nyúmbá	**ya**	**órómá**	ya	díla
	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-live	9a.house	9.CON	15.start	9.CON	9a.way
	'I live in the first house of the street'					

(5.28)	*mwáánága wa náwóraarú dd' oolápa*				{elic.}
	mwáánága	**wa**	**ná-ó-raarú**	ddi-a	olápa
	1.child.POSS.1SG	1.CON	PFX-14-three	1.COP-CON	14.be.tall
	'my third child is tall'				

As in (5.12) above, note in (5.27) that two subsequent connective constructions function as modifiers of the same head noun *nyúmbá* 'house'.

5.1.5   Complement and prepositional constructions

More rarely, the connective relator develops into prepositions meaning 'via, through' or 'by' (5.29); 'for, in order to' to introduce a purpose clause (5.30). Van de Velde (2010: 245) reports similar cases in several other Bantu languages.

(5.29)	*Juúliú oɲ́já m̀pilra wa manyálo*				{elic.}
	Juúliú	o-ní-já	m̀pilra	**wa**	manyálo
	Julius	1-IPFV.CJ-eat	3.ball.PL	3.CON	6.foot
	'Julius is shooting the ball'				

(5.30)	*ddaahígúlihi mafugi, koóbílri y' oógúl' óóba ddináádhéna wuuvi ?*				{semi-elic.}
	ddi-a-hí-gúl-ih-i	mafugi	koóbílri	**ya**	ógúlá	óba
	1SG-SIT-NEG-buy-CAUS-NEG	6.banana.PL	9a.money	9.CON	15.buy	14.fish
	ddi-náá-dh-é=na	uuvi				
	1SG-FUT.CJ-come-IRR=COM	where				
	'if I do not sell bananas, where will I find money to buy fish?'				

The connective relator is also commonly used in addition to the conjunctions *ttángu* (5.31) and *sábwa* (5.32) both meaning 'because (of)', which introduce a clause that functions as a complement. It is likely that both *ttángu* and *sábwa* were originally class 9 nouns, which

then grammaticalised to conjunctions. This would explain why the agreement prefix on the connective operates in class 9.

(5.31)   *ddiṁmála súmáána ddihīsúṅzagá: ttángû ya óréddá oddifwányîle*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-hi-mála   súmáána   ddi-hī-súṅz-ag-á
1SG-PFV-complete   9a.week   1SG-NEG-study-HAB-Fi

ttángû   **ya**   óréddá   [o-ddi-fwány-île]REL
because   9.CON 14.disease   14-OM1SG-found-PFV.REL

'I have been off from school a week because I got sick' (lit. 'because of the illness which found me')

(5.32)   *múlóbwana okala sé muyaná: , sábwa y' oómútelá múyáná w' oorúûca*   {mbílri.44}

múlóbwana   o-kala   sé   muyaná   **sábwa**   **ya**   ó-mú-telá
1.man   NAR-be   without 1.woman.PL   because   9.CON   15-OM1-marry

múyáná   wa   orúûca
1.woman   1.CON   15.steal.off.stove

'the man remained without any woman because of his marrying a woman who steals off the stove.'

When used with the complementiser *wíílá* 'that', the class 9 connective relator may precede the complementiser (5.33)a, but is ungrammatical on its right side (5.33)b. This connective-complementiser construction, although perfectly acceptable, is not often attested in my data, whereas the single use of the complementiser (5.33)c is very common.

(5.33)   a. *okaanámwí' **ya:** **wíílá** anóne ba aaní onjésá:mw' iísáv' iíjîle*   {mbílri.5}

o-kaaná=mó   ya   wíílá   a-nón-é   ba   aani
1-have=18.LOC 9.CON CMP   1-know-SBJ   2.COP   who

[o-ni-j-és-á=mo   ésávi   éjîle]REL
1-IPFV-eat.DJ-DUR-Fi=18.LOC   9.relish   9.DEM.III

'he has inside (the will) to know who keeps eating that relish'

b. **okaanámo **wíílá** **ya** anóne ba aaní onjésá:mo ésávi éjîle*   {elic.}

c. *okaanámo **wíílá** anóne ba aaní onjésá:mo ésávi éjîle*   {elic.}

5.1.6   Pronominalised connective relator

The connective relator can be used pronominally, assuming an anaphoric reference, either to an aforementioned entity in the discourse (endophoric reference), as in (5.34),

(5.34)   *miri gaaní dhinóóna wéyo ? dha vatákûlu*   {elic.}

miri	gaaní	[dhi-ní-óna	wéyo]₍ᵣₑₗ₎	**dha**	va-tákûlu
4.tree	which	4-IPFV-see.CJ	2SG.PRO	4.CON	16-9a.yard

'which trees are you seeing? (those) from the garden'

or to an element not explicitly referred to in the discourse (exophoric reference), but whose interpretation is easily made by the listener(s), due to their prior knowledge or because they are simply being shown the element in question, as in (5.35)a. These exophoric references are commonly attested with the locative classes when referring to time or location, or with classes 9/10 to refer to things, probably on account of the class 9 *élôbo* 'thing' and class 10 *dhílôbo* 'things' (5.35)b.

(5.35)   a. *va Nikúrábedha pa ápa*   {maria.147}

va	nikúrábedha	**pa**	ápa
16.CON	5.dugong	16.COP	16.DEM.I

'Here is Mr.Dugong's'

b. *y' oókósá kaddiná*   {elic.}

ya	ókósá	ka-ddi-ná
9.CON	15.do	NEG-1SG-have

'I have nothing to do'

5.1.7   Connective relator used with copula

The connective may occur between a copula and an infinitive as a strategy of non-verbal predication expressing adjectival quality (see section 9.2.2 for more details on copular constructions).

(5.36)   a. *músólro wa mwááná óddu b' oolápa*   {elic.}

músólro	wa	mwááná	óddu	**bu-a**	olápa
3.body	3.CON	1.child	2.DEM.I	3.COP-CON	15.be.big

'the head of this child is big'

b. *níínó na mwáán' óóddu tt' oocéna*   {elic.}

níínó	na	mwááná	óddu	**tti-a**	océna
5.tooth	5.CON	1.child	1.DEM.I	5.COP-CON	15.be.white

'the tooth of this child is white'

5.2   Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be sub-categorised in two types: the first groups together the basic demonstratives (section 5.2.1), and the second corresponds to emphatic demonstrative constructions (section 5.2.2). Both types share the typical three-series division of demonstratives.

5.2.1   Basic demonstratives

In Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, there are three series of demonstratives given in Table 22, which are distinguished in terms of spatial and temporal deixis, with regard to the point of reference and the direct availability for the speaker during a speech act. Beyond this distance aspect, the demonstratives respond to discourse functions, involving anaphoric reference within the linguistic context.

Table 22   Demonstratives

Class		This I	That II	That III	
1	mwáana	óddu	óddo	óddûle / óîle	'child'
2	áaná	ába	ábo	ábâle	'children'
3	musúwo	óbu	óbo	óbûle	'door'
4	misúwo	ési	éso	ésîle	'doors'
5	ńzáyi	ńtti	ńtto	ńttîle	'egg'
6	mázáyi	ába	ábo	ábâle	'eggs'
9	ehíba	éji	éjo	éjîle	'hoe'
10	dhihíba	ési	éso	ésîle	'hoes'
14	olíbo	óbu	óbo	óbûle	'birdlime'
15	ópa	óku	óko	ókûle	'pain'
16		ápa	ápo	ápâle	'here'
17		óku	óko	ókûle	'there'
18		ḿpu	ḿpo	ḿpûle	'in there'

Series I, corresponding to English 'this', correspond to a demonstrative of proximity, semantically related to the speaker's surrounding, i.e. the entity or location referred to is directly available to the speaker (5.37), or is the current topic of conversation, referring to some entity that has already been introduced in the discourse (5.38).

(5.37) a. *akála ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúwe*   {mbílri.21}

      akala   ddi   míyó=ene   ósálu   **óbú**   o-patúw-e

      if   1.COP   1SG.PRO=INT   14.thread   14.DEM.I   14-break-SBJ

      'if it is me, may this thread break'

    b. *nootééne íy' óoṁvívéérí vatákûl' aápa, …*   {mbílri.13}

      ni-oté=éne   íyó   [o-ní-vívéérí   va-tákûlu   **ápa**]_{REL}

      1PL-all=INT   1PL.PRO 1-IPFV.CJ-live 16-9a.house   16.DEM.I

      'all of us who live in this house, ...'

(5.38) *síkú nimodh' oolóóvénya, múkwáág' ódd' úna péle*   {maria.16}

      síkú   ni-modha   o-lé-óvénya   múkwé=ága   **óddú**   [o-na   péle]_{REL}

      5.day   5-one   1-CE-15.leave 1.friend=POSS.1SG 1.DEM.I   1-have   10a.scabies

      'One day she left, this friend of mine who has scabies.'

Series II represents a medial demonstrative translated by 'that' in English, and often associated to the addressee's surrounding. The entity/location referred to is not necessarily remote from the speaker, but is not directly available or under his control.

(5.39) a. *wéyőː oṁfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo*   {maria.25}

      wéyó   o-mú-fwár-eg-e   kurúmáanje=éne   **óddo**

      2SG.PRO   2SG-OM1-follow-HAB -SBJ   1a.bee.sp=INT   1.DEM.II

      'follow this very bee.sp.'

    b. *omúnddáaw' oók' óóṅlógíínyú, [...]*   {ddingí.6}

      o-múnddá=wa   **ókó**   [ó-ní-lógá=ínyú]_{REL}

      17-3.field=17.DEF   17.DEM.II   17-IPFV.CJ-say=2PL.PRO

      'in this plantation you are refering to, [...]'

Series III is the distal demonstrative, translated as 'that (over there)' in English. It refers to entities or locations relatively distant (and often non-visible) from both speaker and listener involved in discourse, thus implying a third person. It is much used in narratives with an anaphoric reading.

(5.40)   a. *otwa śhpéély' iíjîle, odhow' óógulá yíína*   {ddoo.6}

           o-twa   śhpéélyo **éjîle**   o-dhowá   o-gulá   é-ína

           NAR-break   9a.mirror   9.DEM.III   NAR-go   NAR-buy   9-other

           'she broke that mirror, went and bought another one'

      b. *eǹtáwú m̀módh' óokomesáár' ówêla, ówéla mwíyér' óóbule*   {ddingí.20}

           eǹtãwú   mu-módhá   o-komesáári   ówêla   ówéla   mwíyéri   **óbule**

           then   1-one   NAR.start   15.climb   15.climb   3.tree.sp   3.DEM.III

           'then someone started to climb that tree.sp.'

      c. *nivíré [voósálún' aápá:] até kóbel' eéjílé ya mwínji*   {mbílri.13}

           ni-vír-é   ...   até   kóbela   **éjíle**   ya   mwínji

           1PL-go.by-SBJ   ...   until   9a.bank.PL   9.DEM.III   9.CON   3.river

           'let's go [on this thread] to the other bank of the river'

As expected, series I and II are more commonly heard in direct speech, while series III is more used for internal reference in the narrative structure of the text, as exemplified in (5.41).

(5.41)   *íyéén' ówaapa, múyan' óólle waapa*   {maria.34}

         íyééne   o-apa   múyaná   **óĺle**   o-apa

         3SG.PRO   NAR-pluck   1.woman   1.DEM.III   NAR-pluck

         'she plucked, that woman plucked'

The functional difference between class 1 *óddûle* and *óĺle* 'that.III' is not clear since they are freely interchangeable. Still the second, close to the Makhuwa equivalent *óle* (van der Wal 2009), is used much more frequently in my database than the first.

While all the aforementioned examples exhibit an attributive function, demonstratives are also used anaphorically as free pronouns, in which case they function as heads and trigger respective noun class agreement on each dependent constituent in the sentence (5.42), including cleft-like constructions (5.43).

(5.42)   a. *ábá eelī: [...] aátélúwa*   {maria.11}

           ábá   a-ilí   a-hí-tél-úw-a

           2.DEM.I   2-two   2-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi

           'those two [...] got married'

      b. *Maríyá balogá : "néeé, apa kávalí mwáha"*   {maria.96}

           maríyá   ba-logá   néeé   **apa**   ká-va-lí   mwáha

           maria   SEQ.1-say   no   16.DEM.I   NEG-16-be   3.reason.PL

           'Maria said : Here there is no problem.'

(5.43) a. *ca! óddú waásága áp' óol' úúvi ?*   {maria.165}

      ca   **óddú**   [o-á-sága   ápa]_{REL}   o-lí   úuvi

      INTER 1.DEM.I 1-PST.IPFV.CJ-be.smart 16.DEM.I   1-be   where

      'Ca ! Where is this one who was showing off?'

    b. *odhowil' óókúl' oońsásányuwa: māpápoóro*   {maria.131}

      o-dhow-ilé   **ókúle**   [o-ni-sásány-uwa   mápápoóro]_{REL}

      1-go-PFV.CJ   17.DEM.III 17-IPFV.CJ-build-PASS 6.boat

      'he went there where boats are built'

Interestingly, the locative demonstrative *ókúle* in (5.43)b controls the agreement on the dependent relativised verb (see section 10.1 on relatives and agreement matters).

As expected, demonstrative pronouns may have a resumptive function restating an aforementioned event as a whole and placing at the head of a relative construction, as shown in (5.44).

(5.44) a. *s' eetédhéne dhikósiléényu, kayíy' éélóbwéene*   {maria.97}

      ésó   dhi-oté = dhéne   [dhi-kós-ilé = ényu]_{REL}   kayíyo   élóbó = ene

      10.DEM.II   10-all = 10.INT   10-do-PFV.REL = 2PL.PRO   NEG.COP 9.thing = INT

      'all you did, it is nothing really'

    b. *ńttó nikokomézo, ninaákókoméza íyó, alí b' óopánêla*   {body.24}

      ńttó   nikokomézo   [ni-ni-á-kókoméza   íyó   a-lí ba-a   opánêla]_{REL}

      5.DEM.II 5.advice.PL   5-IPFV.CJ-OM2-advise   1PL.PRO   2-be 2.COP-CON   15.be.proud

      'this is the advice we want to give to the proud people'

Demontratives pronouns are typically used to refer back to inanimate entities, which are rarely alluded to by personal pronouns, mostly available with animate entities. In (5.45), *éji* refers to a fruit plucked by Maria.

(5.45) *owaápa ? [íyééné balogá :] ddiyaápá, j' iíji*   {maria.45}

      o-hi-ápa   ...   ddi-hi-ápá   ji   **éji**

      1-PFV.DJ-pluck   ...   1SG-PFV.DJ-pluck   9.COP   9.DEM.I

      'did you pluck it? [she said :] I did, here it is' (lit. 'it is this one')

Another use of the demonstrative pronouns occurs in expressions like 'like this' or 'like that', in which the demonstrative follows the invariable *nínga* 'like' and agrees with the head noun, as illustrated in (5.46).

(5.46)   *múyaná w' oókóddélá vaddí' wa múzúgu nng' óóddo !*   {maria.123}

múyaná	wa	ókóddélá	vaddíddí	wa	múzúgu	**níngá**	**óddo**
1.woman	1.CON	15.be.beautiful	much	1.CON	1.European	like	1.DEM.II

'a very beautiful woman and white like that one!'

A similar reading is obtained with the specific demonstrative forms *dhaáyi* 'like this.I', *dhaáwo* 'like that.II' and *dhaáyîle* 'like that.III', developed below in section 5.2.2.2.

Demonstratives may obtain an emphatic reading by postponing the intensifier *wéene* 'INT' (5.47)a, or its cliticised form *=ene* (5.47)b. See section 7.1.3.2 for a full analysis of *(wé)éne*.

(5.47)   a. *ejú wéene baáhí, íyó ninódhôwa*   {maria.142}

ejí	**wéene**	baáhí	íyó	ni-ni-ódhôwa
9.DEM.I	INT	only	1PL.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go

'if these are the conditions, we will go'

   b. *óĺlééne ojíl' éésáv' iíjî [oneelóómuttidda vénêva]*   {mbílri.14}

óĺlé = éne	[o-j-ílé	ésávi	éjí]REL
1.DEM.III = INT	1-eat-PFV.REL	9.relish	9.DEM.I

'the very one who ate the relish, [it will catch him straight away]'

This means that emphatic demonstratives are not rendered by reduplication of the demonstrative stem as seen in several languages of the region (van der Wal 2009, Devos 2008). The only reduplicated demonstrative attested in my database in shown in (5.48), and reveals location as an approximation, translated as 'around' or 'about' in English.

(5.48)   *ottamága, odhowá wéédda m̄pó m̄pó*   {maria.128}

o-ttamága	o-dhowá	wéédda	**m̄pó**	**m̄pó**
NAR-run	NAR-go	15.walk	18.DEM.II	18.DEM.II

'he ran, walked around'

Regarding word order, all the previous examples show that the demonstratives typically follow the noun they modify. Still, they may precede it when they are used as pronouns and are, for clarification purposes, followed by the referred entity (5.49) or location (5.50), optionally inserted in an appositional noun phrase as in (5.49)b.

(5.49)   a. *onuúttébaní: , ddi míyô. óddó Ǹládá kâgaye*   {body.10}

[o-ni-ú-ttéba = ní]REL	ddi	míyô	**óddó**	**ǹládá**	kâ-gay-e
1-IPFV.CJ-OM2SG-carry = PLA	1.COP	1SG.PRO	1.DEM.II	5.hand	NEG-balance-SBJ

'it is me who lifts you! that Mr.Hand cannot balance itself'

b. *ábále: , ábáalé éenâ: áánimunyapwaaríya* {maria.7}

ábále	**ábáalé**	**á-inâ**	á-á-ni-mu-nyapwaaríya
2.DEM.III	2.sister	2-other	2-PST-IPFV.DJ-OM1-despise

'those ones, the other sisters, despised her.'

(5.50) a. *odhowá, okuwá m̀púle m̀múrúddani* {maria.135}

o-dhowá	o-kuwá	**m̀púle**	mu-múrúdda=ni
NAR-go	NAR-shout	18.DEM.III	18-3.village=LOC

'he went and shouted there in the village'

b. *odhow' óókúl' owiìkó:* {mbílri.19}

o-dhowá	**ókúle**	o-íkó
NAR-go	17.DEM.III	17-river

'they went there to the river'

When other modifiers are present, the reader is referred to section 5.8.2 below.

Eventually, the three locative demonstrative pronouns assume discourse-linking expressions like 'then, so, therefore, that is why'. In this function, they typically occur in phrase-initial position, as illustrated in (5.51).

(5.51) a. *āpá múkwáága waadheél' ója komiíd' eésilé:* {páaká.30}

ápá	múkwé=ága	o-a-dh-eél-é	oja
16.DEM.I	1.friend=POSS.1SG	1-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ	15.eat.PL

komiída	ésilé
9a.food.PL	9.DEM.III

'this way my friend was coming to eat that food !'

b. *ókw' áálóbwana ánókúkúma ánóttámága* {maria.166}

ókú	álóbwana	á-ni-ókúkúma	á-ni-óttámága
17.DEM.I	2.man	2-IPFV.DJ-15.flee	2-IPFV.DJ-15.run

'At this point, the men are fleeing, running'

The clitics =*no* 'PROXimity' expresses direct temporal or spatial proximity. It exclusively attaches to a demonstrative form, be it a locative pro-form (5.52) or a noun modifier (5.53). The same formative =*no* is attested in Ekoti (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000), in the same environment, and with a similar meaning associated with closeness to the speaker.

(5.52) a. *mudhé ! ókûno. muwííwá: ?" ayí' : "niwííwa"* {maria.74}

mu-dh-é	ókû=**no**	mu-hí-íwá	ayíma	ni-hí-íwa
2PL-go-SBJ	17.DEM.I=PROX	2PL-PFV.DJ-hear	2.child	1PL-PFV.DJ-hear

'Come! Right here. Did you hear? The girls : Yes, we did.'

b. *oǹtágiyá ddi míyó Féréderíku, m̀punó m̀Makúúzi, ómáttíy' okuno*   {mbílri.1}

[o-ni-tágiyá]_{REL}   ddi   míyô   feréderíko
1-IPFV.CJ-tell   1.COP   1SG.PRO   frederico

m̀pu = **nó**   mú-makúúzi   ó-máttíyu   oku = **no**
18.DEM.I = PROX   18-Macuse   17-6.night   17.DEM.I = PROX

'who is telling is Frederico, here in Macuse, at night.'

(5.53)   a. *mattiy' áábáno mwátáye mábûgu, mángwáán' nilúwe mábwêndde*   {semi-elic.}

mattiyú   ábá = **no**   mu-á-táy-e   mábûgu
6.night   6.DEM.I = PROX   2PL-IT-tear-SBJ   6.reed

mángwáána   ni-lúw-e   mábwêndde
tomorrow   1PL-weave-SBJ   6.mat

'tonight go and unravel the reed so that tomorrow we weave mats'

b. *yaák' éjínó níngá ddilíme mínddá miraarú*   {semi-elic.}

yaáká   éjí = **nó**   níngá   ddi-lím-e   mínddá   mi-raarú
9.year   9.DEM.I = PROX   like   1SG-cultivate-SBJ   3.field   3-three

'this year, I might harvest three times'

5.2.2   Emphatic demonstratives

5.2.2.1   Emphatic locative demonstratives 'EDEM'

For each basic locative demonstrative corresponds an emphatic form made of the connective (with locative classes agreement) + the cliticised form of the intensifier morpheme *=ene* (see section 7.1.3.2) + the connective again + the demonstrative suffixes (series I, II, III). Thus a form like *wénéwalé* 'right there.III' can be segmented in *wa-ene-wa-le*, in which the output of the vocalic sequence between *wa* and *ene* is shortened to a single vowel.

All the emphatic locative demonstratives are given in Table 23.

Table 23   Emphatic locative demonstrative pronouns

CLASS	EDEM I	EDEM II	EDEM III	
16	vénêva	vénêvo	vénévalé	'right here'
17	wénêwa	wénêwo	wénéwalé	'right there'
18	mwénêmwa	mwénêmo	mwénémwalé	'right in there'

As the simple forms, these emphatic demonstrative forms have either a locative or temporal meaning (5.54), or a discourse-linking function (5.55).

(5.54)   Locative or temporal meaning

      a. *óĺ̇ĺ́éne [ojíl' éésáv' iíj̇í] oneelóómuttidda vénêva*   {mbílri.14}

         óĺ̇ĺé = éne   ...   o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-ttidda   **vénêva**

         1.DEM.III = INT   ...   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-catch.PL   16.EDEM.I

         'that very one [who ate the relish], it will catch him straight away'

      b. *Nikúrábedh' oonáángánávi wénéwal' oókúl' oodhúlu*   {maria.160}

         N. o-ní-ángáná = vi   **wénéwale**   ókúle   odhúlu

         D. 1-IPFV.CJ-look = RESTR   17.EDEM.III   17.DEM.III   17.top

         'Mr.Dugong is still looking right above.'

      c. *mwénémwalé ṁpúle muweéddááni bagáádhowá [...]*   {maria.23}

         mwénémwalé   ṁpúle   mu-weéddá = ni   ba-gáá-dhowá

         18.EDEM.III   18.DEM.III   18-15.walk = LOC   SEQ.1-SIT-go

         '(right) there, while going on this walking path [...]'

(5.55)   Discourse-linking function

      eǹtáwu wénéwaléêê: , páákā ottukula sháv' ééjîle   {páaká.5}

      eǹtáwu   **wénéwalé**   páákā   o-ttukula   sháví   éjîle

      then   17.EDEM.III   1a.cat   NAR-take   9a.key   9.DEM.III

      'Then, Mr.Cat remained with that key'

Note that class 16 emphatic demonstrative is much more commonly used than the others, and that a variant which substitutes the nasal consonant by a liquid (*vénêva > véléva*) is often attested, as shown in (5.56).

(5.56)   a. *vélévó nikúrábedha woóóbuwela maare*   {maria.117}

         vélévó   N. o-á-úbuwela   maare

         16.EDEM.I   D. 1-PST.CJ-think   6.idea.PL

         'There, Mr.Dugong was thinking of an idea'

      b. *véléval' ééyéén' oolówávahá majáángar' aábálé:*   {maria.182}

         vélévalé   íyééne   o-lé-ó-á-vahá   majángára   ábálé

         16.EDEM.III   3SG.PRO   1-CE-15-OM2-give   6.card   6.DEM.III

         'There he gave them the certificates'

5.2.2.2   Emphatic demonstratives of manner : 'like this, like that'

The three emphatic demonstratives of manner *dhaáyi*, *dhaáwo*, and *dhaáyîle* refer to the manner in which an action is performed and can be considered as adverbs. Again, the demonstrative suffixation indicates the deictic dimension (proximal, medial, distal). In English, they are translated as 'like this/that' or 'this/that way'.

(5.57)   a.   *[ji gáhál' éémfúnééh' úutágíha íyó ddabuno vénêva.] eromilé dhááyi :*   {mbílri.6}

   e-rom-ilé   **dhááyi**

   9-start-PFV.CJ   like.this.I

   '[This is the story we want to tell here today.] It starts this way.'

   b.   *weéríé keéríé dhaawo*   {maria.1}

   [o-ér-ílé]REL   ka-ér-ílé   **dhaawo**

   1-say-PFV.REL   NEG.1-say-PFV   like.this.II.PL

   'once upon a time (lit. 'who said it did not say that way')

As illustrated in (5.58), the intensifier *wéene* 'INT' (see section 7.1.3.2) can be cliticised to the demonstratives of manner to obtain an emphatic reading, with the effect of shortening the demonstrative stem long vowel and shifting the H tone onto the next mora, i.e. onto the demonstrative suffix.

(5.58)   a.   *kakúnúulani kómíídá: , ofwanyilémó **dhayéêne***   {páaká.27}

   ka-kúnúula=ni   kómíídá   o-fwany-ilé=mó   **dhaayí=ene**

   IMP-uncover=PLA   9a.food   1-meet-PFV.CJ=18.LOC   like.this.I=INT

   'when he uncovered the food, he found it like this'

   b.   *weeddaga **dhawééné** burebúre [waádhówííyé: kańzíwaawo]*   {maria.21}

   o-edd-ag-a   **dhaawó=éne**   burebúre

   NAR-walk-HAB-Fi   like.this.II=INT   at.random

   'she walked like this at random, [she did not know where she was going].'

5.3   Possessives

In Cuwabo, there are six possessive pronouns: two (singular and plural) for each speech act participant and two for the third person. Diachronically, the two latter forms are clear reflexes of classes 1 and 2, whose use progressively extended and became generalised to every noun class (as will be exemplified below). In this context whereby the distinction of classes is neutralised, the forms *-aye* and *-awa* are glossed as 3SG and 3PL, respectively.

Table 24   Possessive pronouns

1sg	-aga	1pl	-ehu
2sg	-awo	2pl	-enyu
3sg	-aye	3pl	-awa

The possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed, via the pronominal prefix already found with the connective relator (see section 5.1 above). In the interlinear translation of the examples in (5.59), the noun class number of the possessed entity precedes the gloss POSS, while the reference to the possessor (indicated by the person) follows it.

(5.59)   *m̀páddó   dháaye*   *mákága   áaye*
          4.chair   4.POSS.3SG   6.oracle   6.POSS.3SG
          'her chairs' {maria.99}   'his oracle' {mbílri.12}

          ddíma   yááhe   *ósálú   wááye*
          9a.task 9.POSS.3SG   14.thread   14.POSS.3SG
          'his task' {body.22}   'his thread' {mbílri.16}

In case of a locative-derived noun, the pronominal prefix agrees with the locative class and not with the inherent noun class of the possessed noun, as shown in (5.60).

(5.60)   *va-tákúlu   vááye*   *osogólró   waayé*   *m̀-mátákulu   mwááwa*
          16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG   17.front   16.POSS.1SG   18-6.home   18.POSS.3PL
          'in his house' {maria.2}   'in front of her' {maria.23}   'in their houses' {maria.12}

The pronominal prefix usually bears a H tone, which doubles onto the next mora when the word is not clause-final. In this respect, *osogólró waayé* 'in front of her' in (5.60) constitutes an exception case, and I will not try to account for it here.

When the possessive pronoun follows infinitive head nouns, the possessor becomes the agent of the action expressed by the infinitive verb (5.61). A lexical object can be inserted, but only after the possessive pronoun (5.62)a, and not directly following the verb, in which case the sentence is considered ungrammatical (5.62)b.

(5.61)   *ófíìná   wááwo*   {mbílri.34 & 36}
          15.want   15.POSS.2SG
          'as you wish' (lit. 'wish your')

(5.62)   a. *Ósáńzáyá   okwétta   wááye*   *óba   ddi-a   bure*   {elic.}
             Osanzaya   15.fish   15.POSS.3SG   10a.fish   1.COP-CON   much
             'Osanzaya's (way of) fishing fish is bad.'

          b. **Ósáńzáyá okwétta óba wááye dda bure*   {elic.}

When the possessor represents a noun from noun classes other than 1/2, the possessive pronoun corresponds to class 1 form -*aye* when the modified noun is a singular entity, and to class 2 form -*awa* when the modified noun is a plural entity. As Table 25 shows, classes 3, 5, 9, 14, 15 plus the locative ones enter in the first case, while classes 4, 6 and 10 fit in the second case.

Table 25   Possessives attributed to classes

class	'the price of + Noun'	'its / their price'
1	mútténgó wa mwánâku 'chicken'	mútténgó wááye
2	mútténgó wa ánâku 'chicken'	mútténgó wââwa
3	mútténgó wa múri 'tree'	mútténgó wááye
4	mútténgó wa míri 'trees'	mútténgó wââwa
5	mútténgó wa ńzâyi 'egg'	mútténgó wááye
6	mútténgó wa mázâyi 'eggs'	mútténgó wââwa
9	mútténgó wa ehíba 'hoe'	mútténgó wááye
10	mútténgó wa dhihíba 'hoes'	mútténgó wââwa
14	mútténgó wa olíbo 'birdlime'	mútténgó wááye
15	mútténgó wa ópa 'pain'	mútténgó wááye

Possessives have most of all an attributive function, i.e. they modify a noun which is possessed. In such cases, the possessive and the noun enjoy a close relationship and form a prosodic unit. Several arguments confirm this assertion.

5.3.1   Contraction

In discourse, Cuwabo speakers tend to contract the possessive noun phrase, which reduces by one mora. The deleted mora varies according to the phonological value of the pronominal prefix. When this one has a consonant value, i.e. in classes 4 and 10 for *dhi-*, class 5 for *ni-*, class 16 for *va-*, class 18 for *mu-*, it remains and the vowel sequence which follows shortens to one vowel, as shown in (5.63). Now, when the pronominal prefix represents a vowel, i.e. in classes 1, 3, 14, 15, 17 for *o-*, classes 2 and 6 for *a-*, and class 9 for *e-*, triggering a three-vocalic sequence, it gets deleted and resyllabification process occurs, as shown in (5.64).

(5.63)   *vatákúluvaga*   *dhírúgulúdhâga*   *nikóttínaga*

va-tákúlu = vaga   dhírúgulú = dhâga   nikóttí = naga

16-9a.home = 16.POSS.1SG   10.belly = 10.POSS.1SG   5. neck = 5.POSS.1SG

'at my home' {maria.97}   'my bellies' {elic.}   'my necks' {elic.}

(5.64)   *naámbéddaaga*   *kurúmáanjaáwo*   *ózúgwáaye*

        naámbédde = aga   kurúmáanje = áwo   ózúgu = aye

        1a.maize = POSS.1SG   1a.bee.sp = POSS.2SG   14.whiteness = POSS.3SG

        'my maize' {ddingí.26}   'your bee.sp' {maria.53}   'her whiteness' {maria.64}

In this reduction process the noun and the possessive form a prosodic unit affected by a tone modification (see section 3.3.2.1). According to Creissels (2006a: 31), "le fait qu'une forme liée impose à sa base de rattachement des processus phonologiques autres que ceux se produisant régulièrement à une frontière de mots peut être considéré un critère d'affixation." I thus decided throughout this work to attach both forms in a single word, where the possessive is encliticsed to the noun.

   Full paradigms of contracted and encliticised possessives on trisyllabic nouns are given in Table 26 below.

Table 26   Contraction and encliticisation of the possessive in trisyllabic nouns

deliberate speech	informal speech	
vatákúlu vââga	vatákúlú = vâga	'in my house'
vatákúlu vââwo	vatákúlú = vo	'in your (2sg) house'
vatákúlu vââye	vatákúlú = ve	'in his/her house'
vatákúlu véêhu	vatákúlú = vêhu	'in our house'
vatákúlu véênyu	vatákúlú = vênyu	'in your (2pl) house'
vatákúlu vââwa	vatákúlú = vâwa	'in their house'
muhóré wââga	muhórwáaga	'my young hen'
muhóré wââwo	muhóré = wo	'your (2sg) young hen'
muhóré wââye	muhóré = we	'his/her young hen'
muhóré wéêhu	muhóréehu	'our young hen'
muhóré wéênyu	muhóréenyu	'your (2pl) young hen'
muhóré wââwa	muhórwáawa	'their young hen'

Note that all the possessive forms for the second person singular and for class 1 are respectively shortened to *-o* and *-e*, preceded by the pronominal prefix which agrees in noun class with the head noun. (5.65) shows examples in context.

(5.65)   a. *m̀modha ńzínáné waálí Maríyá m̀modha waáli Ddóólrínddo*   {ddoo.2}

         mu-modha   **ńzíná = né**   o-á-lí   M.   mu-modha   o-á-li   D.

         1-one   5.name = 5.POSS.3SG   1-PST.IPFV-be   M.   1-one   1-PST.IPFV-be   D.

         ['He had two children, both girls:] one was called Maria, the other was Ddoolrinddo.'

b. *agaamal' ootóta nám' aagaadhowáná vatákúlűve, [...]*   {mbílri.3}

a-gaa-mala	otóta	náma	a-gaa-dhowá = ná	**va-tákúlú = ve**
1-SIT-finish	15.hunt	9a.animal	1-SIT-go = COM	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

'after hunting the animal and bringing it at home, […]'

Recall that when the modified noun is disyllabic, the tone pattern on the noun changes from HØ to ØH, with HTD on the next mora, as illustrated in (5.66).

(5.66)   *bolá = áye* (< *bóla*)   *munddá = áyé:* (< *múndda*)   *obá = ága* (< *óba*)
         9a.ball = POSS.3SG   3.field = POSS.3SG   9a.fish = POSS.1SG
         'his ball' {maria.151}   'his field' {ddingí.2}   'my fish' {mbílri.24}

         ddimá = áwa (< *ddíma*)   *bwenddé = náye* (< *bwéndde*)
         9a.plot = POSS.3PL   5.mat = 5.POSS.3SG
         'their plot' {maria.70}   'her mat' {maria.102}

Full paradigms of contracted and encliticised possessives on disyllabic nouns are given in Table 27 below.

Table 27   Contraction and encliticisation of the possessive in disyllabic nouns

articulated speech	usual speech	
bwéndde náaga	bwenddé = nâga	'my mat'
bwéndde náawo	bwenddé = no	'your (2sg) mat'
bwéndde náaye	bwenddé = ne	'her mat'
bwéndde néehu	bwenddé = nîhu	'our mat'
bwéndde néenyu	bwenddé = nînyu	'your (2pl) mat'
bwéndde náawa	bwenddé = nâwa	'their mat'
jíbo yáaga	jibwáága	'my song'
jíbo yáawo	jibwéwo	'your (2sg) song'
jíbo yáaye	jibwéye	'her song'
jíbo yéehu	jibwééhu	'our song'
jíbo yéenyu	jibwéényu	'your (2pl) song'
jíbo yáawa	jibwááwa	'their song'

A contextualised example is given in (5.67).

(5.67)   *Maríy' óomál' oófúl' óottúkúla guwódh' óódhówa vatákûlu*   {ddoo.16}

       Maríyá   o-hi-mála   ófúlá   o-hi-ttúkúla   **guwó = dhé**

       Maria   1-PFV.DJ-finish   15.wash 1-PFV.DJ-take   10a.cloth = 10.POSS.3SG

       o-hí-dhówa   va-tákûlu

       1-PFV.DJ-go   16-9a.house

       'Maria finished to wash, took her clothes, and went home'

Last, the prosodic unit formed by the noun and the possessive is confirmed by the examples in (5.68), in which Predicate Lowering (PL) applies to the whole forms *kovááye* 'her face' and *jibwéye* 'his song', and not only to the nouns *kóve* 'face' and *jíbo* 'song'.

(5.68)   a. *agaañgána' nááñgána kovaaye*   {maria.55}

         a-gaa-añgána   o-ní-áñgána   **kove = aye**

         1-SIT-look   1-IPFV.CJ-look   9a.face = POSS.3SG.PL

         'when she looks, she is seing her face'

      b. *ddabunó wiibilé jíbweyé:*   {ddingí.9}

         ddabunó   o-ib-ilé   **jíbo = ye**

         then   1-sing-PFV.CJ   9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL

         'then, he trained his song'

5.3.2   Kinship terms

Many kinship terms are (almost) systematically used with a possessive pronoun, which is cliticised to the noun, in accordance with the principles exposed above. Full paradigms of *báaba* 'father', *ḿma* 'mother', *mwáaná* 'child', *mámûni* 'husband', and *mwáadhí* 'wife' are given in Table 28.

Table 28   Contraction and encliticisation of the possessive with kinship nouns

	father *báábi*	mother *ḿma*	child *mwáaná*	husband *mámûni*	wife *mwáadhí*
my	báâba/bábáani	ḿmááni	mwánâga	mámúnaga	mwáádhaga
your	báabó	ḿmáayó	mwánâwo	mámúnawo	mwáádhawo
his	báabé	ḿmáayé	mwánâye	mámún-e/aye	mwáádhíye
our	bábííhu	máyííhu	mwánîhu	mámúnehu	mwáádhihu
your	bábíínyu	máyíínyu	mwánînyu	mámúnenyu	mwáádhinyu
their	báâba/bábííwa	ḿmáaya/máyííwa	mwánâwa	mámúnawa	mwáádhawa

Several interesting observations arise from this table. A first general one is that the short possessive forms *-o* and *-e* are found again for the second person singular and for class 1. Examples in (5.69) give two occurrences in context.

(5.69) a. *míyó ǹnódhána múnânddo*   {maria.112}

       míyó   ni-ni-ódhá=na   **múnânddo**

       1SG.PRO   1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come=COM   1.co-wife.POSS.2SG

       'I will bring your co-wife'

     b. *Maríyá olóówíyéléla vatákúl' úúlóókálá na mwámúné:*   {maria.176}

       M.   o-lé-ó-íyél-él-a   va-tákúlú   ó-lé-ókála   na   **mwámúné**

       M.   1-CE-15-go.back-APPL-Fi   16-9a.house 1-CE-15.stay   with 1.husband.POSS.3SG

       'Mary went back home, she remained with her husband'

A second observation concerns the shortening of the outputs resulting from vowel sequences when the nouns and the possessive assemble. It is seen in Table 28 with the paradigms for *mwáaná* 'child', *mámûni* 'husband', and *mwáadhí* 'wife'. This means that beyond the deletion of one mora in the possessive stem, another mora deletion occurs with the shortening of the long vowel. The resulting tonal pattern suggests that the deleted mora corresponds to the final vowel of the noun, which originally bears a H tone, missing in the contracted form. Furthermore, and even more unexpectedly, the words *mwáaná* 'child' and *báâbi* 'father', when suffixed by the possessive markers, are submitted to the shortening of their long stem vowel. I am unsure at present what significance to attribute to these cases.

Thirdly and finally, a special pronominal possessive stem exists with two kinship terms, namely *báâbi* 'father' and *ǹma* 'mother', but only for the first person singular, with the forms *bábáani* 'my father' (5.70), and *ǹmááni* 'my mother'. The form *báába* is attested for both 'my father' and 'their father', as seen in (5.71). The remaining persons are normally inflected. This seems to point towards a system in which inalienable possession used to play a role.

(5.70) *mukwéle bábááni ddaagonágá ddiǹkál' óomurohávi*   {semi-elic.}

     [mu-kw-él-e   **bábááni**]_{REL}   ddi-a-gon-ág-á

     18-die-APPL-PFV.REL   1a.my.father   1SG-SIT-sleep-HAB-Fi

     ddi-ni-kálá   o-mu-rohá=vi

     1SG-IPFV.CJ-be   15-OM1-dream=RESTR

     'since my father died, while sleeping, I keep dreaming of him'

(5.71)   a. *koowuunúwâ ddigaáttíyedhúw' ôomwéné wa máráfula báába*   {semi-elic.}

      ka-o-unúwâ   ddi-gaa-hí-ttíy-edh-úw-â   omwéné   wa   máráfula

      CE-15-grow   1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-leave-APPL-PASS-Fi   17.chieftainship   17.CON   1a.dead

      báába

      1a.my.father

      'if I was a grown-up, I would stay with the chieftainship of my dead father'

    b. *āyím' aábá aǹkáléca na báábá, [agoonúwa, agááǹsema vaddíddi]*   {semi-elic.}

      áyíma   ábá   [a-ni-kál-éc-a   na   **báábá**]$_{REL}$

      2.child   2.DEM.I   2-IPFV.CJ-be-HAB-Fi   with   1a.their.father

      'these children who are always with their father, [when they grow up, they will be good carpenters]'

In (5.72), the suffixation on *múkwáága* 'my friend' of the *=ya* definite clitics further confirms the prosodic unity between the noun and its possessive.

(5.72)   *kadhánáto m̄kwáágáaya óddo, mwáádhíy' oóddó*   {maria.118}

    ka-dhá=ná=to   **múkwé=ágá=ya**   óddo   mwáádhí=ya óddó

    IMP-go=COM=then   1.friend=POSS.1SG=DEF   1.DEM.II   1.wife=DEF   1.DEM.II

    'bring then that friend of mine, that wife'

Also note that each of these relation terms exist without a pronominal possessor, e.g. to express a generic meaning, but their use is far less attested. For example, *múkwe* 'friend' as such is only attested once (5.73) in my narratives, whereas it appears 17 times with a possessive clitics. We conclude that kinship terms usually require the possessor to be internal.

(5.73)   *múkwé kańdíśkóbíríír' iilobwééne*   {páaká.16}

    múkwé   ka-ní-díśkóbírííri   elobó=éne

    1.friend   NEG.1-IPFV-find.out   9.thing.PL=INT

    'the friend does not find out anything'

5.3.3 Anaphoric function

The possessives can also be used anaphorically (5.74)a, with a possibility of reduplication (5.74)b,

(5.74)   a. *ḿbénáága oórímééla, káddíboléyé waawo*   {elic.}

      ḿbéni = ága   o-hí-rímééla   ká-ddí-boléy-é   **waawo**

      3.knife = POSS.1SG   3-PFV.DJ-disappear   IMP-OM1SG-lend- Fi   3.POSS.2SG

      'my knife is lost, lend me yours'

      b. *naṁpódúgu okála múttú yááyeyááye*   {body.21}

      nãm   podugi   okála múttú   **yááye-yááye**

      no   can.HAB 15.be   1.person 9.POSS.3SG-RED

      'it cannot be every man for himself' (speaking of body parts)

or be nominalised, referring to belongings with a class 10 agreement (5.75), or referring to some personal place with a locative class agreement (5.76).

(5.75)   *dhááwo dhootédhéne ddabunó, māsóóso^w ááw' ootééné ddabunó aamála*   {maria.46}

      dhááwo   dhi-oté = dhéne   ddabunó   māsóóso   ááwo

      10.POSS.2SG   10-all = 10.INT   today   6.suffering 6.POSS.2SG

      a-oté = éné   ddabunó   a-hi-mála

      6-all = INT   today   6-PFV.DJ-finish

      'everthing you have today, all your suffering today is over'

(5.76)   *ddińdhówá ddávéde váágavéné v' ookála*   {maria.57}

      ddi-ní-dhówá   ddi-á-véd-e   **váága = véné**   va   okála

      1SG-IPFV.CJ-go   1SG-IT-search-SBJ 16.POSS.1SG = 16.INT 16.CON 15.live

      'I will go and look for a place of mine to stay'

5.4   Adjectives

Dixon (2004: 3-4) identifies seven semantic types typically expressed by adjectives from a typological perspective: dimension, age, value, colour, physical property, human propensity, and speed. In Cuwabo all these adjectival concepts are expressed by several different strategies: (i) by a lexical adjective (section 5.4.1); (ii) by some nouns or infinitival verbs combined with an agreeing connective relator (section 5.4.2); (iii) or even by verbal inflection developed in other chapters of this thesis: the perfective of stative verbs (see section, 8.1.1.2 but exemplified here in (5.77)) and relativisation (see section 10.1, but exemplified here in (5.78)).

(5.77)   a. *míyó ddiirágâla*   {elic.}   b. *ńlrúwa niinyála*   {elic.}

  míyó   ddi-hi-rágâla   ńlrúwa   ni-hi-nyála

  1SG.PRO   1SG-PFV.DJ-be.crippled   5.flower 5-PFV.DJ-wither

  'I am crippled'   'The flower is withered'

(5.78)   *mwááná ohinóóna*   {elic.}

  mwááná   [o-hi-ní-óna]_REL

  1.child   1-NEG-IPFV-see

  'a child who cannot see = a blind child'

Among these strategies, one should note the importance of the verbal element in expressing adjectival meanings, which suggest that Cuwabo is an "adjectival-verb language" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 16). These miscellaneous strategies reveal that the division between word classes is not always straightforward. Some words that are intuitively assumed to be nouns or verbs happen to be used as noun modifiers in adjectival constructions.

5.4.1   Lexical adjectives

The lexical adjectives comprise a small closed class of six members, namely *-nddímúwa* 'big' (5.79), *-ñgóóno* 'small, little' (5.79), *-inji* 'much/many' (see section 5.5.3 on quantifiers), *-ina* 'other' (5.80), *-iti* 'unripe' (5.81), *-gumi* 'healthy' (5.82). The semantic range of these adjectives is partly consistent with Dixon (1977)'s assertion that closed-class adjectives (found in some world's languages) more commonly denote dimensions, colour, age, and value. The underrepresentation of lexical adjectives is widespread across Bantu languages.

These adjectival stems take a H-toned concordial prefix which agrees in noun class with the modified noun, as shown in Table 29.

Table 29   Agreement on adjectives

Class		-nddimuwa	-ina
1	mwááná	múnddímúwa	mwíína
2	ááná	ánddímúwa	ééna
3	músólro	múnddímúwa	mwíína
4	mísólro	dhínddímúwa	dhíína
5	níńtó	nínddímúwa	níína
6	méńtó	mánddímúwa	mééna
9	ehíbá	énddímúwa	yíína
10	dhihíba	dhínddímúwa	dhíína
14	ógóógó	múnddímúwa	mwíína
15	ópa	ónddímúwa	wíína
16	vaárí	vánddímúwa	vééna
17	odhúlú	ónddímúwa	wíína
18	munddúní	múnddímúwa	mwíína

Following are a few examples.

(5.79)   *Mosambíki elabw' eénddímúwa, Portugal elabo éñgóóno*   {elic.}

   Mosambíki   elabo   **é-nddímúwa**   Portugal   elabo   **é-ñgóóno**

   Mozambique   9.country.PL   9-big   Portugal   9.country.PL 9-small

   'Mozambique is a big country, Portugal is a small country'

(5.80)   *ddinódhówá obára múdhídhi mwíína*   {elic.}

   ddi-ni-ódhówá   o-bára   múdhídhi   **mú-ína**

   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.go   17-9a.beach   3.time   3.other

   'I will go to the beach later (at some other time)'

(5.81)   *nífúgi nííti / máfúgi mééti*   {elic.}

   nífúgi   ní-íti   máfúgi   **má-íti**

   5.banana   5-unripe   6.banana   6-unripe

   'unripe banana / unripe bananas'

(5.82)   *áwééne* **a-gumíː ?**   *mwááná baáhí* **mu-gumi**   {elic.}

   3PL.PRO   2-healthy.PL   1.child   only   1-healthy.PL

   'are they alright? only the child is alright'

Note that *-gumi* 'healthy' is typically used for animate entities. In (5.82), it is used for a plural entity (class 2), as a (non-verbal) predicate by means of Predicative Lowering (see section 3.5.3).

When lexical adjectives refer to persons, as shown in (5.83), they are usually inserted into a connective construction whose concordial prefix corresponds to the subject marker of each person: *ddi-* for 1SG, *o-* for 2SG, *ni-* for 1PL, and *mu-* for 2PL. Different strategies are at play to resolve such vowel sequences, but the output is always shortened. The adjective is then submitted to Predicative Lowering (PL) and agrees in class 1 for the two singular persons, and class 2 for the two plural persons.

(5.83) PERS.PRO.   SM-CON   Adjective.PL

míyó	*dda*	*munddimúwa / mugumí*	'I am tall / healthy'
wéyó	*wa*	*munddimúwa / mugumí*	'you (sg) are tall / healthy'
íyó	*na*	*anddimúwa / agumí*	'we are tall / healthy'
nyúwó	*mwa*	*munddimúwa / agumí*	'you (pl) are tall / healthy'

Qualifying nationality also induces classes 1 (for singular persons) and class 2 (for plural persons) agreement on the adjective as well as PL.

(5.84) *míyó m̀mosambikááno / íyó amosambikááno*   {elic.}

míyó   **mu-mosambikááno**   íyó   **a-mosambikááno**

1SG.PRO   1-Mozambican.PL   1PL.PRO   2-Mozambican.PL

'I am Mozambican / we are Mozambican'

Certain adjectives may be reduplicated, to insist on the quality denoted by the adjective. In my database, the most recurrent example is with the adjective *-ñgóóno* 'small' or its variant *-ñgíni*. As (5.85) shows, the long vowel of the adjectival stem is shortened, and the High tone pattern is reproduced on the reduplicated segment.

(5.85)   a. *méénó:*   **má-ñgónó-ñgóno**   {elic.}

6.tooth   6-little-RED

'small teeth'

b. *ńngá dda mwaaná múñgíníñgíní , […]*   {ddingí.8}

ńngá   ddi-a   mwaaná   **mú-ñgíní-ngíní**

as   1SG.COP-CON   1.child   1-little-RED

'because I am small, [...]'

Finally, lexical adjectives can be used anaphorically as pronouns.

(5.86)   *íyó kaniná: mazayi mánddímúwa, muttukúle máñgóóno*   {elic.}

íyó	ka-ni-ná	mazayi	má-nddímúwa	mu-ttukúl-e	**má-ñgóóno**
1PL.PRO	NEG-1PL-have	6.egg.PL	6-big	2RESP-take-SBJ	6-small

‘we do not have big eggs, take the small ones’

5.4.2 Connective constructions

A very productive adjectivisation process is made through the agreeing connective relator, followed in most cases by a noun or an infinitive verb, which become adjectival nouns and verbs or noun- or verb-like adjectives. Concepts such as (i) colour (5.87); (ii) temporal periods (5.88); (iii) physical qualities (5.89); and (iv) present state (5.90) are expressed by adjectival nouns and/or verbs.

(5.87)   Color concepts via adjectival nouns (a-b) and adjectival verbs (c)

   a. *méńtó ááye alí a matába a mánddîmwi*   {elic.}

méńtó	ááye	a-lí	a	[matába	a	mánddîmwi]
6.eye	6.POSS.3SG	6-be	6.CON	6.leaf	6.CON	6.lime

‘his eyes are green’   ▸ green = ‘lime's leaf’

   b. *mattáká ba músúzí wa nyémba*   {elic.}

mattáká	ba	[músúzí	wa	nyémba]
6.soil	6.CON	3.gravy	3.CON	9a.bean.sp

‘the soil is brown’   ▸ brown = ‘beans gravy’

   c. *ńzáyí n' oocéna / mázáyí ooríba / kabálá dh' oófííla*   {elic.}

ńzáyí	**na**	océna	mázáyí	**a**	oríba	kabálá	**dha**	ófííla
5.egg	5.CON	15.be.white	6.egg	6.CON	15.be.black	9a.rope	9.CON	15.be red

‘a white egg’   ‘black eggs’   ‘a red rope’

(5.88)   Temporal periods   {elic.}

ańsáká **na**	*wále*	*ńsáká* **na**	*savúla*	*ńsáká* **na**	*wúúlúvúla*
5.time 5.CON	past.times	5.time 5.CON	9a.hunger	5.time 5.CON	15.be.old

‘olden times’   ‘time of hunger’   ‘old age’

(5.89)   Physical qualities

   nyúmbá y' oókóddêla / kabálá dh' oolápa   {elic.}

nyúmbá	**ya**	ókóddêla	kabála	**dha**	olápa
9a.house	9.CON	15.be.beautiful	10a.rope	10.CON	15.be.long

‘a beautiful house’   ‘long ropes’

(5.90)   Present state

    nífúgi na wííttwa   {elic.}

    nífúgi   **na**   wííttwa

    5.banana   5.CON   15.be.ripe

    'a ripe banana'

Connective constructions are also needed with certain quantifiers presented below in section 5.5, and other modifiers including invariable (borrowed) adjectival forms, such as *aka* 'same, equal' (5.91), *paáma* 'good, fine' (5.92), and *déréétu* (< Portuguese *direito*) 'good, fine' (5.93).

(5.91)   a. *oókós' áákakééne*   {mbílri.28}

        o-hí-kósá   **ya**   **aka-ká**=**êne**

        1-PFV.DJ-do   9.CON   same-RED=INT

        'he did the same'

    b. *múttú w' aakakééne owííya mukúkútta wa mwánâga*   {elic.}

        múttú   **wa**   **aka-ká**=**éne**   o-hí-íya   mukúkútta wa   mwánâga

        1.person 1.CON same-RED=INT 1-PFV.DJ-steal 1.car   1.CON 1.child.POSS.1SG

        'the same person stole my son's car'

(5.92)   *ba aaní oñjá dha paámâdha*   {mbílri.10}

    ba   aani   [o-ní-já   **dha**   **paámâ**=**dha**]_{REL}

    2.COP who   1-IPFV.CJ-eat   10.CON   good=10.DEF

    'who keeps eating the tasty part'

(5.93)   *aája dhílóbo dha déréétu*   {maria.82}

    a-hí-ja   dhílóbo **dha**   déréétu

    2-PFV.DJ-eat 10.thing 10.CON   well

    'they ate good things'

Adjectival concepts expressed by connective constructions can also be used anaphorically as pronouns, as shown in (5.94).

(5.94)   *kaddiñzívéliwa guwo y' oófííla, muddíváhe y' ooríba*   {elic.}

    ka-ddi-ni-zívéliwa guwo   ya   ófííla

    NEG-1SG-IPFV-like 9a.cloth.PL 9.CON   15.be.red

    mu-ddí-váh-e   ya   oríba

    2RESP-OM1SG-give-SBJ 9.CON   15.be.black

    'I don't like the red garment, give me the black one'

5.5   Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a subset of adjectives, which refer to certain amounts of entities. Notions like 'all', 'much/many', 'few, little' are expressed by quantifiers. They represent a small set in Cuwabo, which covers only very basic concepts, given in the following list.

(5.95)   *oté / eté*   *kádda*   *-inji*   *vaddíddi*   *(va-)ñgóóno*   *-eka*
               'all, whole'   'each'   'many, much'   'much'   'little, few'   'alone'

   While all the quantifiers function as a noun modifiers, they differ in their morphological anchoring in the noun phrase. Some behave as lexical adjectives and take a (specific) concordial inflection, while others remain invariable. Each case is discussed below.

5.5.1   *oté / eté(=ene)* 'all, whole'

The universal quantifier *oté* 'all, whole' always follows the noun it modifies. It may be realised *eté*, as a free variation. Such a vowel-initial alternation between e/o is well attested among Bantu (see Angenot-Bastin 1977). It functions with specific prefixes agreeing in class with the head noun. The full agreement paradigm is given in Table 30.

Table 30   Agreement prefixes for *oté/eté* 'all'

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	10	14	15	16	17	18
Prefix	o-	a-	o-	dhi-	ni-	a-	e-	dhi-	o-	o-	va-	o-	mu-

Furthermore, *oté* is very rarely attested on its own in my database. Instead the intensive clitics =*ene* is systematically suffixed, usually accompanied with an agreeing prefix (see section 7.1.3.2 for a detailed analysis of the agreement pattern of the clitic =*ene*).

(5.96)   *ddinoóñgwâ ñlánya másáká ootééne*   {elic.}
               ddi-ni-óñgwâ   ñlánya   másáká   **a-oté=éne**
               1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.drink   5.coco.juice   6.day   6-all=INT
               'I drink coco juice every day'

(5.97)   *jaã̀ ǹníngó neetééne kaneéddíle víína*   {body.14}
               ja   ǹníngó   **ni-eté=éne**   ka-ni-édd-íle   víína
               no.longer   5.body   5-all=INT   NEG-5-walk-PFV   too
               'the whole body no longer worked (walked)'

(5.98) *na dhoóbó dheetédhéne dhaáfúnééye*   {maria.60}

| na | dhoóbó | **dhi-eté = dhéne** | [dhi-á-fúná = íye]_{REL} |
| with | 10.implement | 10-all = 10.INT | 10-PST.IPFV.CJ-want = 3SG.PRO |

'with every implement she wanted'

(5.99) *éréddá eepwábwáleya mwiilábóni mweetémwéne*   {elic.}

| érédda | e-hi-pwábwáleya | mu-elábó = ni | **mu-eté = mwéne** |
| 9.disease | 9-PFV.DJ-spread | 18-9.country = LOC | 18-all = 18.INT |

'the disease spread throughout the whole country'

Because it has an inclusive meaning, *oté* typically modifies a plural participant. Still, it is also found with singular nouns to express wholeness, as in the following examples.

(5.100) *ózómbwe wáaga wootééne ddaágúla kokó*   {semi-elic}

| ózómbwe | wáaga | **o-oté = éne** | ddi-á-gúla | koko |
| 14.youth | 14.POSS.1SG | 14-all = INT | 1SG-IPFV.CJ-buy | 10a.coconut.PL |

'during my whole childhood, I used to buy coconut'

(5.101) *olóómpóndda baárk' uúllé na músólro wooténe*   {maria.174}

| o-lé-ó-mú-póndda | baárku | óllé | na | músólro | **o-oté = ene** |
| 1-CE-15-OM1-knead | 1a.boat | 1.DEM.III | with | 3.head | 3-all = INT |

'he destroyed that boat with his whole head'

(5.102) *elábw' ééjí yooténe kaāvó m̀bava w' oopítta míyo*   {maria.178}

| elábó | éjí | **e-oté = ene** | kaá = vó | m̀bava |
| 9.country | 9.DEM.I | 9-all = INT | NEG.COP = 16.LOC | 1.thief.PL |

| wa | opítta | míyo]_{REL} |
| 1.CON | 15.surpass | 1SG.PRO |

'in this whole place, there is no thief better than me'

Beyond the attributive function displayed in the aforementioned examples, *oté* can also be used anaphorically, as a pronoun, as shown in (5.103).

(5.103) a. *mukwélíiyéꞏ, akwilé eetééne*   {body.17}

| [mu-kw-él-e = iye]_{REL} | a-kw-ilé | **a-eté = ene** |
| 18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO | 2-die-PFV.CJ | 2-all = INT |

'when he died, all died'

b. *owaávahá dheetédhénéꞏ*   {maria.82}

| o-hi-á-vahá | **dhi-eté = dhéne** |
| 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give | 10-all = 10.INT |

'she gave them everything'

An alternative form for 'whole' is also found - though more rarely - with the modifier *ńtééro*, borrowed from the Portuguese adjective *inteiro* 'whole, full', and linked with the noun by means of the connective relator, as shown in (5.104).

(5.104)   *lábó na ńtééró: , malábó meelí, malábó maraarú*   {body.16}

      lábó   na   ńtééró   malábó   ma-ilí   malábó   ma-raarú

      5.day   5.CON   whole   6.day   6-two   6.day   6-three

      'a whole full day, two days, three days.'

5.5.2   *kadda* 'each, every'

A frequent strategy to express 'each' or 'every' is the use of the invariable quantifier *kadda* 'each, every', borrowed from the Portuguese *cada*. It always precedes the modified noun.

(5.105)   a. *kádda mútt' úuńdh' óóńńla [...]*   {ddingí.4}

      kádda   múttú   [o-ní-dhá]_{REL}   o-ní-íla

      each   1.man   1-IPFV.CJ-come   1-IPFV.CJ-say

      'everyone coming says [...]'

      b. *kadd' eélóbó: , eekál' eettongéluwáâni*   {body.19}

      kadda   élóbó   e-hi-kála   [e-ttong-él-uw-é = âni]_{REL}

      each   9.thing 9-PFV.DJ-remain   9-order-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO

      'every part of the body has its function'

      c. *kadda múttú nibásá nikósilééye, baloga [...]*   {maria.181}

      kadda   múttú   nibásá   [ni-kós-ilé = íye]_{REL}   ba-logá

      each   1.person   5.work   5-do-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO   SEQ.1-say

      'each one, for the work done, said [...]'

Besides this Portuguese loan, another internal means to express 'each, every' is by reduplication of the modified noun, as shown in (5.106). Note that the presence of the class 18 connective *mwa* in (5.106)a and (5.106)b is not acknowledged by all my constulants. Whereas Sérgio uttered these sentences with the connective relator, in the same context, Agostinho prefers its absence.

(5.106)   a. *dhiddumeyiwé (mwa) nyúmbányúmba*   {elic.}

      dhi-ddumey-iw-é   mwa   **nyúmbá-nyúmba**

      10-burn-PASS-PFV.CJ   18.CON   10.house-RED

      'every/each house was burnt'

b. *kaddinááwódhé weengesela (mwa) niívúruniívûru*   {elic.}

ka-ddi-náá-wódh-é	weengesela	mwa	**niívúru-niívûru**
NEG-1SG-FUT-succeed-IRR	15.read.PL	18.CON	5.book-RED

'I will not be able to read every/each book'

c. *múttúṁttú waáttámbilra makúmí maraarú mwa nibásá nikósilééye*   {elic.}

múttú-múttú	o-á-ttámbilra	ma-kúmí	ma-raarú	mwa	nibásá
1.people-RED	1-PST.CJ-receive	6-ten	6-three	18.CON	5.work

[ni-kós-ilé = íye]~REL~
5-do-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

'each/every one received 30 meticais for the work done'

5.5.3   *-inji* 'many, much' / *-ñgóóno* 'few, little'

The indefinite quantifier *-inji* 'many, much' is used to describe a high quantity or amount of some entity, while *-ñgóóno* (or *-ñgóno* depending on the speakers) 'few, little' characterises a small one. Both function as lexical adjectives and take the class concord of the head noun, which can in turn be a count noun (3.39) or a mass noun (5.108).

(5.107)   a. *masiku méénjééné: nihíválagá: moottó:*   {semi-elic.}

masiku	**má-ínji = éne**	ni-hí-vál-ag-á	moottó
6.day	6-many = INT	1PL-NEG-ask.for-HAB-Fi	3.fire.PL

'we did not ask for fire several days along'

b. *balámé dhiñgoónoví: s' oocéna*   {elic.}

balámé	**dhi-ñgoóno = ví**	si-a	océna
10a.bird	10-few = RESTR	10.COP-CON	15.be.white

'a few birds are white'

(5.108)   a. *waalima m̀búga mwíinjí: , ocettíhe máttánga a báábo*   {semi-elic.}

o-a-lima	m̀búga	**mú-injí**	o-cett-íh-e	máttánga	a
2SG-SIT-cultivate	3.rice	3.much	2SG-danse-CAUS-SBJ	6.party	6.CON

báábo
1a.father.POSS.2SG

'if you produce a good amount of rice, organize a ceremony for your father'

b. *ddinoóñgwa máánjé mañgónóví: kadda múdhîdhi*   {elic.}

   ddi-ni-óñgwa   máánjé   **ma-ñgónó=ví**   kadda   múdhîdhi

   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.drink 6.water 6-little=RESTR   each   3.hour

   'I drink a little water every hour'

Note that the restrictive clitics =*vi* always follows the quantifier -*ñgó(ó)no*, and its deletion would make the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in (5.109), elicited from (3.39)b and (5.108)b above.

(5.109) a. **balámé dhiñgoóno s' oocéna*   {elic.}

      'there are few white birds'

     b. **ddinoóñgwa máánjé mañgónó: kadda múdhîdhi*   {elic.}

      'I drink a little water every hour'

-*inji* is typically used after *múttengó* 'price' when referring to something expensive.

(5.110) *nyúmb' ééji eekáána mútténgó mwíínji*   {elic.}

    nyúmba   éji   e-hi-káána   mútténgó   **mú-ínji**

    9a.house   9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-have   3.price   3-much

    'this house is expensive'

Furthermore, -*inji* is also used to express both quantifying expressions 'several' and 'most, the majority of', as shown in (5.111).

(5.111) *nyúmba dhíínji dhiíddúméyíwa*   {elic.}

    nyúmba   **dhí-ínji**   dhi-hí-dduméy-íw-a

    10a.house 10-many   10-PFV.DJ-burn-PASS-Fi

    'several / most houses were burnt'

Both quantifiers also function anaphorically, as pronouns. For instance, the utterance in (5.112) refers to the previously mentioned class 6 noun *mázâyi* 'eggs'. Interestingly, the restrictive clitic =*vi* (see section 7.1.2.1) is necessarily needed after *máñgóóno*. I have no explanation for this constraint. The utterance in (5.113), elicited from the one in (5.108)a, pronominalises the already-known constituent *m̀búga* 'rice' via the quantifier.

(5.112) *ddiígulá méénji / máñgóónóvi*   {elic.}

    ddi-hí-gulá   **má-ínji** / **má-ñgóónó=vi**   *má-ñgóóno

    1SG-PFV.DJ-buy 6-many   6-few=RESTR

    'I bought many of them / few of them'

(5.113) *waalima mwíínjíː , ocettíhe máttánga a báábo*   {elic.}

         o-a-lima   **mú-injí**   o-cett-íh-e   máttánga   a   báábo

         2SG-SIT-cultivate   3-much   2SG-danse-CAUS-SBJ   6.party   6.CON   1a.father.POSS.2SG

         'if you produce a lot of it (rice), organise a ceremony for your father'

5.5.4 *vaddíddi* 'much' /*vañgóóno* 'little'

Beyond *-inji* and *-ñgóóno*, two more quantifiers carry the same meanings, but remain invariable : *vaddíddi* 'much' (5.114) and *vañgóóno* 'little, few' (5.115), which also function as adverbs (see section 7.2.4). Although they are synchronically non-segmentable, the class 16 prefix *va-* is easily identifiable.

(5.114) a. *[gáhâláː eńlógáː ya] óddúle oǹtóta náma vaddíddi*   {mbílri.2}

         óddúle   [o-ni-tóta   náma   **vaddíddi**]_{REL}

         1.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-hunt   9a.game   much

         '[the story tells about] a great hunter' (lit. 'that one who hunts a lot of game')

      b. *wéy' óokáána gárí vaddíddi*   {maria.45}

         wéyó   o-hi-káána   gárí   **vaddíddi**

         2SG.PRO   2SG-PFV.DJ-have   9a.luck   much

         'you are very lucky'

(5.115) *ésó dhínófúná máánjé méénji na múrúńtí vañgóóno*   {elic.}

         ésó   dhí-ni-ófúná   máánjé   má-ínji   na   múrúńtí   **vañgóóno**

         4.DEM.II   4-IPFV.DJ-15.want   6.water   6-much   and   4.shadow   little

         'those need a lot of water and a little shadow'

     Unlike *-nji* and *-ñgóóno*, *vaddíddi* and *vañgóóno* cannot follow count nouns, as illustrated in the following ungrammatical examples (5.116)a and (5.116)b, respectively based on the grammatical ones found in (3.39)a and (5.108)b.

(5.116) a. **masiku vaddíddí nihíválagá moottó*   {elic.}

         'we did not ask for fire several days along'

      b. **ddinoója máfúgi vañgóóno kadda malábo*   {elic.}

         'I eat a few bananas every day'

     In certain cases, *vaddíddi* may express 'too (many/much)', in reference to an adjective (5.117)a, or to nouns (5.117)b.

(5.117) a. *íyééne múnddímúwá vaddíddi wi avíré mucíddó mwa musúwó óbûle*   {elic.}

íyééne	mú-nddímúwá	**vaddíddi**	wi	a-vír-é	mucíddó	mwa
3SG.PRO	1-big	too	CMP	1-go.through-SBJ	18.below	18.CON

musúwó	óbûle
3.door	3.DEM.III

‘he is too tall to pass under the door’

b. *ookála máfúgi **vaddíddi***   {elic.}

‘there are too many bananas’

Another common strategy to refer to large quantities is the use of the ideophones *gwe* (5.118) and *fwa* (5.119), both of which always follow the modified count or mass noun. A more exhaustive list of ideophones is given in section 7.3.

(5.118) *múlóbwana [...] wa koóbíri gwe*   {maria.62}

múlóbwana	wa	koóbílri	**gwe**
1.man	1.CON	9a.money	much

‘a man with a lot of money’

(5.119) *anámálaba anokálá fwa!*   {maria.66}

anámálaba	a-ni-okálá	**fwa**
2.worker	2-IPFV.DJ-15.be	much

‘working men are numerous!’

Note that *vaddíddi* is often postponed - still optionally - to *gwe* to obtain a more emphatic meaning.

(5.120) a. Maríy'oolówávahá dhílóbo gwe vaddíddí   {maria.98}

maríya	o-lé-ó-á-vahá	dhílóbo	**gwe**	**vaddíddí**
maria	1-CE-15-OM2-give	10.thing	much	much

‘Maria gave them many things’

b. *waákála maánddáakú: gwée vaddíddǐ:*   {maria.30}

o-á-kála	maánddáakú	**gwé**	**vaddíddi**
17-PST.IPFV.CJ-be	10a.excrement	much	much

‘there were on it (the path) a lot of excrements’

5.5.5 *-eká* / *-oká* 'alone'

Similarly to *oté/eté* 'all' analysed in section 5.5.1, the quantifier *eká/oká* 'alone' has its own agreement paradigm. The resulting forms, given in Table 31, are difficult to segment. The two personal forms *meeká* '1SG.alone' and *yeeká* '1.alone' seem to be built upon the personal pronouns *míyo* '1SG.PRO' and *wéyo* '2SG.PRO', respectively, while the others forms have the same agreement prefixes than those found with *oté/eté*.

Table 31   Agreement prefixes for *eká* 'alone'

SG		PL	
Person/Class	Ex.	Person/Class	Ex.
1sg	meeká	1pl	nooká
2sg	weeká	2pl	mooká
1	yeeká	2	ooká
3	wooká	4	dhooká
5	nooká	6	ooká
9	yooká	10	dhooká

Unpaired classes	
14	wooká
15	wooká
16	vooká
17	wooká
18	mooká

Also note the variation in the mid-vowels e and o: the [-back] is restricted to the persons (including classes 1 and 2), while the [+back] applies to all the remaining classes. In the same way as *oté/eté* 'all', the equally widespread *eká/oká* among Bantu is well-known for the vowel-initial alternation between e/o (Angenot-Bastin 1977).

Several examples in context are provided in (5.121).

(5.121) a. *oṅjá weeká párani ?*   {body.5}

       o-ní-já   **weeká**   pára=ni

       2SG-PRS.CJ-eat   2SG.alone   for=what

       'why do eat on your own?'

b. *[…] onimúttéba ddi míyo. kanééddá yéeka*   {body.11}

[o-ni-mú-téba]_{REL}   ddi   míyo   ka-ní-éddá   **yéeka**

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-carry   1.COP   1SG.PRO   NEG.1-IPFV-walk   1.alone

'I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.'

c. *[...] adh' áámálríha dhoója ajá eeká*   {páaká.36}

a-dhá   a-malríha   dhoója   a-já   **eeká**

2-come.SEQ   2-finish.SEQ   10.food   2.eat.SEQ   2.alone

'(the cat) came to finish the food alone'

d. *ńzáyi nooká nili m̀muláláni niivúdda*   {elic.}

ńzáyi   **nooká**   ni-li   mu-mulálá=ni   ni-hi-vúdda

5.egg   5.alone   5-be   18-3.basket=LOC   5-PFV.DJ-be.rotten

'the single egg which is in the basket is rotten'

Furthermore, *eka* associates with the demonstrative pronoun *óĺle* 'that.II' to express the discursive expression 'there it is'.

(5.122)   *óĺleeká Nikúrábedha, olí vatákúlú váaye*   {maria.148}

óĺle=eká   N.   o-lí   va-tákúlú   váaye

1.DEM.III=alone   D.   1-be   16-9a.house   16.POSS.3SG

'there is Mr.Dugong, he is in his house'

5.6 Numerals

5.6.1 Cardinal numbers

5.6.1.1 Bare counting

Cuwabo has a quinary numeral system, composed of distinct stems for the numerals from 1 to 5, and compound forms from 6 onwards. Numerals from 6 to 100 are built through adding 5 and 10. Some elements are juxtaposed while other are separated by *na*. Cardinal primary numerals 1 to 20 and cardinal numerals for the higher round numbers are listed in Table 32. These numerals correspond to the bare counting forms, i.e. when no particular entities are enumerated, and then no concordial agreement precedes the numeral stem.

Because some tonal variations seem to exist among speakers, tone marking may at some point lack consistency. A detailed study of numerals tone pattern is not provided here.

Table 32   Numerals

1	(m̀)módha	11	kúmí na modha	21	makúḿ' méelí: na modha[36]
2	bíili	12	kúmí na bíili	30	mákúḿ' máraarú
3	ttáarú	13	kúmí na ttaarú	50	mákúḿ' matáánu
4	ǹnáyi	14	kúmí na: ǹnayi	60	mákúḿ' matánú na nimódha
5	táanú	15	kúmí na táanú	70	mákúḿ' matáná méelí
6	táná modha	16	kúmí na táná modha[35]	100	zána
7	táná biili	17	kúmí na táná biili	200	mazáná meelí
8	táná ttaarú	18	kúmí na táná ttaarú	1000	mazána kúmi / cíkwi
9	táná ǹnayi	19	kúmí na táná ǹnayi	10.000	macíkwi kúmi
10	kúmi	20	mákúḿ' méelī	100.000	macíkwi zána

The numeral stems from 5 up to 9 are formed according to the pattern 5-and-1 for 6, 5-and-2 for 7, etc, with the preposition *na* 'and, with' between both numeral unities. Such constructions induce certain morphophonological changes: (i), syllable reduction commonly occurs, switching from *tánú na modha* to *táná modha*. Deletion operates on the syllable *nu*. In this deletion process, the underlying high tone onto *nu* seems to not relink to any other mora; (ii) the long vowel of *táanú* 'five' gets reduced when followed by a further unity.

The numeral *kúmi* for 10 is the reflex of the proto-form *-kúmì, well-known across Bantu. The numerals from 11 to 19 consist of 10 plus 1, 2, 3, etc, forming a three-word numeral via the preposition *na*. The same addition process applies for the other tens.

Multiples of 10 up to 90 are formed with the plural form of *kúmi*, i.e. *mákumí* (class 6), followed by the multiplying numeral, which agrees in class with *mákumí*, e.g. *méelí* /má-ilí/ for 20[37]. In this word sequence, the final vowel [i] is commonly deleted, giving rise to a bilabial nasal cluster whose first element becomes moraic, inherits the high tone of the deleted vowel, and is henceforth the coda of the preceding syllable. Other numerals between the tens are built as combinations of numerals for tens and the single numerals from 1 to 9.

The words *zána* 'hundred' and *cíkwi* 'thousand' are uncommon in Cuwabo. Their Portuguese equivalents *cem* and *mil* are rather used in everyday life. Like *kúmi* 'ten', the multiples of these numerals are class 6 nouns, with the prefix *ma-*. While the origin of *cíkwi*

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[35] kúmí na táná modha = kúmí na tánú: na modha

[36] makúḿ' méelí: na modha = mákúḿ' méélí na modha

[37] This morphological change between *bíili* to *méelí* for 20 is explained diachronically: Proto-Bantu *b > Ø, except with class 9/10 words, historically preceded by a nasal, *Nb > b.

is widely attested in Eastern Bantu (Chewa, Kuria, Chaga, Comorian, Digo, Sena, etc), but reconstructed neither by Guthrie nor by Meeussen, *zána* may be attributed to the proto-form *-gànà, but the inconsistency of the Cuwabo sound correspondence[38] suggests it rather to be a loan.

Regarding tones, note that in bare counting process, the ultimate mora usually receives a prosodic high tone while the underlying H tones get lowered. This tone change is unsurprisingly the result of the enumeration process.

5.6.1.2   Agreement on numerals

Only the single numerals (1 up to 9) function as adjectives and take a numeral agreement prefix, consistently with the modified noun, that they obligatorily follow. An exception though is found with classes 9/10, for which the (expected) concordial prefixes *e-* and *dhi-*, respectively, are not applied on the numerals. Instead, they make use of the invariable forms found in bare counting. As the numerical system of Cuwabo is based on five, only the stems involving the numerals from 1 to 5 show class agreement.

Table 33   Agreement on numerals

Num.	Classes 1/2	Classes 3/4	Classes 5/6	Classes 9/10
	mu-/a-	mu-/mi-	ni-/ma-	Ø
1	m̀modha	m̀módha	nimodha	módha
2	éeli	míili/míinddi	méeli	bíili
3	araarú	miraarú	maraarú	ttaarú[39]
4	aǹnayi	miǹnáyi	maǹnáyi	ǹnáyi
5	atáánu	mitáánu	matáánu	táánu

The agreement system on numerals affects every (added) single numeral from 1 to 9, and an interesting particularity of Cuwabo, especially in case of high numerals, is that the modified noun is optionally repeated after the preposition *na*, and most of the time in front of the final single numerals (5.123)a , but not necessarily (5.123)b.

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[38] For *g, the reflexes [g] or [Ø] are expected in Cuwabo, rather than [z].

[39] As for *bíili* to *méelí* seen above, the morphological change between *ttáarú* to *-ráarú* is explained diachronically: Proto-Bantu *t>r, except with class 9/10 words, in which *Nt>tt.

(5.123) a. *m̀múrúddani mweehúː, mukál' ááttu cíkwí na mazáná maraarú*   {elic.}

   na mákúḿ' maǹnayíː na áttú éeli

mu-múrúdda = ni	mu-ehú	mu-kálá	**áttu**	cíkwí	na
18-3.village = LOC	18-POSS.3SGPL	18-be	2.people	5.thousand	and

ma-záná	ma-raarú	na	má-kúmí	ma-ǹnayí	na	**áttú**	á-ili
6-hundred	6-three	and	6-ten	6-four	and	2.people	2-two

   'in our village, there are 1,342 people'

   b. *dhikálámo mírí macíkwí maraarú na mírí mazáná matáánú*   {elic.}

   na mírí mákúḿ' maraarú na mitáná miraarú

dhi-kálá = mo	**mírí**	ma-cíkwí	ma-raarú	na	**mírí**	mazáná
4-be = 18.LOC	4.tree	6-thousand	6-three	and	4.tree	6.hundred

ma-táánú	na	**mírí**	má-kúmí	ma-raarú	na	mi-táná	mi-raarú
6-five	and	4.tree	6-ten	6-three	and	4-five.and	4-three

   'there are 3,538 trees'

Sentences in (5.123) confirm the agreement of the numeral 1 to 5 with the class of the quantified noun, while the stems used for the tens *kúmi*, the hundreds *zána*, and the thousands *cíkwi* are independent and only take the classes 5/6 prefixes, irrespective of the class of the word to be quantified.

A common - and generally preferred - variant of *-ili* 'two' (5.124) is *-inddi* (5.125), which is only attested with the class 4 prefix.

(5.124) *yááká ená mééri kűmí nâ míili*   {elic.}

yááká	e-ná	mééri	kúmí	na	**mí-ili**
9.year	9-have	4.month	ten	and	4-two

   'a year has twelve months'

(5.125) a. *meerí míinddiː ddihílógagá na mwámúnaga*   {semi-elic.}

meerí	**mí-inddi**	ddi-hí-lóg-ag-á	na	mwámúnaga
4.month	4-two	1SG-NEG-speak-HAB-Fi	with	1.husband.POSS.1SG

   'I have not spoken with my husband for two months.'

   b. *oddivahilé míkátté míinddi baáhi, ddiītákúna*   {semi-elic.}

o-ddi-vah-ilé	míkátté	**mí-inddi**	baáhi	ddi-hī-tákúna
1-OM1SG-give-PFV.CJ	4.rice.cake	4-two	only	1SG-PFV.DJ-chew

   'he gave me two rice cakes and I have already eaten them'

The numeral *-módha* 'one' can be used adverbially meaning 'together', when it is preceded by the class 16 locative marker *va-*.

(5.126) a. *kamwaadhowíléwo vamodhá ?*   {ddoo.20}

         ka-mu-a-dhow-ílé = wo   **va-modhá**

         NEG-2PL-PST-go-PFV = 17.LOC   16-one

         'did not you go there together ?'

     b. *aagíláatí vamodháavi góddógoddo*   {maria.85}

         a-hi-gíláatí   **va-modhá = vi**   góddó-goddo

         2-PFV.DJ-sit   16-one = RESTR   IDEO-RED

         'they sat all together'

No other cases of numerals agreeing with locative classes are attested in the language, and when the numeral depends on a derived locative noun, it agrees with the inherent noun class, as shown in (5.127).

(5.127) *íyééné oginaǹtilé vadhúlú va kúgúlu biilī*   {elic.}

         íyééné   o-ginaǹt-ilé   vadhúlú   va   **kúgúlu**   **biilī**

         3SG.PRO   1-sit-PFV.CJ   16.top   16.CON   10a.bed   10.two

         'he is lying on two beds'

Numerals can modify demonstrative pronouns (5.128), or personal pronouns (2.138) with a class 2 agreement whenever the pronoun is plural.

(5.128) *ábá eelī̀ [...] aátélúwa*   {maria.11}

         ábá   **a-ilí**   a-hí-tél-úw-a

         2.DEM.II   2-two   2-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi

         'those two [...] got married'

(5.129) *ngáni nyúwó eelí érúgulu, na máda̱, odhúlú ókó muńlógáwóoní ?*   {body.6}

         ngáni   **nyúwó**   **a-ilí**   érúgulu   na   máda

         VOC   2PL.PRO   2-two   7.belly   and   6.hand

         odhúlú   ókó   mu-ní-lógá = wó = ní

         17.top   17.DEM.II   2PL-PRS.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what

         'You two, Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, what are you talking about upthere?'

Numerals can also be used as pronouns, with a previously mentioned or implied reference to the entity being pronominalised. In (5.130)a, *m̀modha* refers to one of the animals chasing the hare, while in (5.130)b, it refers to each of the members of the family submitted to the father's test. And finally, in (5.130)c, *araarú* clearly refers to the aforementioned noun *múttu* 'person'.

(5.130) a. *m̀modh' ooǹílá "sísi!, k' uúĺle, [óĺlé ki namarogoló!]*   {ddingí.19}

  mu-modha o-ní-íla   sísi   ku   óĺle

  1-one   1-IPFV.CJ-say   INTER   17.COP   1.DEM.III

  'one says : Hey! Here it is, [that one there, isn't it the hare!]'

  b. *[...] okomesáárig' uúḿviríhámo m̀modha ḿmôdha*   {mbílri.19}

  o-komesáár-ig-i   ó-mú-vir-íh-á=mo   **mu-modha** **mú-môdha**

  NAR-start-HAB-Fi   15-OM1-pass-CAUS-Fi=18.LOC   1-one   1-one

  '[...] he began to make them go through, one by one'

  c. *baadhá múttú. araarú.*   {maria.137}

  ba-a-dhá   múttú   **a-raarú**

  SEQ-1-come   1.person   2-three

  'one person came, then three'

Finally, numerals may be inserted into a nominal structure, by means of the prefix of class 14 *o-*, then preceded by agreement prefixes, which pattern with those found with the adjective *oté/eté* 'all', as shown in the following examples.

(5.131) a. *alóóttébéluwa mukásháwúní: , óóraáru*   {body.18}

  a-lé-óttébél-uw-a   mu-kásháwú=ní   **á-ó-a-raáru**

  2-CE-15.carry-PASS-Fi   18-9a.box=LOC   2-14-2-three

  'they were carried in the coffin, the three of them'

  b. with *míri* 'trees' (class 4): *dhóómiraáru* = **dhí-ó-mi-raáru** = 4-14-4-three

  c. with *mázâyi* 'eggs' (class 6): *óómaraáru* = **á-ó-ma-raáru** = 6-14-6-three

  d. with *gulúwe* 'pigs' (class 10): *dhóóttaáru* = **dhí-ó-ttaáru** = 10-14-10.three

5.6.2   Ordinal numerals

In Cuwabo, the two concepts 'first' and 'last' are expressed by the connective agreeing with the head nouns they modify followed by the infinitives *óromá* 'begin, start' (5.132) and *omáríha* 'finish' (5.133), respectively.

(5.132) a. *múttú w' oóromá*   b. *ńzáyi n' oóromá*

  múttú   **wa**   óromá   ńzáyi   **na**   óromá

  1.people 1.CON 15.start   5.egg   5.CON 15.start

  'first person'   'first egg'

(5.133) a. *nyúmbá y' oomáríha*   b. *múrí w' oomáríha*

        nyúmbá   **ya**   omáríha   múrí   **wa**   omáríha

        9a.house   9.CON 15.finish   3.tree 3.CON 15.finish

        'last house'   'last tree'

The other ordinal numerals also make use of the connective agreeing with the head noun, followed by a nominalised cardinal numeral.

(5.134)   *mwááná wa náwíili*   'second child'

         mwááná wa náwúraaru   'third child'

         mwááná wa náwúǹnayi   'fourth child'

         mwááná wa náwútaanu   'fifth child'

These nominalised cardinal numeral forms are derived from the cardinal stems by means of two prefixes: first the nominal pre-prefix *ná-* (see section 4.2.4.1) and the class prefix *o-*, which is probably from class 14. An epenthetic glide is then inserted between both prefixes, with the effect of making the second vowel /o/ [+high].

(5.135)   *mwánága wa náwúraarú dd' oolápâya*   {elic.}

         mwánága   **wa**   **ná-ó-raarú**   ddi   olápâ=ya

         1.child.POSS.1SG   1.CON   PFX-14-three   1.COP 15.be.tall=DEF

         'my third child is tall'

(5.136)   *síkú na nóónay' uudhow' óóvikomá ḿpúle mwaári*   {maria.119}

         síkú   **na**   **ná-ó-nayi**   o-dhowá   o-vi-komá   ḿpúle   mwaári

         5.day 5.CON   PFX-14-four   NAR-go   NAR-REFL-position   18.DEM.III   18.inside

         'the fourth day, he went and positionned himself there into the sea'

5.7 Other pronouns

The pronoun is a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase, hence it is also called 'substitutive' (Devos 2008, Schadeberg 1990). Among the world's languages, various subtypes of pronouns may be distinguished, among them personal, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, indefinite, relative, and interrogative, several of which are not treated in this subsection for different reasons. The demonstratives, for example, have already been treated above in section 5.2.1. Regarding reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, both interpreted as coreferential with another nominal (a co-occurring one in the case of the reciprocal) (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 26), Cuwabo, as most Bantu languages, lacks them and

typically expresses equivalent meanings through the use of affixes on the verb, which remain invariable regardless of the person or number of the co-referred nominal (see section 6.3 on verbal morphology). Eventually, the issue and discussion of the relative and interrogative pronouns are deferred until chapter 10. The two remaining subtypes, namely personal and "indefinite" pronouns, are discussed in turn below.

5.7.1   Personal pronouns

In order to avoid lexical repetitions within a continuous text or discourse, nouns with a human referent can be subsumed by personal pronouns, which then function as anaphora and fill the syntactic slots of the replaced nouns. Personal pronouns distinguish three persons : a first referring to the speaker(s), a second referring to the person(s) spoken to, and a third referring to some other person(s) or thing(s) previously mentioned or whose referent(s) is/are made clear by the context. For each of these persons, two numbers (singular and plural) exist. Similarly to the possessive forms analysed above, the distinction between classes got neutralised with personal pronouns, and the forms *íyééne* '3SG' and *áwééne* '3PL' are synchronically used as the personal pronouns of every class. This neutralisation is commonly attested across Niger-Congo languages.

The full paradigm of personal pronouns is given in Table 34.

Table 34   Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1st	míyo	íyó
2nd	wéyo	nyúwo (+ resp)
3rd	íyééne	áwééne

Both 3rd persons *íyééne* '3SG' and *áwééne* '3PL' seem to result from the roots *íye* and *áwe* modified by the intensifier clitic *=ene* (see section 7.1.3.2). Still, the fact that both *íyééne* and *áwééne* are synchronically non-decomposable reveals a high degree of grammaticalisation.

Note that the second person plural *nyúwo* (glossed as 2.PL) has a double function, in that it is also used as a form of polite address toward a single person[40] (glossed as 2.RESP), as illustrated in (5.137).

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[40] Polite adress also involve 2PL agreement on verbs and possessives.

(5.137) *múzúgw' ééhuy' oologilé wíí saábúddu ndhówé papá: ,*   {maria.78}
nyúwó mama, íyó, ndhówe wéénowo

múzúgu	wééhu = ya	o-log-ilé	wíí	saábúddu	ni-dhów-é
1.boss	1.POSS.1PL = DEF	1-say-PFV.CJ	CMP	saturday	1PL-go-SBJ

papá	**nyúwó**	**mama**	íyó	ni-dhów-e	wééne = wo
1a.dad.PL	2RESP.PRO	1a.mum.PL	1PL.PRO	1PL-go-SBJ	17.INT = 17.LOC

'our boss asked for us to go on Saturday, father, you mother, us, to go there.'

As common in Bantu languages, a pronominal subject can be interpreted even in case no overt subject is present, thanks to subject marker prefixed on the tensed verb. Commonly such pronominal prefixes on the verb may co-occur with the non-affixal or free unbounded forms found in Table 34 when the pronominal subject (or object) is being emphasised (5.138).

(5.138) *wéyő: oḿfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo*   {maria.25}

wéyó	o-mú-fwár-eg-e	kurúmáanje = éne	óddo
2SG.PRO	2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ	1a.bee.sp = INT	1.DEM.I

'do follow this very bee.sp.'

This redundancy is also functional in discourse, at it helps to orientate the acting participation of an aforementioned character. For example, in (5.139), a first event (*balogá*) referring to a plural entity (*ábálé*) is presented and, in order to mark a character switching, the following sentence starts by the topic pronoun *íyééne*.

(5.139) *ábále balogá: : "ookááná koóbíri dh' oopícá ?" íyééné belá : "ddinopíca"*   {maria.133}

ábále	ba-logá	o-hi-kááná	koóbílri	dha	opícá
2.DEM.III	SEQ.2-say	2SG-PFV.DJ-have	10a.money	10.CON	15.pay

íyééné	ba-ilá	ddi-ni-opíca
3SG.PRO	SEQ-1.say	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.pay

'Those said : Do you have money to pay? He said : I will pay.'

Personal pronouns typically function as subject (5.140), preposition complements (5.141), and (more rarely) verb complements, post- (5.142)a or pre-verbally (5.142)b, in addition to object markers on the verb for emphatic topicalisation (see chapter 11 for a more detailed analysis on information structure). Note that personal pronouns do not differ with respect to their function in the sentence, be they subject or object of the verb.

(5.140) *míyó ddínóvólówa mutákwáni*   {maria.17}

     míyó   ddí-ni-óvólówa   mu-tákwá=ni

     1SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.enter   18-9a.forest=LOC

     'I am going into the forest'

(5.141) *ākwááye abaálíwe na íyééne [ahímâla ótélúwa m̀muruddání mpúléː]*   {mute.4}

     ākwé=áye   [a-baál-íw-e   **na**   **íyééne**]_{REL}

     2.friend=POSS.3SG   2-give.birth-PASS-PFV.REL with   3SG.PRO

     'the friends who were born at the same time (lit. 'with her') [were already married in the village]'

(5.142) a. *kaāvó muttúː oǹtóónyáː baaddípíttá míyo*   {maria.180}

       kaá=vó   muttu   [o-ni-tóónyá   ba-a-ddí-píttá   **míyo**]_{REL}

       NEG.COP.1=16.LOC   1.people.PL   1-IPFV.CJ-show   SEQ-1-OM1SG-surpass   1SG.PRO

       'there is no one who is better at tracking the way than I'

     b. *"míyó munóddíziwáː?" [...] "kanuwíídhi" "míyó kamuddíídhíː?"*   {maria.86}

       míyó   mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwá   ka-ni-ú-ídhi

       1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know   NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know

       míyó   ka-mu-ddí-ídhí

       1SG.PRO   NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know

       'Do you know who I am? No, we don't. You do not know me?'

A personal pronoun with a subject function may be separated from the verb by the entity referred to, which is likely to serve as a reminder or an emphasis (5.143). In the English translation, this lexical entity is indicated in apposition after the pronoun.

(5.143) *íyééne múnddímúw' óólle oómvuúza*   {maria.43}

     íyééne   múnddímúwá   óĺle   o-hí-mú-vuúza

     3SG.PRO   1.old.man   1.DEM.III   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask

     'he, that old man, asked her'

A personal pronoun in sentence-initial position of direct addresses may have a vocative function, with (5.144) or without (5.145) the lexical repetition of the addressee, which is in this case subject to PL as seen in section 3.5.3.4.

(5.144) *wéyó mwaanáwe oonyínddâ dhaáwó, kája!*   {semi-elic.}

     wéyó   mwaaná=we   o-hi-nyínddâ   dhaáwó   ká-ja

     2SG.PRO   1.child.PL=2SG.PRO   2SG-PFV.DJ-oppose   like.this.II   IMP-eat

     'you, rebellious child, eat!'

(5.145) *nyúwó karómáni wííméláani!*   {maria.72}

    nyúwó   ka-rómá=ni   wííméláa=ni

    2PL.PRO   IMP-start=PLA   15.stand=PLA

    'you, stand up first!'

Note in (5.144) that a short version =*we* of the personal pronoun *wéyo* is encliticised to the addressee noun. Interestingly, in the same context, the equivalent short personal pronouns do not exist for the remaining persons, except for the 2PL as (5.146) shows. =*we* for 2SG and =*nyu* 2PL are thus the only short personal pronouns attested in Cuwabo, specifically and only used in vocative expressions, in which they function as emphasisers or reactivation of the addressee. Other cases are illustrated in (5.147).

(5.146) 1SG   *míyó mwaaná=mi   1PL   *íyó ayimáy=i

        2SG   wéyó mwaaná=we   2PL   nyúwó ayimá=nyu

        3SG   *íyééne mwaaná=ye   3PL   *áwééne ayimáw=a

(5.147) wéyó mwanabúru=wé !   'you (2SG), young lady!'

        nyúwó ayimá=nyu!   'you (2PL), children!'

Both these bound personal pronouns =*we* and =*nyu* are not to be confused with the series of encliticised pronominal forms found exclusively on the verb of non-subject relative clauses, as shown in (5.148). Their distribution is different and there are six forms, one for each person. For more details on this specific and conditioned use of personal pronouns, see section 10.1.3.

(5.148) *akósé dhimfúnééye*   {semi-elic.}

    a-kós-é   [dhi-ní-fúná=**íye**]_{REL}

    1-do-SBJ   10-IPFV.CJ-want=3SG.PRO

    'he can do whatever he wants'

This means that, unlike Makhuwa and other languages in that area, independent short personal pronouns are not attested in Cuwabo.

As already mentioned above, the distinction between classes got neutralised. This means that nouns with a non-human referent can only be replaced by the forms *íyééne* '3SG' and *áwééne* '3PL', which function both for animate (5.149) and inanimate nouns (5.150). Note however that such a pronominalisation of non-human entities is rarely attested in spontaneous speech. Furthermore, it is more or less accepted among my consultants: whereas Sérgio acknowledges it, Agostinho rather restricts the use of the two pronouns to human entities only.

(5.149) *mbúzí dhiimúnyígala mwááná: ? sabwaní: , cííní epaddúwilé ?*   {elic.}
         áwéénéya aámúttawá poddogoma

mbúzí   dhi-hi-mú-nyígala   mwááná   sabwa = ní   cííní
10a.goat   10-PFV.DJ-OM1-squash   1.child   because = what 7.COP.what

[e-paddúw-ilé]₍REL₎   **áwééné = ya**   a-á-mú-ttawá   poddogoma
9-happen-PFV.REL   3PL.PRO = DEF   2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-flee   1a.lion.PL

'Some goats squashed a child? Why, what happened? They were running from the lion'

(5.150) *múrí oomótta = íyééné oomótta*   {elic.}

múrí   /   íyééné   o-hi-mótta
3.tree   /   3SG.PRO   3-PFV.DJ-fall

'the tree fell / it fell'

Generic pronoun translated as *one* in English or *on* in French does not exist as such in Cuwabo. Instead, the 2SG person *wéyo* 'you' can be used (5.151) or, more commonly, a passive construction is formed (5.152).

(5.151) *kumwe bugáttékenya / waattekényága kumwe*   {elic.}

ku-mw-e   bu-ga-ttekenya   / o-a-ttekény-ág-a   ku-mw-e
NEG.2SG-drink-SBJ   SEQ.2SG-SIT-drive   / 2SG-SIT-drive-HAB-Fi   NEG.2SG-drink-SBJ

'one cannot drink while driving'

(5.152) a. *múyaná óbe mwááná kaḿvádíwa*   {elic.}

múyaná   óbe   mwááná   ka-ní-vád-íw-a
1.woman   or   1.child   NEG.2-IPFV-beat-PASS-Fi

'one cannot beat neither woman nor child' (lit. 'woman and child are not beaten')

b. *vanófwányúwa mátténga a kangáhîwa*   {elic.}

va-ni-ófwány-úw-a   mátténga   a   kangáhîwa
16-IPFV.DJ-15.find-PASS-Fi   6.feather   6.CON   10a.pigeon

'one finds pigeons' feathers there' (lit. 'there are found pigeons' feathers')

5.7.2   "Indefinite pronouns"

Both agent and patient participants of a verb can be indefinite, i.e. they are non-referential. Indefinite pronouns such as 'somebody/nobody', 'something/nothing', 'sometimes/never', and 'somewhere/nowhere' do not exist as such in Cuwabo. Instead, they are expressed via nominal or specific verb forms. For example, *múttu* 'person' (5.153) is generally used for the indefinite pronouns of person somebody/nobody, as well as the existential verb *okála*

'be', followed by a relative clause (5.154), with the meaning of 'there is who + V', which is equivalent to 'someone + V'.

(5.153) a. *ddinímfuná mútt' uunźíwá wííyá vaddíííddi*   {maria.136}

    ddi-ní-mú-funá   **múttu**   [o-ní-zíwá   wííyá   vaddíddi]_{REL}

    1SG-IPFV.CJ-OM1-want   1.person.PL   1-IPFV.CJ-know 15.steal   much

    'I want someone who steals a lot, (who is) a thief'

    b. *kadhílévó muttu*   {elic.}

    ka-dh-ílé = vó   **muttu**

    NEG.1-come-PFV = 16.LOC 1.person.PL

    'nobody came'

(5.154) *ookálá wiíyíle m̀pádd' óoškóóla wééhu*   {elic.}

    o-hi-kálá   [o-íy-íle   m̀páddó o-s̄kóóla   wééhu]_{REL}

    1-PFV.DJ-be   1-steal-PFV.REL   3.bench 17-9a.school 17.POSS.1PL

    'there is somebody who has stolen a bench from our school'

'something/nothing', which are indefinite pronouns in English, are rendered in Cuwabo by the noun *élôbo* 'thing' (5.155)a, or its reduced form *élo* 'thing' (5.155)b. As for 'nobody' in (5.153)b, the negative meaning of the pronoun is rendered by a negated main verb.

(5.155) a. *míyó kaddináálógé: ddihiváhíwe elobo*   {elic.}

    míyó   ka-ddi-náá-lóg-é   ddi-hi-váh-íw-e   **elobo**

    1SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-FUT-speak-IRR   1SG-NEG-give-PASS-SBJ 9.thing.PL

    'I will not speak if you do not give me something'

    b. *kaddímfún' éêlo*   {elic.}

    ka-ddi-ní-fúná   **elo**

    NEG-1SG-IPFV-see   9.thing.PL

    'I do not want anything'

Note that another common way to express negative indefinites is the negative copula, as shown in (5.156). See section 9.2.4 for a more detailed study of the negative copula.

(5.156) *kaáwó odhileewó:*   {elic.}

    kaá = wó   o-dh-ile = wo

    NEG.COP = 17.LOC   1-come-PFV.PL = 17.LOC

    'nobody came'

The locative expressions 'somewhere' and 'nowhere' are mainly expressed through the locative noun *vogo* 'at some place' (class 16) or *wogo* 'to some place' (class 17).

(4.116) a. *kavalí vogó: vàǹrórómeleya asúpâyi*   {elic.}

        ka-va-li   **vogo**   [va-ni-rórómel-ey-a   asúpâyi]_{REL}

        NEG-16-be   16.somewhere.PL 16-IPFV.CJ-believe.in-NTR-Fi 2.policeman

        'nowhere are the policemen trustworthy'

      b. *ddaádhówá wógó: waáddámana na bára*   {elic.}

        ddi-á-dhówá   **wógó**   waáddám-an-a   na   bára

        1SG-PST.CJ-go   17.somewhere   15.be.next.to-REC-Fi with   5.sea

        'I went somewhere near the sea'

      c. *dhoóbó: ottiyilé mógo gaani ?*   {elic.}

        dhoóbó   o-ttiy-ilé   **mógo**   gaani

        10.basket   1-leave-PFV.CJ   18.somewhere.PL which

        'in which place did he leave the baskets?'

Finally, to translate temporal expressions like 'sometimes', Cuwabo makes use of the noun phrase *múdhídhi mwíína*, as shown in (5.157).

(5.157) *ddinódhówá: obárá: múdhídhi mwíína*   {elic.}

        ddi-ni-ódhówá   o-bárá   múdhídhi   mú-ína

        1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.go   17-9a.beach   3.time   3-other

        'I sometimes go to the beach'

Regarding 'never', it is best expressed through a specific verb tense, namely the counterexpectational (see section 8.1.8 for more details), as exemplified in (5.158).

(5.158) *míyó kaddinádhówag' oobara*   {semi-elic.}

        míyó   ka-ddi-ná-dhów-ag-a   o-bara

        1SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-CE-go-HAB-Fi 17-9a.sea.PL

        'I have never been at the beach'

Finally, the indefinite series 'whoever', 'whatever', 'wherever', and 'whenever' is discussed in the context of relative clauses (see chapter 10).

5.8 Multiple modifiers and word order

This subsection presents the sequential ordering of co-occurring modifiers, and more particularly when possessives and demonstratives are involved.

5.8.1   Including a possessive

When a noun phrase includes several modifiers, one of which is a possessive, the latter typically occurs in the position immediately following the modified noun, where it may optionally be cliticised. It thus comes before a demonstrative pronoun (5.159), before a connective construction (5.160), or before an adjective (5.161).

(5.159) *naámbéddaag' oóddu*   *kurúmáanjaay' oóĺle*

        naámbédde = **aga**   **óddu**   kurúmáanje = **aye**   **óĺle**

        1a.maize = POSS.1SG   1.DEM.I   1a.bee.sp = POSS.3SG   1.DEM.III

        'this maize of mine' {ddingí.25}   'that bee.sp of hers' {maria.37}

(5.160) a. *Júwǎo ol' úúmóónóni wáága w' oója*   {elic.}

           Júwǎo   o-lí   o-móónó = ni   **wáága**   **wa**   **ója**

           João   1-be   17-3.arm = LOC   17.POSS.1SG   17.CON   15.eat

           'John is on my right side'

        b. *ózómbwe wáâga wootééne ddaágúla kokó*   {semi-elic.}

           ózómbwe   **wáâga**   **o-oté = éne**   ddi-á-gúla   kokó

           14.youth   14.POSS.1SG   14-all = INT   1SG-PST.IPFV.CJ-buy   9a.coconut.PL

           'during all my childhood, I used to buy coconut'

(5.161) *lívúrúnaga ńnddímúwa*   {elic.}

        lívúrú = **naga**   **ní-nddímúwa**

        5a.book = 5.POSS.1SG   5-big

        'my big book'

Still, this word order is not so strict since it can be reversed, e.g. in (5.162) which constitutes a counterpart of (5.160)a.

(5.162) *Júwǎo olí omóónóni **wa ója wáága***   {elic.}

        'John is on my right side'

Furthermore, (5.163) and (5.164) also constitute exceptions to this ordering pattern. In (5.163), the noun and the possessive are separated by the demonstrative pronoun *ába*. My main consultant Sérgio considers this ordering "more natural" than the (more expected) *maníngo áaga ába*.

(5.163)   *ńnga muńddóonélíinyú, maníngw' ááb' aágá: [...], maníngw' áága alí dháyééne* {maria.40}

[nínga   mu-ní-ddi-on-él-a = inyu]_{REL}   **maníngó ába   áaga**

as   18-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-Fi = 2RESP.PRO   6.body   6.DEM.I   6.POSS.1SG

maníngó áaga   a-lí   dhááyí = éne

6.body   6.POSS   6-be   like.this.I = INT

'As you can see me, this body of mine, [...], my body is like this.'

In (5.164), the possessive precedes the noun it modifies: *ááye mabásá* in (5.164)a and *yáaga nyúmba* in (5.164)b. This unexpected order seems to have the pragmatic purpose of "answering provocation", according to Sérgio, with a somewhat disdainful connotation. This could likely be translated in French as *le guide, le sien de travail est fini!* and *je construirai la mienne de maison!*. Of course, in both cases, the noun-possessive order is possible (respectively, *mabásá ááye* and *nyúmba yáaga*), to denote simple affirmations.

(5.164)   a. *baáhi m̀fíyedháán' oókulé: m̀póǹtáárí ááye mabás' áalógôma*   {maria.149}

baáhi   [mu-fíy-edh-é = áni   ókulé]_{REL}   m̀póǹtáari

only   18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 2PL.PRO   17.DEM.III   1.tracker

áaye   mabása   a-lé-ógoma

6.POSS.3SG   6.work   6-CE-15.finish

'now that they arrived there, the tracker's work was done.'

b. *kattíyâni, ddaagulá ńddebé: , ddinómágá yáaga nyúmba*   {semi-elic.}

ka-ttíya = ni   ddi-a-gulá   ńddebé   ddi-ni-ómagá   **yáaga   nyúmba**

IMP-stop = PLA   1SG-SIT-buy   5.plot   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.build   9.POSS.1SG   9.house

'leave me alone (stop it), when I buy a plot of land, I will build it, my house!'

5.8.2 Including a demonstrative

The demonstrative pronoun is the second after the possessive to have a close relationship with the modified noun. It thus comes before a connective construction (5.165), or before an adjective (5.166).

(5.165)   a. *Maríya nikómé ńttíle na bárá noot' ónólímíhá:*   {maria.64}

maríya   nikómé   **ńttíle   na   bárá   ni-oté**   ó-ni-olím-íh-á

maria   5.bank   5.DEM.III 5.CON 9a.sea 5-all   1-PFV.DJ-15.cultivate-CAUS-Fi

'Then along the whole sea bank, Maria has people cultivating.'

b. *kurúmáanje: odhowilé diléén' eéjíle y' oonyákûwa*   {maria.31}

kurúmáanje	o-dhow-ilé	dilá = éne	**éjíle**	**ya**	**onyákûwa**
1a.bee.sp	1-go-PFV.CJ	9a.path = INT	9.DEM.III	9.CON	15.be.dirty

'the bee.sp went into that dirty path'

(5.166) *mbúzi éjíle éñgóóno eelélêya*   {elic.}

mbúzi	**éjíle**	**é-ñgóóno**	e-hi-lél-êy-a
9a.goat	9.DEM.III	9-small	9-PFV.DJ-educate-NTR-Fi

'that small goat behaves properly'

5.9 Summary of agreement system in NP

As was shown throughout this chapter, the different constituents of the noun phrase are systematically associated to the noun through agreement prefixes. Table 35 aims to summarise the agreement system found in the noun phrase, listing all the sets of concordance seen in this chapter, serving to relate syntactically modifiers to nouns. Note that the allomorphs are not indicated in this table.

Table 35   Agreement prefixes in the noun phrase

	NOUN PFX	CON	oté	DEM	ADJ. PFX
1/1a	mu- /	wa	o-	ó-	mú-
2	a-	a	a-	á-	á-
3	mu-	wa	o-	ó-	mú-
4	mi-	dha	dhi-	é-	dhí-
5	ni-	na	ni-	ń-	ní-
6	ma-	a	a-	á-	má-
9 / 9a	e- / Ø	ya	e-	é-	é-
10 / 10a	dhi- /	dha	dhi-	é-	dhí-
14	o-	wa	o-	ó-	mú-
15	o-	wa	o-	ó-	ó-
16	va-	va	va-	á-	vá-
17	o-	wa	o-	ó-	ó-
18	mu-	mwa	mu-	ḿ-	mú-

6

Verbs

Along with nouns, verbs constitute an open word class, which prototypically denotes actions, processes or states. They display several morphological and syntactic properties that distinguish them from other word classes. First, their agglutinative morphology involves an association of morphological processes, typical of Bantu languages, in such a way that a verb form may function on its own as a complete sentence. Second, verbs function as the heads of verbal clauses, and thus have a specific distribution in clauses.

In this chapter, I am concerned with verb morphology in Cuwabo. I adopt the canonical structure of the Bantu verb proposed by scholars such as Barrett-Keach (1986), Mutaka and Hyman (1990), Downing (1997), and Ngunga (2000), among others. Such a structure consists of the morphosyntactic constituents represented in (6.1).

(6.1)   The verb structure
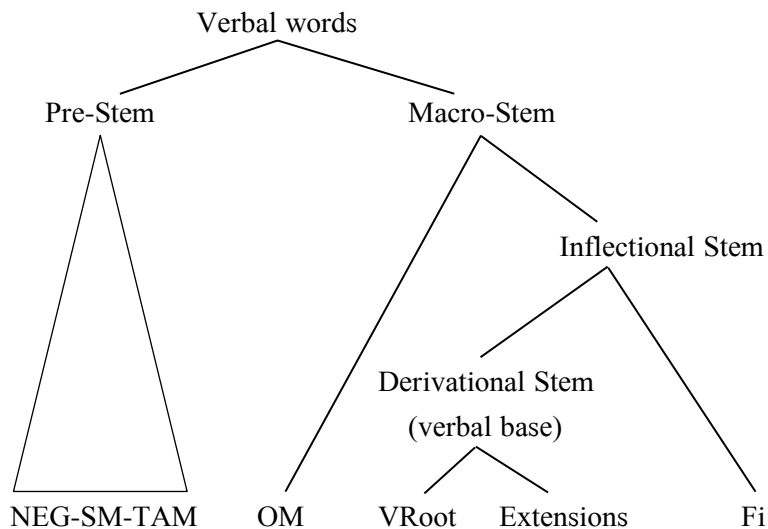
A detailed description of the derivational and inflectional system will thus be provided. Verbal derivation (which in Cuwabo is limited to verb-to-verb derivation) is confined to the extension slot of the verb structure, where productive as well as non-productive extensions are attached to the verb root. This type of derivation will be discussed in section 6.1. Section 6.2 is concerned with another type of morphological process, namely reduplication. Finally, in section 6.3, I give a detailed account of verbal inflection, which involves the remaining verb slots, covering the inflectional stem, the macrostem, and the pre-stem. Note that the question of tense-aspect-mood (TAM) is treated in-depth in chapter 8.

6.1   Derivational verb stem

6.1.1   Verbal base: root + extension(s)

Verb forms in Cuwabo consist of a verbal base together with an obligatory suffix, referred to as the 'final'. Because of its particular properties, the final suffix is discussed later in section 6.3.7. We are concerned here with the derivational stem, i.e. the verbal base, which consists of a root followed by a variable number of optional affixes, referred to as 'extensions'. In (6.2), the stem, the base and the root of the verb *ógúlíha* 'sell' are shown.

(6.2)   stem   *-gúl-íh-a*
        base   *-gúl-íh-*
        root   *-gúl-*

The verbal base generally represents the lexical core of the verb in Bantu languages. Its minimal segmental form, the root, is an abstract entity, which never occurs on its own but is rather embedded in a larger morphological unit, namely the verb stem. Verb roots, since they are underived, are always monomorphemic. (6.3) shows the possible shapes for Cuwabo verb roots (indicated without tones).

(6.3) | Shape | Example | Gloss |
        | --- | --- | --- |
        | C | *-j-* | 'eat' |
        | VC | *-on-* | 'see' |
        | CVC | *-vah-* | 'give' |
        | CVVC | *-baal-* | 'give birth' |
        | CVCVVC | *-siliil-* | 'envy' |
        | CVCVC | *-cittitt-* | 'filter' |
        | CVCVCVC | *-birimindd-* | 'make roll' |

As can be seen in (6.3), verb roots are invariably consonant-final. They are minimally constituted of one consonant and, conversely, have in my data a maximum size of three syllables. The monosyllabic roots with a C- or VC-structure comprise a small set of verbs. The majority of roots have the canonical shape CVC. The three longest shapes are rarely attested as underived (or lexical) verb roots.

The second constituent of the derivational stem corresponds to the verb extensions, which directly follow the verb root, to 'extend' it and form verbal derivates. A common property of the Cuwabo verbal extensions listed in Table 36 is that they all end in a consonant, like the verb root. Most have a VC shape, which corresponds to the canonical shape of the Bantu verbal extensions. Others have the shape VVC, which probably results from a VCVC structure, in which the original VC extension underwent reduplication, and then lost its first consonant.

Table 36   Verbal derivational extensions

Productive extensions		PB	Non-productive extensions		PB
Causative	-ih-/-ec-	*-ic-i-	Separative	-ul-	*-ʊd-
Applicative	-el-/-eel-	*-ɪd-		-uw-	*-ʊk-
	-edh-/-eedh-		Impositive	-ey-	*-ɪk-
Passive	-iw-/-uw-	*-ɪb-ʊ-	Positional	-am-	*-am-
Neuter/Neutro-passive	-ey-	*-ɪk-	Tentive	-att-	*-at-
Reciprocal	-an-	*-an-			

Several observations stand out from Table 36. First, neuter/neutro-passive and impositive are formally identical in Proto-Bantu with the form *-ɪk-, but they are usually distinguished by their semantic and syntactic properties.

Furthermore, verbal extensions are not equally productive. Some are highly productive and can in principle apply in a transparent way to any verb semantically compatible with the extension. These are the causative, applicative, passive, neuter (or neutro-passive), and reciprocal. These extensions typically alter the valency of the verb, by adding or removing an argument and by redistributing the semantic roles assigned to the constituents. On the contrary, other extensions have been lexicalised (or fossilised) in such a way that they are synchronically frozen onto verb roots. In other words, such verb roots do no longer exist in their simple forms, i.e. without extension. These non-productive extensions are the separative, the impositive, the positional and the tentive.

The properties of each extension, productive and non-productive, are discussed in turn, as well as their possibility to combine with each other. Finally note that the verb extensions do not bear an inherent tone, but rather adapt to the tone pattern of the verb root.

6.1.2   Non-productive extensions

6.1.2.1   Separatives *-ul-* (tr.) and *-uw-* (itr.)

The separative extensions *-ul-* and *-uw-*, are also known as 'reversive' (Meussen 1967 and Guthrie 1967-71), or 'inversive' (Meinhof 1899). The term 'separative' (Schadeberg 1982), is probably the most adapted from a semantic point of view, since it allows to predict which verb should bear the extension, namely the one which leaves from an original position or state, or in Schadeberg (1992)'s words, the one which 'take[s] apart or come[s] apart'. A typical verb including a separative extension is *ofúgûla* 'open' (tr.), derived from *ofúga* 'shut'. Semantically, each verb is the 'reversive' or 'inversive' of the other, but only *ofúgûla* has a 'separative' meaning vis-a-vis *ofúga*, and not the other way around.

Typically, two separative extensions exist, *-ul-* and *-uw-*, which work in pair. The first is the reflex of the Proto-form *-ud-*, and renders a transitive meaning to the verb, e.g. *ofúgûla* 'open' (tr.). The second comes from Proto-Bantu *-uk-* and brings an intransitive reading to the verb, e.g. *ofúgûwa* 'be opened' (itr.).

My lexical database contains many examples of separative verbs. A representative list of separative examples is provided in (6.4). Note that in most cases, the separative suffix is

synchronically frozen[41], i.e. it can no longer be separated from the simple verb form, and acquires an idiosyncratic meaning. Still, in each form below, the "separative" meaning is obtained.

(6.4)   *-ul-* / *-uw-* Separative extensions

-ul- (tr.)		*-uw-* (itr.)	
oddémûla	'pierce'	*oddémûwa*	'be pierced'
ofúkûla	'gush'	*ofúkûwa*	'make gush'
ofúrúmula	'untie'	*ofúrúmuwa*	'untie'
ofúttúkula	'bend'	*ofúttúkuwa*	'be bent'
ógábúla	'open, break'	*ógábúwa*	'be opened'
ogáfûla	'make hatch out'	*ogáfûwa*	'hatch out'
ogúgúrula	'peel'	*ogúgúruwa*	'be peeled'
ogújágula	'unload'	*ogújáguwa*	'be unloaded'
ógújúla	'break'	*ógújúwa*	'be broken'
ógúmúla	'collect.sp'	*ógúmúwa*	'be collected'
wiínûla	'raise'	*wiínûwa*	'stand'
ójéddúla	'cut, shorten'	*ójéddúwa*	'be shortened'
ojígúlana	'argue'	*ojígúwana*	'be angry with'
ojírímula	'scatter'	*ojírímuwa*	'scatter'
ókúmúla	'weaken'	*ókúmúwa*	'weaken'
okúttûla	'spill'	*okúttûwa*	'spread, empty'
opáwûla	'empoverish'	*opáwûwa*	'become poor'
osáddûla	'change'	*osáddûwa*	'change'
otátámula	'provoke'	*otátámuwa*	'explode'
wuúbûla	'uncover'	*wuúbûwa*	'appear'
wúúngúsúla	'take out'	*wúúngúsúla*	'withdraw'
óvúgúla	'shorten'	*óvúgúwa*	'be shorten'

As already seen in section 2.2.4, the separative extensions *-ul-* and *-uw-* have two respective allomorphs, namely *-ol-* and *-ow-*, whose distribution is restricted to a mid-back vowel context. This means that these o-forms only occur when the verbal root contains o. For all the remaining vocalic contexts, the u-forms are used. An illustrating list of verbs with the *-ol-* and *-ow-* separative extensions is given in (6.5).

(6.5)   *-ol-* / *-ow-* Separative extensions

-ol- (tr.)		*-ow-* (itr.)		derived verb
ógóbóla	'break'	*ógóbówa*	'break'	

---

[41] "frozen" here must be interpreted in a broad meaning, since both separative extensions are nonetheless commutable.

ógóddóla	'break (branches)'	*ógóddówa*	'break'		
ógómóla	'demolish'	*ógómówa*	'fall'	*ógomá*	'finish'
ókókóla	'thresh'	*ókókówa*	'fall (grain)')	*ókoká*	'hang'
ókónóla	'collect (fruits)'	*ókónówa*	'untie o.s.'		
ókópóla	'take off, extract'	*ókópówa*	'come apart'		
ónyóngóttóla	'twist'	*ónyóngóttówa*	'twist'		
woógôla	'straighten'	*woógôwa*	'be straight'		
otómôla	'take off, untie'	*otómôwa*	'untie'		
ótóróla	'pierce'	*ótórówa*	'be pierced'		
ónyóngóttóla	'twist, curve'	*ónyóngóttówa*	'slither'		

This case of mid-back vowel harmony is the only one attested with the verbal extensions in Cuwabo, which would seem to confirm Hyman (1999: 245) according to whom the [+back] and [-back] harmony processes are independent of each other.

Interestingly, for each verb containing the transitive separative extension *-ul-*, the corresponding intransitive form with *-uw-* is not necessarily attested in the languages. The list in (6.6) illustrates this absence of commutation.

(6.6)   No commutation cases: *-ol-* but no *-ow-*

woóbôla	'redeem'
órómóla	'pronounce'
osómôla	'savor, sip'
ósópóla	'tear from hands'
otógôla	'sharpen'
ótónóngóla	'collect beans'
ovóddógorola	'pound'
ovóógola	'straighten'
owóddóbola	'uproot'
ówóróla	'collect (maize or banana)'
óbódhóla	'be impotent'
ócókóla	'stab'
ógóvóla	'peck'
ójóróla	'prick; dazzle'
ókóttóla	'shatter'
ókóvóla	'grind'

The reverse situation whereby intransitive separative verbs do not have a corresponding transitive separative form, is also found, as shown in (6.7), although less common.

(6.7)   No commutation cases: *-ow-* but no *-ol-*

okórónowa	'snore, growl'

olódhôwa	'be a guzzler'
onyólólowa	'be sticky'
ónyowá	'lose weight'
ópóttówa	'evade'
ótótówa	'be destroyed'
óvólówa	'enter'

Although they are far less attested in my database, long separatives also exist, with the shape *-uul-* and *-uuw-* (no example was found with the mid-back vowel), as shown in (6.8). Such forms probably result from a reduplication of the short extension, then shortened by the deletion of the first consonant (Schadeberg 1992).

(6.8)   *-uul-* / *-uuw-* long separative extensions

-uul- (tr.)		*-uuw-* (itr.)	
wiínyúula	'cancel curse'	*wiínyúuwa*	'be cancelled, neutralised (curse)'
-		*wiíttúuwa*	'rest'
ókúnúúla	'uncover'	*ókúnúúwa*	'uncover'
opénúula	'suspect'	-	
otápúula	'untie, open'	*otápúuwa*	'be untied, open'
ottúûla	'uproot'	*ottúûwa*	'be uprooted'
ovúûla	'collect beans'	-	

The reduplicated separative extension also exists, but is only attested for intransitive meanings. The resulting form is *-uluw-*, and not the expected *-uwuw-*, as shown in (6.9). The expected transitive form *-ulul-* is also not attested as a verbal extension.

(6.9)   *-uluw-* long separative extensions

óbúbúlúwa	'roll' (itr.)
ojúbúluwa	'change, be unstable' (itr.)
onyúgúluwa	'melt' (itr.)
opúlúluwa	'be steep' (itr.)
otúdúluwa	'be clean' (itr.)

It does not seem that the length of the separative extension has any consequence on its meaning.

6.1.2.2   Impositive *-ey-*

In many Bantu languages, the neuter (see section 6.1.3.4 below) and the impositive extensions are morphologically identical, as reflexes from the PB form *-ɪk-. It is also the

case in Cuwabo, whose both impositive and neuter suffixes consist of the segment -*ey*-. The impositive, also called neutro-active (in opposition to 'neutro-passive', another label for the neuter), often indicates an active positional process rendered by causation. It is best translated in English as 'put (sth.) into a certain position' (Schadeberg 2003). Typically, the impositive is found in a very small number of verbs, listed in (6.10), which are as expected all transitive.

(6.10)   *óddúméya*   'burn sth' (tr.)

   ojéjéreya   'disturb' (tr.)

   opárêya   'half-open' (tr.)

   osáddêya   'rebuke' (tr.)

   otómêya   'hang up' (tr.)

   wííléya   'say or do again' (tr.)   >   *wíílá*   'say, do' (tr.)

Among these examples, *otómêya* 'hang up' is particularly interesting since its impositive extension contrasts with the separative extension in *otómôla* 'untie, take off'. Further note that the last form *wííléya* 'say/do again' expresses a repetition of the action expressed by the verb.

6.1.2.3   Extensive -*a(a)l*-

The intransitive extensive extension -*a(a)l*- comes from the proto-form *-*al*-. It is not frequently attested in Cuwabo and its meaning usually suggests "to be in a spread-out position" (Schadeberg 2003: 77), as shown in (6.11)a. The three examples in (6.11)b are semantically more obscure, though. These *a priori* exhaustive lists indicate that the long form is more attested than the short one.

(6.11)   Extensive -*a(a)l*-

   a. *waábâla*   'dress, wear'   *óbáála*   'give birth'

      ódháála   'be full'   *okála*   'be, live'

      ólámáála   'be paralysed'   *ómáála*   'shut up'

      ónyáala   'be straight, smooth'   *ópítáála*   'hide o.s.'

      wúláála   'be very dry'   *óyáála*   'carry (on the back)'

   b. *óddúwáála*   'forget'   *ótámáála*   'thank; obey, respect'

      otánáala   'think about, be concerned about'

Corresponding underived verbs seem to no longer exist in the language, suggesting that this derivation lexicalised or froze some time ago.

6.1.2.4 Positional *-am-*

Faithful to the Proto-form **-am-*, the positional extension *-am-* was originally applied on verbs in order to denote a certain stationary condition or position, linked to the body as well as the mind. Note that none of the original stems from which forms below derived is attested synchronically. It thus seems that the simple forms have all died out. Like the extensive *-aal-*, the resulting verb forms are always intransitive.

(6.12) *waáddáma*   'be neighbor, approach'   *waátâma*   'open one's mouth'

obúrâma   'crouch'   *ocácâma*   'avoid, keep a low profile'

ocíkâma   'limp'   *ogúlâma*   'walk with a bent back'

okúddâma   'be dark'   *ókúnáma*   'sleep on one's stomacks'

onyáma   'follow discreetly'   *opúttâma*   'bend down, stoop'

otálâma   'sleep on one's back, spread'   *ottángárama*   'be happy'

óttúláma   'bend down'   *óttúmbáma*   'float'

wúúráma   'smoke on the other side'   *ovédâma*   'be crooked'

6.1.2.5 Positional *-aan-*

Another stative-positional extension semantically similar to *-am-* is *-aan-*. No Proto-form is known for this extension, which is only attested in the four frozen verb forms in (6.13), which are also all intransitive.

(6.13) *ódábáána*   'be tangled'   *ókómbáána*   'bend'

ókórómáána   'be crooked'   *otédémaana*   'bend down, stoop'

6.1.2.6 Tentive *-att-*

The tentive extension (also referred to as contactive) *-att-* comes from the Proto-form **-at-*. As the term evokes, this extension gives an idea of contact between two or more entities, as shown by the four verbs attested in my corpus, given in (6.14). Again, the underived forms have been lost in the languages.

(6.14)   *ókúbátta*   'hug, embrace'

         ópápátta   'arrange pastry in the plate with the fingers'

         ottápâtta   'seize, grasp'

6.1.3   Productive extensions

6.1.3.1   Causatives *-ih-* and *-ec-*

Causative -ih-

The Cuwabo causative extension *-ih-*, from Proto-Bantu **-ic-i*, indicates that a subject makes or causes someone (or something) to do (6.15) or become (6.16) something. This is usually translated in English by the independent causative verbs 'make' or 'cause to'.

(6.15)   *wéyó níng' oómúwodhá ómúlogíha omútéyiha mwánágá:,*   {mute.21}
         oneelóómutelá mwánâga

         wéyó   nínga   o-hí-mú-wodhá   ó-mú-log-**íh**-a
         2SG.PRO   like   2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-succeed   15-OM1-speak-CAUS-Fi

         o-mú-téy-**ih**-a   mwánágá   o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-telá   ...
         15-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi   1.child.POSS.1SG   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-marry.PL   ...

         'Since you succeeded in making my daughter speak and laugh, you will marry her'

(6.16)   *osásányaga dhílóbo dh' oókóddélíhana vatákûlu*   {maria.100}
         osásány-ag-a   dhílóbo   dha   ókóddél-**íh**-a=na   va-tákûlu
         15.make-HAB-Fi   10.thing   10.CON   15.be.beautiful-CAUS-Fi=INSTR   16-9a.house
         'to make things to embellish the house'

Causative thus increases the valency of the verb, in introducing a new subject (*wéyó* '2SG.PRO' in (6.15), and *dhílóbo* 'things' in (6.16)), which is semantically the agent, and more specifically the 'causer' of the action expressed in the predicate. The former subject of the corresponding underived verb, the causee (or caused one), becomes syntactically the object of the causative verb (*mwááná* 'child' in (6.15), and *vatákûlu* 'at home' in (6.16)). In case of transitive underived verbs, the causative form comes to have two objects, the causee (which always occupies the first position) and the former object (which occupies the second position). Two examples are provided below.

(6.17)   *ddiyaájíha ápáaká naámbêdde*   {elic}

ddi-hi-á-j-**íh**-a   ápáaká   naámbêdde

1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi   2.cat   1a.maize

'I made the cats eat maize'

(6.18)   *ddiyááguliyedhíwa naámbédde álêddo*   {elic}

ddi-hí-á-gul-**ih**-edh-íw-a   naámbédde álêddo

1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-APPL-PASS-Fi   1a.maize   2.guest

'I made the maize be sold to the guests'

A few selected examples of causative verbs are listed in (6.19).

(6.19)   Causative   Derived form

wáámwíha	'breastfeed'	<	*wáamwá*	'suckle'
obwíníha	'dip, soak'	<	*obwína*	'dive, sink'
ódhihá	'cause to come'	<	*ódha*	'come'
ógóníha	'cause to sleep'	<	*ógoná*	'sleep'
ógúlíha	'sell'	<	*ógulá*	'buy'
ójihá	'feed'	<	*ója*	'eat'
okítíha	'lower'	<	*okíta*	'go down'
ókwíívíha	'shorten'	<	*ókwííva*	'be low'
olápíha	'lengthen'	<	*olápa*	'be long'
wóóníha	'show'	<	*wóoná*	'see'
ósúnzíha	'teach'	<	*ósúnza*	'learn'
óváyíha	'deepen'	<	*óvayá*	'be deep'

Causative verbs are very productive and quite regular, both semantically and syntactically. The corresponding underived verbs are much attested, except for the few forms reported in (6.20), whose simple forms have been lost, and in (6.21), for which the semantic relation between the causative form and the underived form has been obscured.

(6.20)   No underived verb

osígîha   'anoint'

otágîha   'imitate, repeat'

óttééttíha   'threaten'

(6.21)   Obscure semantic relation between causative and underived verbs

omáríha   'finish, complete'   >   *omára*   'coat, plaster'

osúmíha   'invite to eat'   >   *osúma*   'complain, denounce'

The following sentence shows that the causative extension is taken into account for tone assignment, occupying the penult position and thus bearing the lexical H.

(6.22)   *poddógóma wéélooddíttámagíha*   {semi-elic.}

        poddógóma   o-á-íla-o-ddí-ttámag-**íh**-a

        1a.lion   1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi

        'the lion made me run'

Causative *-ec-*

The causative extension *-ec-* constitutes a variant of the causative *-ih-* seen above. The difference between both suffixes is that while the latter is fully productive, *-ec-* became fossilised onto the verb roots to which it attached. Such roots are no longer attested in the language, such that causative forms in *-ec-* are no longer considered derived synchronically. Two examples in context are provided below. In (6.23), the protagonist (referred to by *íyééne* '3SG.PRO') causes a few people (referred to by the class 2 object marker *-a-*) to stop walking, by means of the verb *wííméca* 'build up, strengthen'. In (6.24), the proud man causes self-destruction through the reflexive verb form *óvítotóca* 'destroy oneself'.

(6.23)   *bagádhowá íyééne waawiméca: "nyúwó karómáni wííméláani !"*   {maria.72}

        ba-gá-dhowá íyééne   **o-a-iméca**   nyúwó   ka-rómá=ni   wíímélá=ni

        SEQ.1-SIT-go 3SG.PRO NAR-OM2-rigidify 2PL.PRO IMP-start=PLA 15.stand=PLA

        'While they were going, she made them stop : You, stand up first!'

(6.24)   *oṁpánélá: onóvítotóca*   {body.23}

        [o-ni-pánélá]_{REL}   **o-ni-ó-ví-totóca**

        1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud   1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy

        'whoever is proud destroys himself'

As can be seen in (6.24), the vowel of the causative *-ec-* assimilates in backness with the vowel found in the verb root. Further examples of this vowel harmony are provided below, with the high back vowel [u] in (6.25) and with the mid-back vowel [o] in (6.26), in comparison with [-back] vocalic environment in (6.27).

(6.25)   [ec] → [uc] / [u] __

obúlúguca	'turn around' (tr.)	*óbúrúca*	'extract'
ogúgúruca	'rummage, search'	*ogúrúmuca*	'spread' (tr.)
okúcúkuca	'shake liquid'	*ókúlúkúca*	'shake water in mouth'
okúrûca	'drag'	*wúúbúca*	'remind, make remember'

(6.26)   [ec] → [oc] / [o] __

ológôca	'charge, make pay'	*ótólóca*	'destroy'
óvólóca	'introduce, make s.o. in'	*owówóloca*	'carry heavy weigh'

(6.27)   [ec] in front of [i, e, a]

océcéreca	'carry heavy weigh'	*wíímeca*	'strengthen, make strong'
wiiméléca	'make erect'	*ónyényéréca*	'crumble, make into pieces'
ovágáreca	'drop, make fall'	*ócékéca*	'cut in pieces' (tr.)
óddéddéréca	'chew'		

These harmonic patterns are quite regular, except for the two verb forms in (6.28). Instead of *onónêca* 'know a lot' and *opígírica* '(make) twist', the forms *onónôca* and *opígíreca* are expected.

(6.28)   Exceptions

onónêca	'know a lot'	<	*onóna*	'know'
opígírica	'twist, make twist'	<	*opígíreya*	'twist' (itr.)

With regard to argument structure, the causative extension *-ec-* does not differ from *-ih-*, in that it allows forming transitive verbs. In this respect, the transitive causative commutes with two different patterns of intransitive derived verbs: the neuter (6.29) and the instransitive separative extension (6.30).

(6.29)   Commutation between the impositive *-Vc-* and the neuter *-ey-*

causative *-ec-* (tr.)		**neuter *-ey-* (itr.)**	
obáláleca	'spread'	*obáláleya*	'spread'
obúrúmeca	'spread'	*obúrúmeya*	'spread'
otátáreca	'crush'	*otátáreya*	'fall down, spread'
opígírica	'twist, make twist'	*opígíreya*	'twist' (itr.)

(6.30)   Commutation between the impositive *-Vc-* and the separative *-uw-*

causative *-ec-* (tr.)		**separative *-uw-* (itr.)**	
waábûca	'make cross'	*waábûwa*	'cross'
óbwáddúca	'make fade, make lose color'	*óbwáddúwa*	'lose color, fade'
oddúrúmuca	'break'	*oddúrúmuwa*	'break'
olréngûca	'dilute, dissolve'	*olréngûwa*	'be liquid'
onyákûca	'make dirty'	*onyákûwa*	'be dirty, ugly'
onyúgúluca	'melt'	*onyúgúluwa*	'melt'
opáddûca	'create'	*opáddûwa*	'occur, happen'
orúrúmuca	'startle, surprise'	*orúrúmuwa*	'wake up, be startled'
ótáábúca	'punish'	*ótáábúwa*	'suffer'
otádûca	'make crazy'	*otádûwa*	'get crazy'
otámûca	'make jump'	*otámûwa*	'jump'
ovúlûca	'safe'	*ovúlûca*	'escape'
ózúgúnúca	'turn'	*ózgúnúwa*	'turn round'
óvólóca	'introduce, make s.o. in'	*óvólówa*	'enter'

6.1.3.2 Applicatives *-el-* and *-edh-*

As the causative, the applicative increases the valency of the verb, by introducing an additional argument to the verb. More particularly, the applicative basic function is to 'apply' the action expressed semantically by the verb to someone or something. The new or 'applied' object immediately follows the verb, without any preposition or function marker. Semantically, it is most often identified as a beneficiary (6.31), or a recipient (or goal) (6.32), but depending on the basic meaning (or semantics) of the verb, it may also have the thematic roles of purpose (6.33), or location (6.34), indicating that the action takes place towards some place. The causative is usually translated in English by means of the prepositions 'to' or 'for'.

(6.31) Beneficiary

a. *bíríńkw' iísí dhiddigúléÌle wóó:*   {mbílri.33}

bíríńku   ésí   [dhi-ddi-gúl-**él**-ile   wéyo]ᵣₑₗ

10.earring 10.DEM.I   10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL   2SG.PRO

'these earrings you bought me'

b. *míyó ddiḿfúná: ddittíye owūsápela*   {body.5}

míyó   ddi-ní-fúná   ddi-ttíy-e   o-ú-sáp-**el**-a

1SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   1SG-stop-SBJ   15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi

 'I am going to stop feeding you'

(6.32) Recipient, goal

onjéédhel' áákwááy' aageelá: {maria.150}

o-ni-jéédh-**el**-a   ákwé=áye   a-ga-ilá

1-IPFV.CJ-wait-APPL-Fi   2.friend=POSS.3SG   2-SIT-say

'he is waiting for his friends to say [...]'

(6.33) Purpose

a. *aadhél' óólimela*   {maria.69}

a-a-dh-**él**-é   ólim-el-a

2-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ   15.cultivate-APPL-Fi.PL

'they come to work'

b. *ésí: áwééné akoselé wí aḿpúttule Maríya*   {elic.}

ésí   áwééné   a-kos-**el**-é   wí   a-mú-púttul-e   maríya

9.DEM.I   3PL.PRO   2-do-APPL-PFV.CJ   CMP   2-OM1-offend-SBJ   maria

'they did this to offend Maria'

(6.34)   Location

ósál' uúb' úupatúw' opatúwéle mwiíko   {mbílri.21}

ósálu	óbú	o-patúw-e	o-patúw-**él**-e	mu-íko
14.thread	14.DEM.I	14-break-SBJ	14-break-APPL-SBJ	18-river

'may this thread break, break to the river'

In a few cases, the applicative suffix conveys a reversal meaning, e.g. with *onúkêla* 'smell good', derived from *onúka* 'smell bad'. This specific semantic relationship is widespread among Eastern Bantu.

Similarly to the causative, when the applicative extension is suffixed to a transitive verb, the derived verb has two objects, as shown in (6.35). The reader is referred to section 9.1.2.3 for an in-depth analysis of double-object constructions with applied verbs.

(6.35)   *Osáńzáya ónówáápiyela áléddó mwánâku*   {elic.}

osáńzáya	ó-ni-ó-á-piy-**el**-a	áléddó	mwánâku
osanzaya	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi	2.guest	1.chicken

'Osanzaya is cooking the chicken for the guests'

As can be seen from the examples above, the applicative derivation is formed by means of the suffix *-el-*. Yet, another applicative form *-edh-* exists, depending in part on the quality of the preceding consonant. Whereas *-el-* seems to appear in most contexts (6.36), the occurrences of the form *-edh-* are more restricted, in that it is mostly used after the causative extension *-ih-* (6.37)a. But the forms in (6.37)b show that the choice between both applicative variants is not fully predictable on phonological grounds since they may be found in the same consonantal contexts. It may be that *-edh-* was originally a combination of two extensions, the applicative *-el-* and probably the short causative *-i-*. But it is difficult on a synchronic level to pronounce a firm judgment on the question, and *-edh-* may be better considered as a frozen extension, with an applicative function.

(6.36)   [b, p, d, ḍ, ṭ, g, s, ð, l, m, n, ɲ, w, y] + *-el-*

olába	'work'	►	*olábêla*	'work for'
osápêla	'provide food for'	►	*osápa*	'provide food'
óvadá	'hit'	►	*óvádéla*	'hit to/at'
waádda	'inform, tell'	►	*waáddêla*	'inform to'
omótta	'fall'	►	*omóttêla*	'fall to'
óttámága	'run'	►	*óttámágéla*	'run after'
ókosá	'do'	►	*ókóséla*	'do for'
ojéêdha	'wait'	►	*ojéédhela*	'wait for'
ógúléla	'buy for'	►	*ógulá*	'buy'
olíma	'cultivate'	►	*olímêla*	'cultivate for'

obwínêla	'sink to'	►	*obwína*	'sink'
onyela	'defecate to'	►	*ónya*	'defecate' (*ónyedhá 'drizzle')
ópátúwa	'break' (itr.)	►	*ópátúwéla*	'break to' (itr.)
opíya	'cook'	►	*opíyêla*	'cook for'

(6.37)   a. Causative + *-edh-*

wíínjívíha	'increase, add, multiply'	►	*wíínjívíhédha*	'add to'
ottábwîha	'make worse'	►	*ottábwíhedha*	'worsen because of'
ógúlíha	'sell'	►	*ógúlíhédha*	'sell to'
ósúńzíha	'teach'	►	*ósúńzíhédha*	'teach to/for'

   b. [t, ʈ, ʔ, ð, c, m, ɲ, y] + *-edh-*

woóta	'lie'	►	*woótêdha*	'slander'
-		►	*ottúkúttedha*	'settle gently, keep safe'
óbehá	'get up early'	►	*óbéhédha*	'get up early for'
weénjêdha	'increase'	►	*weénjédhedha*	're-add on top of'
wííyéla	'come back'	►	*wííyélíhédha*	'give back'
otúpûca	'immerge'	►	*otúpúcedha*	'immerge to'
ógomó	'stop'	►	*ógómédha*	'stop at'
ofúnya	'fold'	►	*ofúnyêdha*	'wrap'
opágânya	'leave'	►	*opágányedha*	'leave (a message) to'
osásânya	'fix'	►	*osásányedha*	'fix for'
otóônya	'indicate'	►	*otóónyedha*	'indicate at, show at'
ofíya	'arrive'	►	*ofíyêdha*	'arrive to'

Furthermore, free variation between both applicatives may be observed for a few verbs given in (6.38). Such a free variation suggests that the original nuance between the forms *-el-* and *-edh-*, the second of which may combine the short causative *-i-*, gradually attenuated, and the form *-edh-* has since then adopted a full applicative function.

(6.38)   Free variation between *-el-* and *-edh-*

ómágédha	or	*ómágéla*	'slander'	<	*ómagá*	'tie'
omídhêdha	or	*omídhêla*	'soak the rice'	<	*omídha*	'soak the rice'
osísímedha	or	*osísímela*	'snivel'	<		
óvúúzéla	or	*óvúúzédha*	'greet'	<	*óvúúza*	'ask'

Now a problematic example is given in (6.39), in which both applicative forms *-edh-* and *-el-* appear in a sequence. I have no explanation for this anomaly.

(6.39)   *osasanyuw' óóvahedhelúwa*   {maria.134}

o-sasany-uw-á   ó-vah-**edh**-**el**-úw-a

NAR-build-PASS-Fi   NAR-give-APPL-APPL-PASS-Fi

'it was built and given to him'

Several verbal stems with the applicative extension appear as being lexicalised, meaning that no underived verb form is attested synchronically (6.40). And interestingly, some of these forms seem to have acquired completely new or specialised meanings, which do not display the expected argument structure of applicative verbs, since they are intransitive.

(6.40)   Lexicalised formal applicatives

waánêla	'smoke, dry fish'
óbúléla	'suffer, groan' (itr.)
ócééléla	'give up' (itr.)
ogwésêla	'get old' (itr.)
ókúbááréla	'hug'
órímééla	'disappear' (itr.)

Such lexicalised verb forms are then used as derivational bases for receiving other extensions. For instance, *órímééla* 'disappear' is further derived with causative (*óríméélíha* 'make lose'), and passive (*óríméélíwa* 'lose'). The examples listed in (6.41) show that even new applicative derivation is possible on what seems to be (or apparently) frozen applicative verbs, although it is synchronically difficult to determine whether the second syllable of these verbs is really an applicative or not.

(6.41)   Lexicalised formal applicative + derivational applicative extension

wááméla	'chase, fasten'	►	*wáámééla*	'defend, protect'
oddúbêla	'swear'	►	*oddúbélela*	'swear to'
wííméla	'stand'	►	*wíímééla*	'stand to'
wííyéla	'go back'	►	*wííyéléla*	'go back to'
ókóddéla	'be beautiful'	►	*ókóddéléla*	'please'
ólémééla	'adapt'	►	*ólémééléla*	'get used to'
olíbêla	'swear'	►	*olíbélela*	'swear to'

In addition to the 'short' applicative extensions *-el-* and *-edh-*, two corresponding 'long' applicative extensions exist, namely *-eel-* and *-eedh-*, as shown in (6.42), accompanied by the derived verb form on the right column, whenever attested.

(6.42)   Long applicatives *-eel-* and *-eedh-*

wiídéela	'spy on'	<	*wiída*	'hide, conceal'
oléjéela	'greet, bow'	-		
ópóttééla	'coil for'	<	*ópottá*	'coil'
ósámééla	'lean against'	<	*ósamá*	'park' (itr.)
ottíddéela	'hold in hand'	<	*ottídda*	'hold'
waábêedha	'dry'	<	*waába*	'dry'
ópídéédha	'trample on, oppress'	<	*ópidá*	'stamp, seal'
óttínyéédha	'penetrate, sink into'	<	-	
odhéêla	'come to'	<	*ódha*	'come'

Still, short applicatives are far more productive than long applicatives. Again, it is likely that this long extension is derived from shortening by haplology on the reduplicated short extension. No *-elel-* or *-edhedh-* extension sequences is attested. Still, another possible origin for the long applicative extensions deals with the deletion of the proto consonant [k] (from impositive *-ɪk-) when followed by the applicative extension. Once [k] has deleted, the remaining vowels merge and form a long vowel [ee], as shown in the examples in (6.43), already discussed in section 2.2.2.

(6.43)

óvélééla	*-pédɪkɪd-*	(CS 1463)	'accompany'
ókúnééla	*-kúnɪk-*	(CS 1268a)	'cover'
oábééða	*-yàmbɪk-*	(CS 1918)	'cook, boil' (Cuwabo: 'dry')

Note that the applicative extension is very often attested in relative constructions (mostly with locative classes 18, more rarely with 16) with a temporal adverbial interpretation, as illustrated in (6.44).

(6.44)   a. *eǹtáwú mukwélíiyé: , akwilé eetéêne*   {body.17}

eǹtáwú   [mu-kw-**él**-e = iye]ᵣₑₗ   a-kw-ilé   a-eté = éne

then   18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO   2-die-PFV.CJ   2-all = INT

'Then when he died, all died.'

b. *vańgómédhíimí ddiígóma*   {maria.17}

[va-ní-góm-**édh**-á = imí]ᵣₑₗ   ddi-hí-góma

16-IPFV.CJ-stop-APPL-Fi = 1SG.PRO   1SG-PFV.DJ-stop

'where I stop, I stop'

6.1.3.3 Passives *-iw-* and *-uw-*

Passive constructions are typically used to exclude or detopicalise the agent of a transitive phrase. They imply a reversal of grammatical functions, whereby the internal argument (theme/patient) of a transitive verb is promoted to the subject position. In this position, it controls agreement on the verb. In the meanwhile, the agent, represented by the grammatical subject in the active clause, is demoted in the passive to an oblique position marked by the preposition *na* 'by' (6.45). Still, the agent is not obligatory encoded, and very often, it remains unexpressed (6.46).

(6.45)   *otibuwa n' aahíba*   {ddoo.33}
         o-tib-**uw**-a   na   ehíba
         NAR-dig.out-PASS-Fi   with   9.hoe
         'it was dug out with a hoe'

(6.46)   *naámbédd' oónójúwáávi*   {ddingí.24}
         naámbédde   ó-ni-ój-**úw**-á = vi
         1a.maize   1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi = RESTR
         'maize keeps being eaten'

Many Bantu languages have two forms of passive extensions, *-w* and *-iw*, typically referred to as 'short form' and 'long form', respectively. In these languages, the long form *-iw* is systematically attested with monosyllabic stems (Schadeberg 1982). In Cuwabo, two forms of passive also exist, but no distinction is made between short and long forms. The two passive suffixes *-uw-* and *-iw-* both have a VC structure, and interestingly, their distribution does not seem to depend on the syllabic shape of the verbal stem: both appear in monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic verb stems, as shown in (6.47).

(6.47)   a. *mírí, [dhikokówíle matábayá,] dhínójúwá na nyenyéle*   {elic.}
            mírí   dhí-ni-ó-j-**úw**-á   na   nyenyéle
            4.tree   4-IPFV.DJ-15-eat-PASS-Fi   by   10a.ant
            'the trees, [whose leaves have already fallen,] are being eaten by the ants'

         b. *mwááná oópíwá na ńzûwa*   {elic.}
            mwááná   o-hí-**p**-**íw**-á   na   ńzûwa
            1.child   1-PFV.DJ-kill-PASS-Fi   by   5.sun
            'the child was killed by the sun'

Neither does it seem that the choice between the two passives depends on the phonetic value of the final segment of the verbal root. The following examples, all extracted from narratives, show different phonological environments in which both passive extensions

occur. As is made clear, *-uw-* is used in more contexts than *-iw-*, still not in a predictable way. And although certain verbs are only attested with one of the two passives (e.g. *óbáála* 'give birth' systematically occurs with *-iw-*), other verbs allow free variation as seen with *ótelá* 'marry (tr.)', indicated in bold below.

(6.48)   *-uw-*

[b]	*otibuwa*	'it was dug out'	*ónólábúwa*	'she is being worked (for)'
[p]	*okupuwavo*	'it was fished'		
[d]	*oḿvédúwá*	'who is being searched'		
[ɟ]	*ónójúwáávi*	'it keeps being eaten'		
[ð]	*osilidhúwa*	'he was annoyed'		
[z]	*ovuuzúwa*	'she was asked'		
[l]	*bagéélúwa*	'they were said'	***aátélúwa***	'they got married'
	oottúkúluwa	'she was told'	*alóóttébéluwa*	'they were carried'
[ɽ]	*yaácémbelruwa*	'it was called'		
[ɲ]	*oonsásányuwa*	'where are built'		
[w]	*oodhówúwe*	'there is being gone'		

-iw-

[p]	*oopíyíwa*	'has been cooked'		
[d]	*ovédiwé*	'so that he was looked		
[g]	*elogíwé*	'what was told'		
[ʔ]	*olóóváhíwa*	'he was offered'	*baavahíwá*	'they were given'
[l]	*aabaálíiwé*	'who were born'	*ósápélíwa*	'to be supplied with food'
	ótélíwa	'to be married'	*ońkúwélíwa*	'who is called'
[s]	*kanákósiwaga*	'have never been done'		

Another example of variation between both passive extensions is provided in (6.49), with the verb *ólogá* 'say, tell', uttered by the same speaker (Sérgio), in the same story.

(6.49)   Case of free variation between *-iw-* and *-uw-*

a. *aáfwányá ńlúgu ńttó ǹlóguwé:*   {maria.52}

a-hí-fwányá   ńlúgu   ńttó   [ni-lóg-**uw**-é]_REL

2-PFV.DJ-meet   5.stone   5.DEM.II   5-tell-PASS-PFV.REL

'they met the stone they were told about'

b. *míy' eelogíwé ddiḿfwáré kurúmáanje*   {maria.31}

míyó   [e-log-**íw**-é]_REL   ddi-mú-fwár-é   kurúmáanje

3SG.PRO   9-tell-PASS-PFV.REL   1SG-OM1-follow-SBJ   1a.bee.sp

'Me, what I was told was to follow the bee.sp.'

The -uw- passive extension must not be confused with the intransitive separative suffix -uw- presented in section 6.1.2.1 above.

Regarding argument structure, any transitive verb can in principle be converted into an intransitive verb by means of the passive extension. Intransitive verbs may also be passivised once they undergo a process of transitivisation, made possible by means of causative or applicative (6.50) derivation, so that an object gets assigned to the derived verb.

(6.50) *ba aaní ompíyéluwa mwánáku na Ósánzáya ?*   {elic.}

  ba   aaní [o-ni-píy-**él**-**uw**-a   mwánáku na   ósánzáya]_REL
  2.COP who   1-IPFV.CJ-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi 1.chicken by   osanzaya
  'who is the chicken cooked by Osanzaya for?'

Interestingly, intransitives which have a locative complement may also be passivised, as shown in (6.51).

(6.51) a. *áyíma ánósúnza síkóóla éji*   {elic.}

  áyíma   á-ni-ósúnza   síkóóla   éji
  2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.study 9a.school   9.DEM.I
  'children are studying in this school'

  b. *síkóóla éji vánósúnzíwa*   {elic.}

  síkóóla   éji   vá-ni-ósúnz-**íw**-a
  9a.school 9.DEM.I 16-IPFV.DJ-15.study-PASS-Fi
  lit. 'this school there-is being studied'

In (6.51)a, the locative can be assimilated to the object of the transitive verb *ósúnza* 'study', which then becomes subject of the passivised verb in (6.51)b.

It happens that the passive extensions attach ditransitive verbs, which select two objects as internal arguments. In this case, each object may function as the subject of the passivised clause (see section 9.1.2.3 for more details).

6.1.3.4 Neuter -ey-

In Cuwabo, the neuter or neutro-passive (sometimes referred to as 'stative') is expressed by means of the extension -ey- (glossed 'NTR'), from Proto-Bantu *-ik-*. Like the passive, the neuter extension always attaches to a transitive verb, which is in turn converted into an intransitive verb. In (6.52)a, the neuter verb *ótweyá* 'break' (itr.) is derived from the transitive verb *ótwa* 'break'. The single argument of the verb (here unexpressed lexically but present through the subject marker on the verb) is identified as the patient or theme, i.e. it is

affected by the action expressed by the verb, without assuming the status of agent. In fact, and unlike the passive, no agent can be expressed with the neuter, as shown in (6.52)b. This explains why the neuter is often assumed to be a "non-agentive passive" (Watkins 1937). In this respect, the label "neutro-passive" is considered to be more precise from a semantic and syntactic viewpoint (Schadeberg 2003). The same exclusion of the agent stands in English as seen in the translation.

(6.52)   a. *enótwêya* {maria.49}   b. * *enótwêya na ńlúgū* {elic. from maria.49}
         e-ni-ótw-**êy**-a   e-ni-ótw-**êy**-a   na   ńlúgū
         9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi   9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi   by   5.stone
         'it is going to break'   * 'it is going to break by the stone'

The following list presents neuter verb forms, as well as the transitive verbs they derive from.

(6.53)   Neuter extension *-ey-*

-ey- (itr.)			derived verb (tr.)	
wááséya	'be clean'	>	*wáasá*	'take off leaves'
ópígídhéya	'be dirty'	>	*ópígídha*	'dirty' (tr.)
ofűgêya	'shut' (itr.)	>	*ofűga*	'shut' (tr.)
odúbúdeya	'be dim' (itr.)	>	*odúbûda*	'make dim' (tr.)
ódúdúréya	'bang' (itr.)	>	*ódúdúra*	'hit' (tr.)
ogúgúnyeya	'have first birth pangs'	>	*ogúgûnya*	'hit'
*wíind**ééya***	'break' (itr.)	>	*wíindá*	'break' (tr.)
ókókéya	'hang' (itr.)	>	*ókoká*	'hang' (tr.)
okúpêya	'be purified' (itr.)	>	*ókupá*	'purify'
olávêya	'be cursed'	>	*oláva*	'curse'
ónóóngéya	'be spoilt'	>	*ónóónga*	'destroy, spoil'
onyóónyeya	'be upset'	>	*onyóônya*	'annoy, disturb'
opádhêya	'break'	>	*opádha*	'break'
opérédheya	'graze (skin)'	>	*opérêdha*	'graze (skin)'
ópígídhéya	'be dirty'	>	*ópígídha*	'dirty'
ósúvéya	'be cut, hurt'	>	*ósuvá*	'cut, hurt'
ótáátéya	'be smashed'	>	*ótááta*	'mash'
ottíddêya	'be retained'	>	*ottídda*	'catch'
ovápêya	'be different'	>	*ovápa*	'vary'
ozírézireya	'be polish'	>	*ozírézira*	'polish'

As can be seen with the verb *wíindééya* 'break' (itr), the neuter extension may have a long vowel (indicated in bold on *wíindééya* 'break' in (6.53)). This is rarely attested though.

With the neuter derivation, a connotation linked to potential may arise: the subject may potentially (or is liable to) undergo the action expressed by the verb, i.e. it is 'verb-able', e.g. 'not visible' in (6.54).

(6.54)   *mwáán' óotáméluwá koonéyîle*   {ddoo.22}
      mwááná   o-hi-támél-uw-á   ka-on-**éy**-île
      1.child   1-PFV.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi   NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV
      'the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible)'

The verbs given in (6.55) clearly exhibit this potentiality meaning.

(6.55)   Potential meaning of *-ey-*

-ey- (itr.)			derived verb (tr.)	
ógúléya	'be cheap'	>	*ógulá*	'buy'
wóónéya	'be visible'	>	*wóoná*	'see'
ójeyá	'be edible'	>	*ója*	'eat'
okásákaseya	'move'			
orórómeleya	'be trustful'	>	*orórómela*	'believe in'

Finally, and contrary to what has been said above, it happens that the two neuter verbs in (6.56) derive from intransitive verbs, and not transitive verbs.

(6.56)

ófwááséya	'be calm' (itr.)	>	*ófwáása*	'get calm' (itr.)
órávéya	'be contagious' (itr.)	>	*óravá*	'spread' (itr.)

6.1.3.5   Reciprocal *-an-*

The reciprocal extension *-an-* is identical to PB *-an-. A list of reciprocal verbs, usually translated in English as 'V each other', is given in (6.57), followed by illustrating sentences.

(6.57)

wááddámana	'be neighbour'	*waándâna*	'be friend'
wáásíkána	'plan together'	*obéddégelana*	'analyse each other'
obídígulelana	'insult each other'	*odúngúnyana*	'hate each other'
weéddéyana	'be trustful'	*ogúmâna*	'assemble, meet'
wííwánána	'agree'	*ojígúlana*	'argue'
okángâna	'argue'	*oláddâna*	'resemble'
olágâna	'befit, suit'	*olígâna*	'be equal'
omwálâna	'divorce'	*ópágána*	'plan together'
ópaná	'kill each other'	*orárúcana*	'copulate'

orórómelana	'trust each other'	*órúwánána*	'injure each other'
ótélána	'get married'	*otúgúmana*	'gather, come together'
óttíyána	'be different'	*ówaná*	'fight'

(6.58)   *ddiḿfún' óógumana n' oóĺl' oońddífwará*   {ddingí.22}

ddi-ní-fúná   ógum-**an**-a   na   óĺle   [o-ní-ddí-fwará]_{REL}

1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   15.bump.into-REC-Fi   with   1.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-follow

'I am going to bump into the one who is following me'

(6.59)   *mírí dhiwaáddámana*   {elic.}

mírí   dhi-hi-áddám-**an**-a

4.tree   4-PFV.DJ-be.neighbour-REC-Fi

'the trees are next to each other'

The reciprocal applies to transitives which then lose their object and become intransitives. The reciprocal is productive, but less common, in that it cannot be used productively with any verb, but only those which are compatible with the aforementioned semantic interpretations. Furthermore, for several verbs listed in (6.57), lexicalisation took place, and no underived form is synchronically known.

6.1.4   Combinations of extensions

Typically, several extensions can co-occur within one verbal base, each one respecting a certain position in the string. This possibility is mostly determined by the syntactic properties of each derivational suffix. As seen above, some extensions have a lexical function in that they only alter the meaning of the verb. These extensions are usually non-productive and tend to directly follow the verb. On the other side, other extensions operate on the syntactic level and alter the valency of the verb stem from transitive to intransitive and vice versa. Consider for instance the applicative and causative. Both are transitivisers in that they add one argument to the structure, and both readily co-occur, as shown in (6.60) and (6.61). Note that the combination of both extensions invariably follows the order causative + applicative, always taking the form *-ih-edh-*, and not *-ih-el-*.

(6.60)   Basic verb stem   Causative + Applicative

wííyéla	'come back'	*wííyél-íh-édh-a*	'give back'
ósúńza	'educate, teach'	*ósúńz-íh-édh-a*	'cause to educate for'
wóoná	'see'	*wóón-íh-édh-a*	'cause to see for'
ógulá	'buy'	*ógúl-íh-édh-a*	'sell to'

(6.61) *míy' áápa vańdhówíími pa vélévo baanyaálíhedha vélévale.*   {maria.137}

míyó   ápá   [va-ní-dhówá = ími]_{REL}   pa   vélévo

1SG.PRO   16.DEM.I   16-IPFV.CJ-go = 1SG.PRO   1.COP   16.EDEM.II

ba-a-nyaál-**íh-edh**-a   vélévale

SEQ-1-be.straight-CAUS-APPL-Fi   16.EDEM.III

'Where I go is where I go, straight to the point.'

A few three-suffix combinations are attested, which involve causative and applicative plus passive (and possibly reciprocal). In such series, illustrated in (6.62), the passive extension always comes last, before the final inflection, with the effect of reducing the valency of the verb by one argument.

(6.62)   Causative + Applicative + Passive
      wííyéla   'come back'
      wííyél-íh-édh-a   'give back'
      *wííyél-**íh-édh-íw**-a*   'get back, regain'

Contrary to causative and applicative, the passive, neuter and reciprocal extensions are detransitivisers, i.e. they remove one argument from the structure. They cannot co-occur. Among the two transitivisers, the applicative may combine with any detransitiviser in a sequence of two suffixes, as shown in (6.63), (6.64) and (6.65).

(6.63)   Applicative + Stative
      ozúzûma   'be preoccupied'
      ozúzúm-el-a   'be preoccupied by'
      *ozúzúm-**el-ey**-a*   'require attention of'

(6.64)   Applicative + Reciprocal
      eeddelãnế: omáálro waakungíláaní   {páaká.36}
      a-edd-**el-án**-é   omáálro   [o-a-kung-ílé = ani]_{REL}
      2-hate-APPL-REC-PFV.CJ 14.friendship   14-PST-build-PFV.CJ = 3PL.PRO
      'they came to hate each other for the friendship they had built'

(6.65)   Applicative + Passive
    a.*"míyó ddińfúná oddígúlele bóla." ogulelúwa bóla.*   {maria.139}
      ddi-ní-fúná   o-ddí-gúl-el-e   bóla   o-gul-**el-úw**-a   bóla
      1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   2SG-OM1SG-buy-APPL-SBJ   9a.ball   NAR-buy-APPL-PASS-Fi   9a.ball
      'I want you to buy me a ball. He was bought a ball.'

b. *ńsáká na wále ópa efúwo wááṁvitelúwa áyîma*   {semi-elic.}

ńsáká   na   wále   ópa   efúwo   ó-á-ni-vit-**el**-**úw**-a   áyîma

5.time 5.CON formerly 15.kill 7.animal 15-PST-IPFV.DJ-hide-APPL-PASS-Fi 2.child

'a long time ago, killing a domestic animal was hidden from children'

Such combinations are more restricted with the causative, since only the passive is attested, as shown in (6.66).

(6.66)   Causative + Passive

a. *ddiímúgulihíwá naámbédde (na Maríya)*   {elic}

ddi-hí-á-gul-**ih**-**íw**-á   naámbédde na   maríya

1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi   1a.maize   by   maria

'I made the maize be sold (by Maria)' (intd. 'I caused Maria to sell the maize')

b. *muteléluwééyé: , kanábáala, áp' óoṁfún' áattamágíhiwe*   {semi-elic.}

[mu-tel-él-uw-é = íyé]_REL   ka-ná-báala   ápo

18-marry-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO   NEG.1-CE-give.birth   16.DEM.I

o-ní-fúná   a-ttamág-**íh**-**iw**-e

1-IPFV.CJ-want   1-run-CAUS-PASS-SBJ

'Since she has been married, she does not give birth, then he wants to throw her out' (lit. 'he wants her to be caused to run')

6.2 Reduplication

Verbal reduplication is a process whereby a copy of the verb stem is added to the basic verb form. The copy can be total or partial. Partial reduplication can be manifested in several ways. The most typical case of partial reduplication consists in repeating the first CV syllable of the root, as shown in (6.67). It may also involve alteration of the final vowel, which in fact assimilates to the medial vowel of the root (6.68), or consonantic dissimilations (6.69).

(6.67) Partial reduplication: first CV syllable repeating

obábáreya	'be obese'	*océcéreca*	'carry heavy weight'
óddéddéréca	'chew'	*oddóddôma*	'fail'
ófófónya	'suck; kiss'	*ofúfûma*	'prosperate'
ógágádda	'slice'	*ogúgûma*	'stutter'
ogwágwânya	'cross'	*ójéjéla*	'shiver, be scared'
ókákátta	'cut open'	*okókôra*	'kneel'
okúkûsa	'gather'	*ónyényéréca*	'crumble'
opápâsa	'touch, palpate'	*orórómela*	'believe in'

(6.68) Partial reduplication: alteration of the final vowel

okúcúkuca	'shake (liquid)'	*ókútúkúta*	'shake fruit'

(6.69) Partial reduplication: consonantic dissimilation

opwárápwaza	'console, comfort'	*ókálákáta*	'move'
ókólókótta	'swing'	*ókúlúkúca*	'shake water in mouth'
okúrúkusa	'shake'		

Note that partial reduplication is not productive. All the verbs above have been lexicalised and no non-reduplicated corresponding form is synchronically attested in my database. Semantically, some partially-reduplicated verbs appear to denote repetitive or pluractional actions, such as 'cut', 'slice', or 'shake'.

In total reduplication, the whole basic stem is repeated, including the final vowel *-a.*

(6.70) Total reduplication

ókátákáta	'struggle' (se débattre)
okwíyákwiya	'sharpen iron'
oláválava	'disobey'

Total reduplication is slightly more productive, in that it has a semantic effect, namely intensify the meaning of the verb. For instance, in (6.71) reduplication of the verb *óttíyána* 'be different' insists on the different types of animals which have been walking on the path. This reduplicated verb is attested only in connective constructions, i.e. under an infinitive form. In other words, it cannot be inflected for tense-aspect-mood or subject.

(6.71) *díla yíína: yaálí dila yaávír' áánéénám' oóttíyánóttíyâna*   {maria.30}

díla	é-ína	e-á-lí	dila	[e-á-víra
9a.way	9-other	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-be	9a.way.PL	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-pass

áná-énáma	a	**óttíyán-óttíyâna**]REL
2.child-9.animal	2.CON	15.be.different-RED

'the other path was a path used by many different animals'

Note that although no systematic investigation on verbal reduplication was carried out in this study, reduplication is not much attested in Cuwabo, hence the scarcity of contextualised examples in this subsection. The intensifier particle *=ene* is far more productive.

Tonally, reduplicated verb stems behave the same way as simple verb stems. For H-toned verbs, tone spreading occurs from the pre-stem mora to the penult mora where the lexical H tone is anchored (e.g. *ónyényéréca* 'crumble'). For Ø-toned verbs, a grammatical H tone is assigned on the first mora of the stem, and then doubles onto the next mora, while subsequent moras behave like extensions and remain low (e.g. *okwákwáttuwa* 'stumble'). This means that, in the same way as nominal reduplication (section 4.2.3), tones get assigned on verbs once reduplication process is carried out.

6.3 Verbal inflection

Once the stems are formed, they are attached different types of affixes, and words are then formed. Cuwabo, as a typical Bantu language, has an agglutinative morphology, in which verbal inflection consists of an elaborate string of several elements, ordered in slots, around a stem nucleus. These elements bring grammatical information, including person and number, polarity (positive vs. negative), tense, aspect, mood. The different positions or slots in the inflected verb form are organised in the order presented in (6.72).

(6.72)   Template of the inflected verb stem

VB (derivational process)

(NEG) - SM - (NEG) - TAM - (OM) - root (ext.) - (TAM) - Fi - (PLA) - CL

As already seen in section 6.1.1, the verbal base (VB) is the basis of every inflected verb form. It represents the lexical core of the verb, and it can be subdivided into a root and possible (derivational) extensions. Together with the final suffix (Fi) it forms the inflected verb stem. In (6.73)a, the singular imperative consists of only two morphemes: the verb root and the final suffix. It represents the shortest verbal word in Cuwabo. Inversely, (6.73)b illustrates one of the more extended possible verb forms, for which the slots are almost all used.

(6.73) a. *eddá*   b. *muhináddínyimulaːvo*

        edd-á   mu-hi-ná-ddí-nyimul-a＝vo

        walk-Fi   2PL-NEG-CE-OM1SG-offend-Fi＝16.LOC

        'walk!'   'before you offend me'

This section aims to present the different inflectional categories presented in (6.72). Each slot is discussed in turn.

6.3.1 Pre-initial negative marker

In Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, the negative markers respect fixed positions in the verb form: one (*ka-*, discussed here) is always pre-initial, i.e. before the subject marker (SM) slot, while the other (-*hi*-, discussed in section 6.3.3 below) appears post-initially, i.e. after the SM. The pre-initial marker *ka-*, from Proto-Bantu *(n)ka- (Nurse 2008: 32), is used in most Cuwabo tenses to negate the verb form. The full list of negative verb forms is given in Table 37, accompanied with illustrative examples. Each tensed verb form is further discussed in chapter 8.

Table 37 Negative verb forms with the pre-initial *ka-* negative marker

Tense	Example	Translation
present	kaddínóonya	'I am not defecating'
habitual present	kaddinzívéluwa	'I do not like'
perfective	kaddijilé	'I did not eat' (pfv)
past perfective	kaddaafuĺle	'I had not washed'
past imperfective	kaddaásúwa	'I did not clean' (ipfv)
subjunctive	kaddilime	'so that I do not cultivate'
past continuous	kaddééloosuńza	'I was not studying'
future	kaddináátéle	'I will not marry'
future continuous	kaddigágûla	'I will/would not be buying'
hypothetical	kaddigaalogíle	'I would not have spoken'
counterexpectational	kaddiílóovuúza	'I did not ask'
counterexpectational	kaddinádhôwa	'I have not left yet'

Beside the negative marker ka-, other pre-initial morphemes exist in Cuwabo. The most common is *ba-* 'SEQuential', attested in several (usually dependent) verb forms with different TAM markers, to express the idea of a sequential event. This formative is fully analysed in section 8.2.6. There are two other pre-initial morphemes, *ka-* 'CF' (counterfactual) and *na-*

'RESumptive', which attach to infinitive verb forms. These formatives are also developed in chapter 8, section 8.3.4 and 8.3.3, respectively.

6.3.2   Subject marker

In Cuwabo, as in Bantu languages in general, the slot for subject marker (SM) marks inflectional agreement on the verb and is obligatorily filled in, except in non-finite verb forms, such as the infinitive (see section 8.3.1), the narrative (see section 8.3.2), and the imperative (see section 8.2.1). For all other finite verbs, cross-reference for the participants (in person and number), as well as for all the classes, including the locative ones, is obligatorily made by means of the SM. In case the overt subject NP remains unexpressed, the SM is interpreted as a pronominal subject. More generally, the expression of subject (and object) pronouns through verbal affixation is a widespread linguistic phenomena in the languages of the world (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 25).

Table 38 shows the different paradigms of SM in different morphological environments.

Table 38   Subject markers in different environments

Person/ Class	SM	SM-a (PST)	SM-hi (PFV)	ka-SM (NEG)	ba-SM (SEQ)
1sg	ddi-	ddaa-	ddii-	kaddi-	baddi-
2sg	o-	waa-	oo-	ku-	bu-
1pl	ni-	naa-	nii-	kani-	bani-
2pl	mu-	mwaa-	muu-	kamu-	bamu-
1	o-	waa-	oo-	ka-	ba-
2	a-	aa-	aa-	ka-	ba-
3	o-	waa-	oo-	ku-	bu-
4	dhi-	dhaa-	dhii-	kadhi-	badhi-
5	ni-	naa-	nii-	kani-	bani-
6	a-	aa-	aa-	ka-	ba-
9	e-	yaa-	ee-	ki-	bi-
10	dhi-	dhaa-	dhii-	kadhi-	badhi-
14	o-	waa-	oo-	ku-	bu-
15	o-	waa-	oo-	ku-	bu-
16	va-	vaa-	vaa-	kava-	bava-
17	o-	waa-	oo-	ku-	bu-
18	mu-	mwaa-	muu-	kamu-	bamu-

As already seen in section 2.3.1.2, the subject markers which contain a nasal onset are reduced to syllabic nasals in certain contexts: *mu-* (2PL and class 18) reduces to *m-* before bilabial or labio-dental consonants (6.74), and *ni-* (1PL and class 5) reduces to *n-* before coronal consonants (6.75).

(6.74)   *mamunagá m̀móón' óóĺle, m̀móón' óóĺle, m̀móón' óóĺle.*   {maria.154}
mamunagá   mu-mú-ón-é   óĺle
1.husband.POSS.1SG.PL   2.RESP-OM1-see-SBJ   1.DEM.III
'My husband, look at that one, look at that one, look at that one!'

(6.75)   *ǹdówe nááredhe*   {páaká.4}
ni-dhów-e   ni-á-áredh-e
1PL-go-SBJ   1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ
'let's go and have fun'

Furthermore, and as can be seen in Table 38, all subject markers have phonologically conditioned allomorphs, depending on the nature of the two vowels in contact. For instance, before the vocalic TAM marker *-a-*, which expresses a past, certain SM vowels (/e, o, u/) glide and vowel lengthening occurs, as seen in (6.76). Other vowels /i/ and /a/ respectively undergo elision (6.77) and coalescence (6.78), again with a long vocalic output. In this

respect, subject markers in verb forms constitute a good illustration of hiatus resolution (see section 2.4.1).

(6.76)   Gliding process

    a. *ka**mwaa**dhowíléwo vamodhá ?*   {ddoo.20}

       ka-**mu**-**a**-dhow-ílé=wo   va-modhá

       NEG-2PL-PST-go-PFV=17.LOC   16-one

       'did not you go there together?'

    b. *mbílrí **yaá**núnā*   {mbílri.21}

       mbílrí   **e**-**a**-hí-núná

       9a.fish.sp   9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat

       'the 'mbílri' fish was fat'

(6.77)   Elision process

    ddaagél' óokúl' úwa cívéeve   {páaká.21}

       ddi-**a**-g-él-e   ókúle   wa   cívéevé

       1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ   17.DEM.III   17.CON   9a.swallow

       'I was there at Mr.Swallow's (house)'

(6.78)   Coalescence process

    *a**á**móona nínga múzúgu*   {maria.67}

       a-**a**-**hí**-mú-ona   nínga   múzúgu

       2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see   like   1.European

       'they had seen her as a white person'

From Table 38, it is also interesting to observe the complete vowel assimilation of the perfective TAM marker *-hi-* with the preceding SM. (6.79) provides a few examples in context.

(6.79)   Vowel assimilation of *-hi-*

    a. *ora y' aárímoós' **ée**fíyá, árímoós' **óo**píyíwá*   {ddoo.18}

       ora   ya   árímoósó   **e**-**hi**-fíyá   árímoósó   **o**-**hi**-píy-íw-á

       9.hour   9.CON   1a.lunch   9-PFV.DJ-arrive   1a.lunch   1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi

       'Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked'

b. *áafíyána máágádd' aábálé: aattábélúwá aapíy' áajá dereétu*   {maria.77}

a-**hi**-fíyá꞊na	máágádda	ábálé	a-**hi**-ttábél-úw-á
2-PFV.DJ-arrive꞊COM	6.dry.cassava	6.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-rejoice-PASS-Fi

a-**hi**-píyá	a-**hí**-já	dereétú
2-PFV.DJ-cook	2-PFV.DJ-eat	well

'they arrived with that dry cassava, they were well received, they cooked it and they ate well'

Finally, the two right-side columns of Table 38 indicate that all the subject markers which have no nasal onset amalgamate to the pre-initials *ka-* (negative) and *ba-* (sequential) in quite an irregular way, since the output is always (or very often) a short vowel. Note that the loss of a segment (and thus of a mora), has no implications on tone assignment, since the verb forms involved by the formatives *ka-* and *ba-* never exhibit H tones on these initial morphemes. To follow some contextualised examples.

(6.80)   *ka-* or *ba-* + single-vowel SM

a. *ábáal' ágá: ánóddínyapwaaríyá kańddífuná:*   {maria.19}

abáalágá	á-ni-ó-ddí-nyapwaaríyá	**ka**-ní-ddí-funá
2.sister.POSS.1SG	2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-despise	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want

'My sisters despise me, they do not want me'

b. *olóómpóndda baárk' uúllé na músóro wooténe bampónddá, bampónddá:*   {maria.174}

o-lé-ó-mú-póndda	baárku	óllé	na	músólro	o-oté꞊ene	**ba**-mú-pónddá
1-CE-15-OM1-knead	1a.boat	1.DEM.III	with	3.head	3-all꞊INT	SEQ.1-OM1-knead

'He destroyed that boat with his whole head, he destroyed it, destroyed it, destroyed it.'

Note that the SM of class 1 has two allomorphs: *o-* and *a-*. While the first is used in most verbal structures, the second is found in a few specific tensed forms, such as the situative (6.81)a or the subjunctive (6.81)b.

(6.81)   Class 1 SM *a-*

a. *agaamal' ootóta náma*   {mbílri.3}

a-gaa-mala	otóta	náma
1-SIT-finish	15.hunt	9a.game

'after hunting game'

b. *omfún' áágáwe kómíd' eésîle*   {páaká.26}

o-ní-fúná	a-gáw-e	kómíída	ésîle
1-IPFV.CJ-want	1-serve-SBJ	9a.food	9.DEM.III

'he wanted to serve that food'

Furthermore, the 2PL SM may be used to address to a single individual, in sign of respect or polite attitude towards him or her. In (6.82), Maria addresses an older man and resorts to the 2PL SM *mu-*. Such a device is very widespread among the languages spoken south Tanzania and north Mozambique, and undoubtedly constitutes an areal phenomenon.

(6.82)   *muńzíwá: dháav' íílá míyó ddili Maríya ?*   {maria.39}

       mu-ní-zíwá   dháaví   wíílá   míyó   ddi-li   maríya

       2RESP-IPFV.CJ-know   how   CMP   1SG.PRO 1SG-be   maria

       'How do you know I am Maria?'

Finally, 1PL *ni-* sometimes substitutes *ddi-* '1SG', to express a 1SG. I will not attempt to account for this fact here. Still it is worth pointing out that Swahili also has *ni-* as regular SM of 1SG. This suggests that the usage of *ni-* as a 1SG SM in Cuwabo might be due to an influence of Swahili. Of course this is purely speculative.

(6.83)   a. *míyó ǹnowúsápela. ddinosápá […]*   {body.8}

         míyó   **ni**-ni-o-ú-sápela   ddi-ni-osápá

         1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-feed   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt

         'I feed you. I bring food [...]'

      b. *míyó ǹlóségédhéya*   {maria.40}

         míyó   **ni**-lé-óségédh-éy-a

         1SG.PRO   1PL-CE-15.offend-NTR-Fi

         'I am in trouble'

6.3.3 Post-initial negative marker *-hi-*

The post-initial negative marker *-hi-* is exclusively used in dependent tenses. It is also a common negation marker in Bantu, mostly attested under the form *-si-* (or *-tsi-* in Comorian). Table 39 provides the full list of verb forms functioning with *-hi-*. Each verb form is further discussed in chapter 8.

Table 39   Negative verb forms with the post-initial -*hi*- negative marker

TAM	Example	Translation
infinitive	o-hí-yóoná	'to not see'
narrative	o-hi-gulihédha	'I did not sell'
sequential	a-hí-jâgá	'without them eating'
sequential perfective	baddi-hi-mutélle	'whereas I am not married to him'
counterfactual conditional	koo-hí-nyónyagá	'if he was not annoying'
situative	mwaa-hí-múriihi	'if you do not respect him'
situative	ddigaa-hí-ji	'if I do not eat'
subjunctive	ddi-hi-je	'so that I do not eat'
counterexpectational	o-hi-ná-púpuruwa	'before you get lost'
sequential	ddi-hí-gûla	'therefore I did not buy'

-*hi*- is invariably located after the slot for subject markers, and it usually precedes the TAM slot, as is the case in the counterexpectational situative form *o-hi-ná-púpuruwa* 'before you get lost'. This is however not true with the situative TAM prefixes -*a*- (6.84) and -*gaa*- (6.85), which always precede the negative marker -*hi*- (see section 8.2.5 for more details).

(6.84)   *ddińdhág' ootaabúwá vatí váariba ddaahígúli vela*   {semi-elic.}

      ddi-ní-dh-ág-a   otaabúwá   vatí   vá-a-riba
      1SG-IPFV.CJ-go-HAB-Fi   15.suffer.PL   16.sunset   16-SIT-be.dark

      ddi-**a-hí**-gúl-i   vela
      1SG-SIT-NEG-buy-NEG   10a.candle.PL

      'I am going to suffer at night if I do not buy candles'

(6.85)   *m̀maáni, míyó ddigaahíjí kaddińdhów' óosuńza*   {semi-elic.}

      m̀maáni   míyó   ddi-**gaa-hí**-j-í   ka-ddi-ní-dhówá   osuńza
      1.mother.PL   1SG.PRO   1SG-SIT-NEG-eat-NEG   NEG-1SG-IPFV-go   15.learn.PL

      'mother, if I do not eat, I am not going to school'

6.3.4 TAM markers

This position between the subject and the object agreement prefixes contains most tense-aspect-mood markers. Together with the final suffix, this verb slot allows to determine the TAM value of a verb. All the different forms which can occur in this TAM slot are given and exemplified in Table 40.

Table 40   TAM prefixes

Form	TAM	example	translation
-a-	past	ddahímóttiya	'I had fallen'
-ni-	imperfective	ddinimúlíma	'I am cultivating it (cl.1)'
-á-	past imperfective	ddaásákula	'I was choosing'
-hi-	perfective	ddihíráyíla	'I threw away'
-ná-	counterexpectational	ddihinávólowa	'before I enter'
-náá-	future	ddinááfíye	'I will arrive'
-gá-	future imperfective	ddigákôna	'I will be condamning'
-a-	situative	ddaagulíha	'if/when I sell'
-gaa-	situative	ddigaavodhá	'if/when I succeed'

The aspectual prefix *-hi-* is restricted to disjoint verb forms only. The conjoint forms rather use the suffix *-ile*, which triggers the same perfective interpretation (see section 8.1.1).

For certain verb forms, two subsequent slots for TAM are needed, one for the tense and one for the aspect, as shown in (6.86) with the past perfective.

(6.86)   *pu+ké: Manyáló waákóódda omúttêba, Mádá waákóódd' oomúsápela*   {body.15}

pu+ke   manyáló   o-**a-hí**-kóódda   o-mú-ttêba   mádá   o-a-hí-kóódda

because   6.foot   1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse   15-OM1-carry 6.hand 1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse

o-mú-sáp-el-a

15-OM1-hunt-APPL-Fi

'Because Mr.Feet refused to carry Mr.Hands, Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.'

Each of the TAM prefixes is discussed in detail and exemplified in chapter 8, on TAM system.

6.3.5 Object marker

The slot for object marking is used to cross-reference objects. This position immediately precedes the verbal base, and the combination of both forms what is called the macrostem. In Cuwabo, as in many Bantu languages, there is one slot only for object marking on the verb, which means that only one object can be marked (see section 9.1.2.3 for an analysis of double object constructions).

After the SM, the OM is the second type of agreeing marker prefixed to the verb stem. But contrary to subject marking, object marking is relatively limited in Cuwabo, since it is

restricted to participants, namely the 1st and 2nd persons, and classes 1 and 2. The full list of OM is provided in Table 41, which also includes the reflexive marker, since it occupies the OM slot. Note that in order to avoid any confusion with the SM, the OM is always glossed with the abbreviation 'OM.' before the person or the class.

Table 41   Object markers

	1st person	2nd person	CL1 /CL2
SG	-ddi-	-u-	-mu-
PL	-ni-	-mu-	-a-
REFL		-vi-	

In Cuwabo, an OM may have a pronominal function when it substitutes an overt noun phrase, as shown in (6.87), where class 1 OM *-mú-* in *kámúwelelenī* refers to the aforementioned hare.

(6.87)   *k' uúĺle, óĺlé ki namarogoló, k' úúĺle olí mudhúlú ḿpúle, kámúwelelenī !*   {ddingí.19}

ku	óĺle	óĺle	ki	namarogoló
17.COP	1.DEM.III	1.DEM.III	EMPH	1a.hare.PL

ku	óĺle	o-lí	mudhúlú	ḿpúle	ká-**mú**-wel-el-e = nī
17.COP	1.DEM.III	1-be	18.top	18.DEM.III	IMP-OM1-climb-APPL-Fi = PLA

'here it is, that one there is the hare, that one there is at the top of the tree.sp.! Catch him! (lit. 'Climb after him!')'

However, OM are best analysed as grammatical agreement markers. A strong argument in support of this claim deals with focalisation and co-referentiality: in Cuwabo, whenever a class 1 or 2 lexical object is present in the clause, object marking obligatorily occurs on the verb. This means that a postverbal (class 1/2) noun phrase occupying a focus position is necessarily cross-referenced, as shown in (6.88).

(6.88)   OM + focus postverbal NP

a.   *supeéyo supeéyo, míyó ǹnááfun' áánamalaba.*   {maria.63}

supeéyo	míyó	ni-ní-**á**-funá	**ánamalaba**
9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.CJ-OM2-want	2.worker.PL

'Mirror, mirror, I want working men.'

b.   *onímóoná múyaná w' oókóddéla vaddíddí*   {maria.106}

o-ní-**mú**-oná	**múyaná**	wa	ókóddéla	vaddíddi
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see	1.woman.PL	1.CON	15.be.beautiful	much

'he sees a very beautiful woman'

In this respect, Cuwabo patterns with Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009) and Swahili (Philippson p.c.), but differs from many Bantu languages in which object marking only applies for definite or topicalised lexical objects (see Bresnan and Mchombo 1987 for Chewa, Marten 2006 for Herero, among others).

When the verb stem starts with a retroflex stop, the 1sg OM *-ddi-* loses its vowel and totally assimilates, i.e. [ɖ] devoices to [ʈ], as shown in (6.89).

(6.89)   *vohí míyó ddihijé, ónó-ʈ́-ttamagíhá vatákûlu*   {semi-elic.}
        vohí   míyó   ddi-hi-j-é   ó-ni-ó-ddí-ttamag-íh-á   va-tákûlu
        because 1SG.PRO 1SG-NEG-eat-SBJ 1-IPFV.DJ-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi 16-9a.house
        'he made me run around the house so that I do not eat'

Similarly to the SM, the 1PL OM *-ni-* may substitute *-ddi-* '1SG', to express a 1SG, as seen in (6.90). Again, we see a parallel with Swahili 1SG OM *-ni-*.

(6.90)   *mamunagá! sitíy' óolóóńlémela, oddíjé ddirúlé sitíya*   {mbílri.31}
        mamunaga   sitíya   e-lé-ó-**ní**-léméla
        1a.husband.POSS.1SG.PL   9a.bra   9-CE-15-OM1PL-be.heavy
        o-ddí-jéedh-e   ddi-rúl-é   sitíya
        2SG-OM1SG-wait-SBJ 1SG-undress-SBJ 9a.bra
        'my husband, my bra is heavy, wait for me so that I take it off'

Finally, when the 1SG OM *-ddi-* follows a 2PL *mu-* SM, it totally assimilates to the subject prefix vowel, which thus lengthens, as shown in (6.91).

(6.91)   a. *ddiḿfúná muúdhóolle mwáádhaga muúdhéeléna*   {maria.141}
           ddi-ní-fúná   **muú**-dhóol-el-e   mwáádhaga
           1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.OM1SG-fetch-APPL-SBJ 1.wife.POSS.1SG

           muú-dh-éel-é=na
           2PL.OM1SG-come-APPL-SBJ=COM

           'I want you to fetch my wife and bring her back to me'

        b. *ddiḿfúná muúsásanyedhe: papóóro*   {maria.132}
           ddi-ní-fúná   **muú**-sásany-edh-e   papóóro
            1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.OM1SG-build-APPL-SBJ 1a.boat
           'I want you to build for me a boat'

Reflexivity is expressed by means of the prefix *-vi-*, which remains invariable independently of the person or class concerned. The reflexive marker attaches to transitive verb stems only, upon which it functions as an intransitiviser. The situation expressed by the verb applies to the subject itself, and no longer to a potential object. The examples in (6.92)

show that *-vi-* transforms the transitive verbs *ótótóca* 'destroy' (6.92)a and *ókomá* 'position' (6.92)b into a reflexive verbs.

(6.92)   Reflexive *-vi-*

a. *oṁpánélá: onóvítotóca, onótótówa, onórímééla mwiilábôni*   {body.23}

[o-ni-pánélá]_{REL}   o-ni-ó-**ví**-totóca   o-ni-ótótówa

1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud   1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy   1-IPFV.DJ-15.be.destroyed

o-ni-órímééla   mu-elábô = ni

1-IPFV.DJ-15.disappear   18-9.society = LOC

'Whoever is proud destroys himself, is destroyed, disappears from society.'

b. *Nikúrábedh' oodhow' óóvikomá:*   {maria.119}

nikúrábedha   o-dhowá   o-**vi**-komá

1a.dugong   NAR-go   NAR-REFL-position

'Mr.Dugong went and placed himself.'

Example (6.93) presents a case in which the consonant onset of the reflexive prefix *-vi-* drops due to amalgamation with the infinitive prefix, giving rise to the vowel sequence o + i. Glide formation thus occurs with compensatory lengthening, as seen in the verb form *wiítómeya* 'he hang himself'.

(6.93)   *odhowá **wií**tómeya ṁbár' oókúl' oomuyérêni*   {ddingí.11}

o-dhowâ   **o-ví**-tómeya   mu-bára   ókúle   o-muyérê = ni

NAR-go   15-REFL-hung.up   18-9a.sea   17.DEM.III   17-tree.sp = LOC

'he went and hang himself up in the tree sp. at the beach'

Note that reflexive and object markers exclude each other, since they both occupy the same pre-stem slot.

Finally, with regard to tones, the object markers (including the reflexive) are underlyingly low, except in a few tenses, in which they are systematically assigned a H tone (see section 3.4 for more details). Such cases are illustrated with the examples (6.91) for the subjunctive and (6.93) for the infinitive.

6.3.6 Pre-final TAM markers

6.3.6.1   *-ag-* 'HABitual'

A usual way of representing a situation that happens over an extended period of time, in an iterative manner or not depending on the semantic properties of the verb, is by using a general imperfective prefix (*-ni-* in Cuwabo). However Cuwabo also encodes such an aspectual meaning by means of the inherited pre-final suffix *-ag-* which is widely attested across Bantu, and was reconstructed as *-ang-. Semantically, this suffix covers different values linked with imperfective meaning, ranging from durative (6.94), to habitual (6.95) and pluractional (6.96).

(6.94)   Durative value

    a. *okomesáár' uúkúl' ookíta. okitag' ookitag' ookitag' ookitaga ...*   {ddingí.21}

       o-komesáári   ókúle   okíta   o-kit-**ag**-a

       NAR-start   17.DEM.III   15.go.down   NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi

       'He started to go down. He went down, went down…'

    b. *wéyő: oḿfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo*   {maria.25}

       wéyó   o-mú-fwár-**eg**-e   kurúmáanje = éne   óddo

       2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ   1a.bee.sp = INT   1.DEM.I

       'do follow this very bee.sp.'

(6.95)   Habitual value

    agaamal' ootóta nám' aagaadhowáná vatákúlűve,   {mbílri.3}
    mwáádhíye ojagámó namáy' ééjíle

    a-gaa-mala   otóta   náma   a-gaa-dhowá = ná   va-tákúlú = ve

    1-SIT-finish   15.hunt   9a.game   1-SIT-go = COM   16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

    mwáádhí = ye   o-j-**ag**-á = mó   namá = yá   éjíle

    1.wife = POSS.3SG   NAR-eat-HAB-Fi = 18.LOC   9a.game = 9.DEF   9.DEM.III

    'after hunting game and bringing it at home, his wife used to eat that meat'

(6.96)   Pluractional value

    a. *eǹtáwú, odhagavo afúmú afúmú báalá, afúmú dówu, afúmú ttébo …*   {mute.8}

       eǹtáwú   o-dh-**ag**-a = vo   afúmú   báalá   afúmú   dówu

       then   NAR-come-HAB-Fi = 16.LOC   2.mister   1a.bushbuck   2.mister   9a.elephant

       afúmú   ttébo

       2.mister   9a.elephant

       'then came mister Bushbuck, mister Elephant, mister Elephant…'

b. *nuúmwáalá naámbéddé: , waavedágá: áttú wiílá amwáámele naámbéedde*   {ddingí.3}

na-ó-mú-alá	naámbéddé	o-a-ved-**ág**-á	áttú	wiílá
RES-15-OM1-sow	1a.maize	NAR-OM2-search-HAB-Fi	2.man	CMP

a-mú-ámel-e	naámbéedde
2-OM1-chase-SBJ	1a.maize

'When he sowed maize, he looked for people to protect it (from the thieves)'

c. *weééba dhááhi - muddáákulelegé:*   {mbílri.20}

o-á-iba	dhaáyi	mu-ddí-ákul-el-**eg**-é
1-PST.IPFV.CJ-sing	like.this.I	2PL-OM1SG-answer-APPL-HAB-SBJ

'He was singing this way - answer me'

In certain verb forms, though, the exact meaning of the pre-final marker *-ag-* is difficult to determine. The typical formula *weérlé keérlé dhaawo* (lit. 'the one who said did not say like that'), a pragmatic equivalent for 'once upon a time' at the beginning of narrative texts, may be added the habitual suffix, as shown in (6.97), without this addition substantially alters the original meaning.

(6.97)   *weeŕlégé keeŕlége dhaweené, [waáli Mádá: Ērúgúlú: na Manyálo]*   {body.1}

[o-er-él-**ég**-é]ᵣₑₗ	ka-er-él-**ég**-e	dhaawo = ené
1-do-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL	NEG.1-do-APPL-HAB-PFV	like.this.II.PL = INT

'Once upon a time, [there were Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.]'

While there are apparently some restrictions on the co-occurrence of the durative suffix with certain tenses in some Bantu languages, in Cuwabo, it can occur in all or most tenses, pasts, presents and futures, as illustrated with the following examples.

(6.98)   Presents

a. *vańdówágeem' úújoóni, ddinógúlága gúwó ya tírîle*   {semi-elic.}

[va-ní-dów-**ág**-a = imí	ó-joó = ni]ᵣₑₗ	ddi-ni-ógúl-**ág**-a
16-IPFV.CJ-go-HAB-Fi = 1SG.PRO	17-Joburg = LOC	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.buy-HAB-Fi

gúwó	ya	tírîle
9a.cloth	9.CON	9a.satin

'when I go to South Africa, I always buy satin clothes.'

b. *kaddińgúlágá garoóso, ddińgúlága manduwi*   {semi-elic.}

ka-ddi-ní-gúl-**ág**-á	garoóso	ddi-ní-gúl-**ág**-a	manduwi
NEG-1SG-IPFV-buy-HAB-Fi	10a.caju.nut.PL	1SG-IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi	6.peanut.PL

'I do not buy caju nuts, I usually buy peanuts'

(6.99)   Past imperfectives

    a. *vaánéemíína yiítêlê: , ddáán̂gulíhága soókîri*   {semi-elic.}

       [va-á-ná = imí = na   yiítelé]$_{REL}$ ddí-á-ni-gulíh-**ág**-a   soókîri

       16-PST.IPFV.CJ-have = 1SG.PRO = COM   9.bar   1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-sell-HAB-Fi   9a.sugar

       'when I had a bar, I used to sell sugar'

    b. *ddaágúlaga mandduwi*   {elic.}

       ddi-á-gúl-**ag**-a   mandduwi

       1SG-PST.IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi   6.peanut.PL

       'I used to sell peanuts'

(6.100)   Futures

    a. *ddináágúlíhege mandduwi*   {elic.}

       ddi-náá-gúlíh-**eg**-e   mandduwi

       1SG-FUT.CJ-sell-HAB-IRR   6.peanut.PL

       'I will sell peanuts'

    b. *ddigágúlaga mandduwi*

       ddi-gá-gúl-**ag**-a   mandduwi   {elic.}

       1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-sell-HAB-Fi   6.peanut.PL

       'I will be selling peanuts'

    Nevertheless, it occurs more frequently in non-finite forms such as infinitive (6.101)a, narrative (6.101)b, and imperative (6.101)c, as well as with dependent tenses, such as situative (6.101)d and subjunctive (6.101)e.

(6.101)   a. Infinitive   b. Narrative   c. Imperative

        osásányaga   *om̀vuuzága*   *kadhéélaganí*

        osásány-**ag**-a   o-mu-vuuz-**ág**-a   ka-dh-éél-**ag**-a = ní

        15.make-HAB-Fi   NAR-OM1-ask-HAB-Fi   IMP-go-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA

        'to make'   'she asked him'   'come and fetch'

        d. Situative   e. Subjunctive   f. Counterexpectational

        aadhowága   *om̀fwárege*   *kanákósiwaga*

        a-a-dhow-**ág**-a   o-mú-fwár-**eg**-e   ka-ná-kós-iw-**ag**-a

        2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi   2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi

        'while going'   'do follow him'   'have never been done before'

    As can be seen from most examples above, the habitual suffix *-ag-* has no specific tone properties and in this respect tends to function as a verb extension, being tonally low (or neutral). This is well illustrated for instance with the narrative form *om̀vuuzága* 'she asked him' in (6.101)b, where the lexical H anchors on the penult mora independently of the

presence of the habitual suffix, since the corresponding suffixless form would be *oṁvuúza* 'she asked him'.

However the addition of the habitual may have some repercussion on the tone pattern of the two existing situative verb forms in Cuwabo. For instance, compare the situative verb form SM-*a*-VB-*a* in (6.102)a, which exhibits a lexical H contrast, with the habitual situative in (6.102)b, in which a neutralised tone pattern occurs for both types of verbs, with a H systematically assigned on MS2. A further tone pattern occurs when an OM is present (6.102)c: a grammatical H is assigned to the penult mora, i.e. on the habitual suffix.

(6.102) Ø-toned verb | | H-toned verb
a. ddi-**a**-roromeliha | 'if I promise' | ddi-**a**-bubuluwéla | 'if I roll to'
b. ddi-**a**-rorómélih-**ag**-a | 'if I promise' | ddi-**a**-bubúlúwel-**ag**-a | 'if I roll to'
c. ddi-**a**-**mu**-roromelih-**ág**-a 'if I promise him' | ddi-**a**-**mu**-bubuluwel-**ág**-a 'if I roll to him'

The same type of alteration occurs with the other situative verb form whose morphological formula is SM-*gaa*-VB-*a* (see section 3.4 for an in-depth analysis of tones on tensed verbs.). It thus seems that the pre-final suffix -*ag*- acquires specific properties regarding H assignment when used within situative verb forms.

As already seen in section 2.2.5 on vowel copying, the extension -*ag*- copies the vocalic value of the final vowel. This vowel copying points towards a reanalysis of the habitual suffix as -*ga* instead of -*ag*-.

(6.103) *okomesáárig' uúṁviríhámo ṁmodha ṁmôdha*   {mbílri.19}

o-komesáár-**ig**-i   ó-mú-vir-íh-á=mo   mu-modha   mú-môdha
NAR-start-HAB-Fi   15-OM1-pass-CAUS-Fi=18.LOC   1-one   1-one
'and he began to make them go through, one by one'

6.3.6.2 -*ec*- 'DURative'

The pre-final suffix -*ec*- represents another way of encoding imperfective value, with both durative and iterative meaning. It is far less attested than the other pre-final -*ag*-. All the examples attested in my database are presented below. In (6.105), we note that it may follow an applicative extension. The conditioning for this unexpected formative is in need of further description.

(6.104) *apa dd' uúddúwén' óońddíkuweléćá peéno*   {páaká.13}

apa   ddi   óddú=wéné   [o-ní-ddí-kuwel-**éc**-á]_REL   peéno
16.DEM.I   1.COP   1.DEM.I=INT   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-DUR-Fi   WOND
'Oh, this one calling me like this, I do not know (who he is).'

(6.105)   *mas ońddíkshatiyaarílecéené dhayééne, [...] ońddúkuweÌlécéeni ?*   {páaká.17.18}

mas   [o-ní-ddí-shatiyaari-el-**éc**-a = êné   dhaayí = éne]_{REL}

but   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-annoy-APPL-DUR-Fi = INT   like.this.I = INT

o-ní-ddí-kuwel-el-**éc**-á = ni

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-APPL-DUR-Fi = what

'But this one annoying me like this, [...] why is he calling me?'

(6.106)   *āyím' aábá ańkáléca na báábá, [agoonúwa, agáánsema vaddíddi]*   {semi-elic.}

āyíma   ábá   [a-ni-kál-**éc**-a   na   **báábá**]_{REL}

2.child   2.DEM.I   2-IPFV.CJ-be-DUR-Fi   with   1a.their.father

'these children who are always with their father, [when they grow up, they will be good carpenters]'

The form *-es-* is also attested, most likely as a result of inter-speaker variation.

(6.107)   *b' aaní ońjésáámw' iísáv' iíjíle*   {mbílri.5}

ba   aani   [o-ni-j-**és**-á = mo   ésávi   éjíle]_{REL}

2.COP   who   1-IPFV.CJ-eat-DUR-Fi = 18.LOC   9.relish   9.DEM.III

'who keeps eating that relish'

6.3.7 Final suffix

In section 6.1.1, we saw that the derivational stem is built upon a verb root and (possible) verb extensions. The addition of a 'final vowel' morpheme to the derivational stem constitutes the inflectional stem. Three such final morphemes exist in Cuwabo, *-a*, *-e*, and *-ile*, which are all linked with tense and aspect considerations. Each is examined in turn. The most common final suffix in Cuwabo consists of the vowel *-a*, glossed 'Fi'. It represents the 'morphological default' final suffix (Downing 1997, Odden 1996), in that it is found in most indicative tenses, and does not carry any meaning by itself.

The final suffix *-e* is also widely attested, but only under three specific semantic values: it is first mainly used to mark the subjunctive tense, glossed 'SBJ' (6.108). In this case, no temporal prefix is required. Furthermore, *-e* works hand in hand with the future prefix *-náá-*, but in this context, it unexpectedly displays two distinct functions: first it represents an IRRealis with a future interpretation (6.109). Second, it assumes a PROHibitive function, as when used with the imperative verb forms (6.110). Each of the TAM verb forms are further developed in chapter 8.

(6.108) Subjunctive function of -*e*

      kadhánáto [...] mwáádhíy' oóddó ǹdhé nimóône   {maria.118}

      ka-dhá = ná = to   mwáádhí = ya óddó   ni-dh-**é**   ni-mú-ôn-**e**

      IMP-go = COM = then   1.wife = DEF 1.DEM.II 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-OM1-see-SBJ

      'Bring then that friend of mine, that wife, so that we see her.'

(6.109) Irrealis function of -*e*

      kí nináákósé dháavi ?   {maria.95}

      kí   ni-náá-kós-**é**   dháavi

      EMPH 1PL-FUT.CJ-do-IRR how

      'What are we going to do?'

(6.110) Prohibitive function of -*e*

      munáávége wiíko ookála anyákóko   {semi-elic.}

      mu-náá-vég-**e**   o-íko   o-hi-kála   anyákôko

      2PL-FUT-play-PROH 17-river 1-PFV.DJ-be 2.crocodile

      'do not play at the river, there are crocodiles'

The suffix -*ile* 'PFV' is one of two perfective aspect markers in Cuwabo. It appears on its own for the perfective tense (6.111), and co-occurs with the pre-stem *a*- for the past tense (6.112). Again, this final suffix is widespread among Bantu, attested in at least two thirds of the linguistic sub-family (Nurse 2008: 24).

(6.111) *Kurúmáanje: odhowilé diléén' eéjíle y' oonyákûwa*   {maria.31}

      kurúmáanje   o-dhow-**ilé**   dilá = éne   éjíle   ya   onyákûwa

      1a.bee.sp   1-go-PFV.CJ   9a.path.PL = INT 9.DEM.III 9.CON 15.be.dirty

      'The bee.sp went into that dirty path'

(6.112) *ddaadhowíl' óoǹvahá mwánáye ńzíná viínágúwa*   {páaká.15}

      ddi-a-dhow-**ílé**   o-mu-vahá   mwánáye   ńzíná   viíná-gúwa

      1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ   15-OM1-give.PL 1.child.POSS.3SG 5.name too-again

      'I went and gave his child a name again'

Interestingly, -*ile* is sensitive to the presence of certain extensions, namely the applicatives -*el*- and -*edh*-, the passives -*iw*- and -*uw*-, and the reciprocal -*an*-. When it is preceded by one of these extensions, the suffix shortens to -*e*, as respectively shown in (6.113), (6.114), and (6.115). Still, note that contrary to many Eastern Bantu languages (including Makhuwa), this shortening does not involve imbrication in Cuwabo. At least no visible trace remained on the synchronic level. The variant suffix -*e* is simply suffixed to the verbal base, and the removing of the segment *il* does not involve any morphophonological

process inside the verbal base, often resulting in an amalgamate form (Bastin 1983, Ngunga 1998, among others).

(6.113) Applicatives *-el-/-edh-* + perfective variant *-e*

    a. eetéén' aaazuzúmél' oókúle   {maria.158}

a-eté=éne	a-a-zuzúm-**él**-**e**	ókúle
2-all=INT	2-PST-be.confused-APPL-PFV.CJ	17.DEM.III

    'all were busy over there'

    b. *kuulogíwága ddaahíkáana mááre baddisasanyedhé makáttámiyo ába*   {semi-elic.}

ka-olog-íw-ág-a	ddi-a-hí-káana	mááre	ba-ddi-sasany-**edh**-**é**
CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi	1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-have	6.idea	SEQ-1SG-fix-APPL-PFV

makáttámiyo	ába
6.problem	6.DEM.I

    'if I had an idea, I would already have fixed the problem'

(6.114) Passive *-iw-/-uw-* + perfective variant *-e*

    eloguwé: sūpééy' eéji ddilogélémo dhiḿfúnéemi   {maria.56}

e-log-**uw**-**é**	sūpééyo	éji	ddi-log-él-é=mo
9-say-PASS-PFV.CJ	9a.mirror	9.DEM.I	1SG-say-APPL-SBJ=18.LOC

[dhi-ní-fúná=imi]REL
10-IPFV.CJ-want=1SG.PRO

    'they said (lit. 'it was said') I can ask this mirror whatever I want'

(6.115) Reciprocal *-an-* + perfective variant *-e*

    eeddelẽ́nẽ́ omáálro waakungíláaní   {páaká.36}

a-edd-el-**án**-**é**	omáálro	[o-a-kung-ílé=ani]REL
2-hate-APPL-REC-PFV.CJ	14.friendship	14-PST-build-PFV.CJ=3PL.PRO

    'they came to hate each other for the friendship they had build'

    Contrary to the applicative and passive extensions, the causative, and neuter extensions do not imply the shortened variant of *-ile*, as shown in (6.116), and (6.117), respectively.

(6.116) Causative *-ih-* + perfective *-ile*

    oddijihilé máfugi   {elic.}

o-ddi-j-**ih**-**ilé**	máfugi
1-OM1SG-eat-CAUS-PFV.CJ	6.banana.PL

    'he made me eat bananas'

(6.117) Neuter *-ey-* + perfective *-ile*

    mwáán' óotámélúwá koonéyîle   {ddoo.22}

    mwááná   o-hi-támél-uw-á   ka-on-**éy-île**

    1.child   1-PFV.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi   NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV

    'the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible)'

Finally, the final suffix *-i* is extremely rare, since it is restricted to the situative tenses, in which case it functions as a negative marker, in complementation of the negative prefix *hi-*, as illustrated in (6.118) and (6.119).

(6.118) *kí ddaahílími m̀búga ǹnáádhéna ʷuuvi ?*   {semi-elic.}

    kí   ddi-a-hí-lím-**i**   m̀búga   ni-náá-dh-é=na   uuvi

    EMPH   1SG-SIT-NEG-cultivate-NEG   3.rice   1PL-FUT.CJ-come-IRR=COM   where

    'if I do not cultivate, where will I find rice?'

(6.119) *ogákósáaní: ogaahísúǹzi mwaawunó ?*   {semi-elic.}

    o-gá-kósâ=ní   o-gaa-hí-súǹz-**i**   mwaawunó

    2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-do=what   2SG-SIT-NEG-study-NEG   this.year

    'what will you do if you do not study this year?'

Interestingly, a few verbs always have *-i* in final position, in environments where *-a* and *-e* would be expected. This is already seen in the infinitive forms in (6.120). Two of them represent a closed class of defective verbs (6.120)a, while the others are an open class of loans (6.120)b.

(6.120) Defective verbs (a) and loans (b) with final suffix *-i*

    a. *wiidhí*   'know'

       olí   'be'

    b. *oddánáari*   'be defective'   <   *PTG* danar

       ófíyáári   'owe'

       ogúnáǹti   'lie down'   <   *ógoná* 'sleep' + *-ti* 'ground'

       ókómésáári   'begin'   <   PTG *começar*

       ókúmáári   'be sad'

       ókúpáári   'disturb, annoy'

       ópérédééri   'lose'   <   PTG *perder*

       ópóńtáári   'track, point at' <   PTG *apontar*

       ósíńtínáári   'defecate'   <   PTG *sentina* (n)

       ótamáári   'provoke'

Note that the value of this final suffix *-i* never alternates with the final suffix *-e* in the subjunctive tense, as illustrated with *ájáńtáari* 'so they go and eat' in (6.121).

(6.121) *eefíya fáázi amfúná adhówe vatákûlu, adhówa ájáǹtaari komíídádha*   {páaká.22}

e-hi-fĩya		fáázi	a-ní-fúná	a-dhów-e	va-tákûlu
9-PFV.DJ-arrive		9a.fase	2-IPFV.CJ-want	2-go-SBJ	16-9a.house

a-dhów-e	**a-á-jáǹtaari**	komíídá = dha
2-go-SBJ	2-IT-have.dinner.SBJ	10a.food = 10.DEF

'the moment came to (want to) go home, to go and eat the food'

6.3.8 Post-final *=ni* 'PLA'

The post-final *=ni* indicates that the addressee is plural, hence the gloss PLA for 'Plural Addressee'. As is common in Bantu, *=ni* is typically used with the 2SG object marker, in which it allows to distinguish between the 2SG and the 2PL, as shown in (6.122).

(6.122) a. Singular addressee

ddimfúná: ddittíye owūsápela   {body.5}

míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-ttíy-e	o-ū-sáp-el-a
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-stop-SBJ	15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi

'I am going to stop feeding you'

b. Plural addressee

puruk' onuúttébaní: , ddi míyô   {body.10}

puruke	[o-ni-ú-ttéba = **ní**]REL	ddi	míyô
because	1-IPFV.CJ-OM2SG-carry = PLA	1.COP	1SG.PRO

'because, it is me who lifts you!'

=ni is also needed to express a plural imperative. Compare (6.123)a with (6.123)b. Its presence is however not required in other tenses (6.124).

(6.123) a. Singular addressee in imperative

kattúkúla shávi   {páaká.24}

ka-ttúkúla	shávi
IMP-take	10a.key

'take that key'

b. Plural addressee in imperative

namárógol' oóddó kámttiyenī   {ddingí.25}

namárógolo   óddó   ká-mú-ttiy-e＝**nī**

1a.hare   1.DEM.II   IMP-OM1-leave-IMP＝PLA

'leave that hare!'

(6.124) Plural addressee in present tense

míyó munóddíziwá: ?   {maria.86}

míyó   mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwá

1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know

'do you know me?'

Recall that the SM *ni-* is sometimes found instead of *ddi-* in order to express a 1SG SM, as already seen in section 6.3.2 above. As expected, there arises from this case of free variation an ambiguity of interpretation between a singular and a plural. This may explain why the post-final ＝*ni* is sometimes suffixed to the verb when a plural is intended (6.125), although such an addition is not systematic (6.126).

(6.125) a. *eǹtáwú, neetééne nikósén' éjíl' eekósíle míyo*   {mbílri.23}

eǹtáwú   ni-eté＝éne   ni-kós-é＝**ni**   éjíle   [e-kós-íle   míyo]_REL

then   1PL-all＝INT   1PL-do-SBJ＝PLA   9.DEM.III   9-do-PFV.REL   1SG.PRO

'then, let's all do what I did'

b. *aǹmálâ mabásâ "ǹdhówén' ǹttamágêni"*   {maria.150}

a-hi-málâ   mabásâ   ni-dhów-é＝**ni**   ni-ttamág-ê＝ni

6-PFV.DJ-finish   6.work   1PL-go-SBJ＝PLA   1PL-run-SBJ＝PLA

'the work is done, let's go, let's run!'

(6.126) *ǹdhów' óóttólóni ǹdhówé náfûle*   {ddoo.10}

ni-dhów-é   o-ttóló＝ni   ni-dhów-é   ni-á-fûl-e

1PL-go-SBJ   17-well＝LOC   1PL-go-SBJ   1PL-IT-wash-SBJ

'let's go to the well, let's go and wash (do the laundry)'

We could hypothesise that the presence or absence of ＝*ni* constitutes a way of distinguishing on the verb the opposition between a general plural and a dual. The general plural would make use of ＝*ni*, as in (6.125), where more than two characters are involved in the action, whereas the dual would not require such a plural marking, as in (6.126), which only implies two characters, Ddoolrinddo and her sister. Such a strategy of plural/dual marking is already observed in Swahili, but exclusively with the verb *-enda* 'go', in such a way as *tuende* means 'let's go, the both of us', whereas *tuendeni* means 'let's all go'.

It should finally be noted that if =*ni* is used with the 1PL as subject marker, it is not the case when 1PL is marked as an object marker (6.127).

(6.127) *elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwéla bááhi*   {maria.79}

elóbó = yá	ka-lóg-íle	so	ó-ni-ó-ní-kuwéla	bááhi
9.thing = DEF	NEG.1-say-PFV	but	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call	only

‘she did not say why, she only called us’

* *elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwéláa = ni bááhi*

6.3.9 Post-final enclitics

This final subsection explores the properties of two types of post-final enclitics (always introduced by a ‘ = ’ in the glosses): the Comitative or Instrumental =*na*, and the three locative clitics =*vo*, =*wo*, and =*mo*. These post-final clitics cannot co-occur, since only one morpheme can appear in that position. In other words, the post-final slot for enclitics can only host one element.

6.3.9.1 =*na* ‘COM’ or ‘INSTR’

The post-final enclitic =*na* undoubtedly stems from the preposition *na* ‘and, with’, to which it is semantically equivalent. In Cuwabo, this preposition behaves in a particular way with certain verbs, namely it encliticises to the verb, as shown in (6.128).

(6.128) *Maríya niívúr' uudhilená úuvi ?*   {elic.}

maríya	niívúru	o-dh-ile = **ná**	úuvi
maria	5.book	1-come-PFV.CJ = COM	where

‘where did Maria get this book?’

Considering that the conjoint perfective tense always implies the assignment of a H on the ultimate mora, the tone pattern observed on *odhilená* clearly reveals that =*na* is formally treated as part of the verb, and thus confirms its clitic status.

Semantically, the clitic =*na* conveys two meanings. First it is used for comitative, imparting the meaning ‘together with, accompanied by’. In this case, it is much attested with directional verbs as shown in the following examples, and more particularly with *odhá* ‘come’ and *ódhowá* ‘go’.

(6.129) *aafîyána músél' uúbúle*   {maria.78}

a-hi-fîyá=**na**   músélu   óbúle

2-PFV.DJ-arrive=COM   3.report   3.DEM.III

'they came with that report'

(6.130) *odhoólé leńsó ǹlí ḿb' óodhén' owííwá ?*   {ddoo.13}

o-dhoól-é   leńsó   [ni-lí   ḿbá]ᵣₑₗ   o-dh-é=**na**   o-hí-íwá

2SG-fetch-SBJ 5.tissue   5-be   18.into   2SG-come-SBJ=COM   2SG-PFV.DJ-hear

'fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it, did you hear?'

(6.131) *oǹsasanyilé víyoolá, odhowáná ǹbárá*   {ddingí.9}

o-mu-sasany-ilé   víyoólá   o-dhowá=**ná**   mu-bárá

1-OM1-fix-PFV.CJ   1a.guitar.PL   NAR-go=COM   18-9a.sea

'he fixed the guitar, went to the beach with it'

(6.132) *olóómúsáanguravo Maríyâya, ottamagélána ǹmáánjêni*   {maria.120}

o-lé-ó-mú-sáangura=**vo**   maríya=ya   o-ttamag-él-á=**na**   mu-máánjê=ni

1-CE-15-OM1-steal=16.LOC   maria=DEF   NAR-run-APPL-Fi=COM   18-6.water=LOC

'he seized Maria, and slided with her through the water'

As can be seen from the examples (6.131) and (6.132), no OM appears on the verb to co-refer to the aforementioned class 1 objects *víyoolá* 'guitar' and *Maríyâya* 'Maria', respectively. Instead, the anaphoric reference is made by means of the enclitic =*na*, which pronominalises the object argument.

In addition to the comitative, the post-final enclitic =*na* also conveys an instrumental reading, indicating an instrument used to carry out the action expressed by the verb. It can be translated into English as 'with' or 'by means of'.

(6.133) *Maríy' óottúkúla élóbw' eéjíl' aapíléeyé: , oóvádáná vańlúgúni*   {maria.53}

maríya   o-hi-ttúkúla   élóbo   éjíle   [e-a-ap-ílé=iyé]ᵣₑₗ

maria   1-PFV.DJ-take 9.thing 9.DEM.III   9-PST-pluck-PFV.CJ=3SG.PRO

o-hí-vádá=**na**   va-ńlúgú=ni

1-PFV.DJ-hit=INSTR   16-5.stone=LOC

'Maria took that thing she had plucked, and hit at the stone.'

(6.134) *dhílóbo dh' oókóddélíhana vatákûlu*   {maria.100}

dhílóbo   dha   ókóddél-íh-a=**na**   va-tákûlu

10.thing   10.CON   15.be.beautiful-CAUS-Fi=INSTR   16-9a.house

'things to embellish the house with'

6.3.9.2 *=vo, =wo,* and *=mo* as locative clitics

The three locative enclitics = *vo* (class 16), = *wo* (class 17), and = *mo* (class 18) are much attested in Cuwabo, with all verb forms. These locative clitics have several properties:

-i- They respect locative noun class agreement.

-ii- They may pronominalise a locative argument, which has previously been mentioned or which is clearly implied by the context. In this case, they have the function of anaphoric locative adjuncts, translated in English as 'here' (class 16), 'there' (class 17), and 'inside' (class 18). Two examples are provided below.

(6.135) a. *olóóttúkúluwavo Ddóólrínddó: , olóódhówána vatákúlu*   {ddoo.36}

    o-lé-óttúkúl-uw-a = **vo**   D.   o-lé-ódhówá = na   va-tákúlu
    1-CE-15.take-PASS-Fi = 16.LOC   D.   1-CE-15.go = COM   16-house
    'They took Ddoolrinddo there and went home with her.'

    b. *oóvólówa m̀ba, oofúgúlaamo ńngá de kòstúmi*   {páaká.25}

    o-hí-vólówa   m̀ba   o-hi-fúgúla = **mo**   níngá de kòstúmi
    1-PFV.DJ-enter   18.inside 1-PFV.DJ-open = 18.LOC as   always
    'he entered the house, he opened in there as always'

-iii- They cannot co-occur with an *in situ* locative phrase (unless the locative phrase is right-dislocated and thus interpreted as an afterthought, see section 11.2.3).

(6.136) *áléddo aádhámo m̀múrúddani   >   áléddo aádha m̀múrúddani*   {elic.}
    áléddo   a-hí-dhá = **mo**   mu-múrúdda = ni
    2.guest   2-PFV.DJ-come = 18.LOC 18-3.village = LOC
    'the guest arrived into the village'

-iv- They are prohibited in both formal (6.137)a and semantic (6.137)b locative inversion (LI) constructions (see section 11.1.4 for LI constructions).

(6.137) a. *ottólóni ókúle ookáláwo fólóóri*   {elic.}
    o-ttóló = ni   ókúle   o-hi-kálá = **wo**   fólóóri
    17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III   17-PFV.DJ-be = 17.LOC 9a.flower
    lit. 'there at the well there is (there) a flower'

    b. *nyúmba éji eekálávo akálâba*   {elic.}
    nyúmba éji   e-hi-kálá = **vo**   akálâba
    9a.house 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-be = 16.LOC 2.older
    lit. 'in this house were/lived (there) old people'

-v- They obligatorily appear when the locative phrase is dislocated to the left-periphery.

(6.138) *vattólóní, maánj' áawíínjívâvo*   {ddoo.31}

va-ttóló＝ní   maánjé   a-hí-ínjívâ＝**vo**

16-well＝LOC 6.water   6-PFV.DJ-abound＝16.LOC

'there is a lot of water in the well'

7

Minor word classes

This chapter treats a number of (almost) invariable words which, on morphological grounds, fall outside the scope of the major words classes, i.e. nouns and verbs (even if some of them may more or less transparently be derived from such classes). They represent a variety of distinct syntactic and semantic categories which have not been discussed yet. Under these word classes are subsumed particles and clitics, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, prepositions and conjunctions. All of them are small classes with closed memberships assuming a functional function, except adverbs, ideophones and interjections, which constitute open lexical word classes, able to welcome new elements for each new situation to be described.

7.1 Particles and clitics

According to Guillaume (2008: 625), particles are "monomorphemic grammatical words uninflected for any grammatical categories." In Cuwabo, particles may constitute either independent morphemes (section 7.1.1), whose scope is generally clausal, or dependent morphemes (section 7.1.2), which occur on individual constituent within the phrase. In this respect, these dependent forms are best analysed as clitics rather than affixes, since they may attach onto different types of words, without modifying their syntactic and phonological

properties. As Creissels (2006a: 33) states, clitics constitute "une classe de formes grammaticales liées peu intégrées", since they usually attach to already existing and autonomous units in the language. On the contrary, affixes tend to be more integrated, and are usually required so that the bases upon which they attach exist as words. More particularly, these clitics are all enclitics, since they are systematically postposed to the syntactic unit they modify.

Two other types of clitics exist in Cuwabo: the definite =(y)a and the intensive =ene, both developed in section 7.1.3. They are not considered particles since they follow some specific agreement patterns.

All these particles and clitics perform a range of functions that will be discussed in turn. Most of them are discourse markers. In this study, for clarity, clitics and dependent particles are separated from their host by the segment "=". This helps the reader immediately visualising where they are located.

7.1.1   Independent (clausal) particles

Four independent particles exist in Cuwabo: *peéno* 'WOND', *ki* 'EMPH', and *ǹngá* 'VOC'. They form one grammatical and one phonological word, and usually - but not systematically - occur clause-initially. They operate on the clausal syntactic level. Each particle is discussed below in the listed order.

7.1.1.1   *peéno* 'WONDering'

The invariable *peéno* 'WONDering' indicates doubt or wondering, and can be translated as 'maybe' or 'I don't know'. The following examples illustrate different usages of *peéno*.

(7.1)   *ésó dhińddívuúzéewé: , kaddinásúǹza, peénó yaakw' ééjw' eńdha*   {semi-elic.}

> ésó   [dhi-ní-ddí-vuúzá=ewé]_REL   ka-ddi-ná-súnza
> 10.DEM.II   10-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-ask=2SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-CE-learn
>
> **peénó**   yaaká   éjó   [e-ní-dha]_REL
> WOND   9.year.PL   9.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-come
>
> 'I have not studied yet what you are asking me, maybe next year'

(7.2)   *cá! apa dd' uúddúwén' óońddíkuwelécá peéno*   {páaká.13}

cá   apa   ddi   óddú=éné   [o-ní-ddí-kuwel-éc-á]~REL~   **peéno**

INTER   16.DEM.I   1.COP   1.DEM.I=INT   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-DUR-Fi   WOND

'Oh, this one calling me like this, I do not know (who he is).'

(7.3)   *áá, peénóto, míyó ddiímwóoná ?*   {ddoo.19}

áá   **peénó**=to   míyó   ddi-hí-mú-oná

INTER   WOND=then   1SG.PRO   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-see

'Ahh, I do not know, was I supposed to see her?'

(7.4)   *peén' áakala munáádhówe mángwáána: , ánddímúwáya kanálóg' eelo*   {semi-elic.}

peénó akala   mu-náá-dhów-e   mángwáána ánddímúwá=ya   ka-ná-lóga   elo

WOND   if   2PL-FUT.CJ-go-IRR   tomorrow   2.chief=DEF   NEG.2-CE-say   9.thing.PL

'I do not know if you are going tomorrow, the chiefs have not said anything yet'

Note that *peéno* is systematically used when answering someone's greetings.

(7.5)   *mw' aagumí: ? dd' aagumí: , peéno nyúwo?*   {elic.}

mu-a   egumí   ddi-a   egumí   **peéno**   nyúwo

2RESP-CON   9.health   1SG-CON   9.health   WOND   2RESP.PRO

'are you alright? I am, but what about you?'

Interestingly, answer greetings in Portuguese among Cuwabo people reproduces the same phrasing with *estou bem, não sei você* 'I am fine, I don't know [about] you'.

7.1.1.2   *ki* 'EMPHatic'

The independent particle *ki* 'EMPHatic' expresses surprise for something that goes against expectation. It is frequently used in interrogatives in a kind of exclamatory sense, well rendered by the English expression 'on earth'. In (7.6), Maria, the protagonist of the story, unexpectedly glimpses her sisters, which she has not seen for a long time because of their rejecting her. In this sentence, the feeling of surprise can be translated by negative expression of surprise 'is it not the case that …?' to denote something really happening.

(7.6)   *Maríy' óowááwoná : "ábá k' aabaaláága !?"*   {maria.70}

maríyá   o-hí-á-oná   ábá   **ki**   abaaláága

maria   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-see   2.DEM.I   EMPH   2.sister.POSS.1SG.PL

'Maria saw them : Are these not my sisters!?'

In (7.7), a child is missing and the parents are wondering where she is. In (7.8), the dog is questioning the cat after this one unexpectedly digressed from their game plan. In (7.9),

the owner of the maize plantations is wondering who has been eating his disappearing maize. In (7.10), Maria's relatives are questioning the exceptional treatment they are being offered at a time of food shortage.

(7.7)   *kí míímw' ool' úúvi ?*   {ddoo.20}

   kí mííma o-lí úuvi

   EMPH 1.child 1-be where

   'where on earth is the child?'

(7.8)   *wéyo, kú waagéle [uuvi]?*   {páaká.15}

   wéyo **kí**   o-a-g-él-e

   2SG.PRO EMPH 2-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ

   'you, where on earth did you go?'

(7.9)   *k' úúnimújá naámbédde ba aani?*   {ddingi.26}

   kí   [o-ni-mú-ja   naámbédde]_{REL} ba aani

   EMPH 1-PRS.CJ-OM1-eat 1a.maize   2.COP who

   'who on earth is eating my maize?'

(7.10) *[kanákósiwaga ńng' eesééné ;] kí íyó ddabunó gári gan' iíji?*   {maria.84}

   kí íyó   ddabunó gári gaani éji

   EMPH 1PL.PRO today 9a.luck which 9.DEM.I

   '[things like this have never been done before], which luck on earth is it that we're having?'

Because *ki* has an emphatic role and functions as a subjective statement on the uttered sentence, its use is optional, as shown in (7.11), which confronts two identical questions extracted from the same text, one with the particle *ki* (7.11)a, the other without (7.11)b.

(7.11) a. *ki ddikósé dhaavi ?* {maria.21}   b. *ddikósé dhaavi ?* {maria.32}

   ki ddi-kós-é dhaavi   ddi-kós-é dhaavi

   EMPH 1SG-do-SBJ how   1SG-do-SBJ how

   'what on earth shall I do?'   'what shall I do?'

As evidenced by the above examples, the emphatic particle always occurs sentence-initially, but (7.12) and (7.13) rather indicate that *ki* occupies the initial position of the emphasised clause, which may be inserted into a poly-clausal sentence.

(7.12)   *ddaáddúwaála kí máánjé kâgubúĺle, mangánddwéyá kaddaareyíle*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-a-hí-ddúwaála   **kí**   máánjé   kâ-gubúl-île
1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-forget   EMPH   6.water   NEG.6-rise-PFV

mangánddwé=yá   ka-ddi-a-rey-íle
6.fish.trap=DEF   NEG-1SG-PST-set-PFV

'I had forgotten, the tide rose and I had not set up the fish traps'

(7.13)   *yaak' éjw' ééńdá ddááḿfun' óókósa máttánga, kí ddaahílími m̀búga ǹnáádhéna ʷuuvi ?*
{semi-elic.}

yaaká   éjó   [e-ní-dhá]REL   ddí-á-ni-funá   ókósa   máttánga
9.year.PL   9.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-come   1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-want   15.do   6.feast

kí   ddi-a-hí-lím-i   m̀búga   ni-náá-dh-é=na   uuvi
EMPH   1SG-SIT-NEG-cultivate-NEG   3.rice   1PL-FUT.CJ-come-IRR=COM   where

'next year, I would like to make a feast, if I do not cultivate, where will I find rice?'

Example in (7.12) is interesting in that *ki* is associated with a negative perfective verb form to highlight the effect of surprise of an event that did (unexpectedly) happen. Here the negative is used to express the positive. An adequate translation for such a construction is rendered by the French expression '*ne voilà-t-il pas que …*'.

7.1.1.3   *ǹngá* 'VOCative'

The particle *ǹngá* 'VOCative' (from *ningá*) serves to directly call or hail someone (or something). It usually brings an exclamative tone to the clause in which it is inserted.

(7.14)   *ǹngá kádháanóto odhé njańtáari*   {páaká_33}
ningá   ká-dhá=nó=to   o-dh-é   ni-jańtáari
VOC   IMP-come=PROX=then   2SG-come-SBJ   1PL-have.dinner.SBJ
'Hey, come here then! Let's have dinner'

(7.15)   *"ǹngá Máriya" "papá" "míím' óol' úuví ?"*   {ddoo.29}
ningá   máriya   papá   míímá   o-lí   uuví
VOC   maria.PL   dad.PL   1.child   1-be   where
"Hey, Maria!" "Father." "Where is the child?"

(7.16)   *ǹngá wéyo onoddípúja vaddíddi*   {body.3}
ningá   wéyo   o-ni-o-ddí-púja   vaddíddi
VOC   2SG.PRO   2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-despise   much
'Hey, you are making a fool of me.'

(7.17)   *ǹngá muzógwé oǹrúbw' óóváneéne, ókú banihilímîle*   {semi-elic.}

     ningá muzógwé o-ni-rúbwá ována=éne ókú   ba-ni-hi-lím-île

     VOC   3.rain   3-IPFV.CJ-rain 17.now=INT 17.DEM.I   SEQ-1PL-NEG-cultivate-PFV

     'Hey! See how it has been raining these days, whereas we did not cultivate.' (they wish they
     had cultivated now that it is finally raining)

In (7.15), the vocative is further attested by the predicative tone lowering displayed on
Máriya (*Maríya* in citation form). Note that the H found on the first syllable results from
doubling (see section 3.5.1).

    Interestingly, in case of plural addressee (2.138), *ǹngá* may be followed by the plural
enclitic =*ni*, which usually attaches on verb forms (see section 6.3.8). Still the following
example in (7.19), which clearly involves a single interlocutor, is unexpectedly attested with
the plural enclitic. More examples would thus be needed to better account for the role of
such an encliticisation on *ǹngá*.

(7.18)   *ǹngáni nyúwó eelí Érúgulu, na Máda: , odhúl' úúkó muńlógáwóoní ?*   {body.6}

     ningá=ni   nyúwó   a-ilí   érúgulu   na   máda

     VOC=PLA   2PL.PRO 2-two   7.belly   and 6.hand

     odhúlú   ókó   mu-ní-lógá=wó=ní

     17.céu   17.DEM.II   2PL-IPFV.CJ-speak=17.LOC=what

     'Hey! You two, Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, what are you talking about up there?'

(7.19)   *ǹngán' iísúwódhá dhiǹttúkulééwe cííni ?*   {semi-elic.}

     ningá=ní   esú=wó=dhá   [dhi-ni-ttúkulá=éwe]$_{REL}$ cííni

     VOC=PLA   10.DEM.I=17.LOC=10.DEF   10-IPFV.CJ-take=2SG.PRO   7.COP.what

     'Hey! What is this you're carrying?'

7.1.2   Dependent (phrasal) particles

Three dependent particles exist in Cuwabo, =*vi* 'RESTR', =*to* 'then', and =*no* 'PROX',
discussed in turn below. Beside their dependent status, they have in common to apply on the
phrasal level, with different types of phrase.

7.1.2.1   =*vi* 'RESTRictive'

The dependent particle =*vi* 'RESTRictive' is productively used to restrict the referential
scope of a category and focus exclusively on what is designated. It can be translated as

'only' with entities, and 'just, only' with events or properties. =*vi* mostly modifies nominal (7.20) and verbal (7.21) predicates. In the latter case, the verb forms very often gain a continuative meaning, well rendered by the English expression 'keep V-ing'.

(7.20)   Nouns

    a. *Nikúrábedha ofíy' óofíyilééye om̀fwanyilé baáŕkuvi*   {maria.173}

        N.   ofíyá   [o-fiy-ilé=íye]ᴿᴱᴸ   o-mu-fwany-ilé   baáŕku=**vi**

        D.   15.arrive   15-arrive-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO   1-OM1-meet-PFV.CJ   1a.boat=RESTR

        'Mr.Dugong, hardly had he arrived, met the boat only.'

    b. *maníngw' áaye adhaallé túguví, ńnga náándwe*   {maria.9}

        maníngo   áaye   a-dhaal-ilé   ttúgu=**ví**   nínga   náándwe

        2.body   2.POSS.3SG   2-be.full-PFV.CJ   9a.pimple.PL=RESTR   like   1a.frog

        'her body was full of pimples, like a frog, her body was pale/weak'

    c. *aámóona ńnga múzúgu muzugúví baáhi*   {maria.67}

        a-a-hí-mú-ona   nínga   múzúgu   muzugú=**ví**   baáhi

        2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see   like   1.European   1.European.PL=RESTR   only

        'they had seen her as a white, and only as a white person'

(7.21)   Verbs

    a. *mwaapélíiyé: , kurúmáanj' oónósógóra ónódhówávi, íyééné ónóm̀fwarávi*   {maria.35}

        [mu-ap-él-é=iye]ᴿᴱᴸ   kurúmáanje   ó-ni-ósógólra

        18-pluck-APPL-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO   1a.bee.sp   1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.on

        ó-ni-ódhówá=**vi**   íyééné   ó-ni-ó-mú-fwará=**vi**

        1-IPFV.DJ-15.go=RESTR   3SG.PRO   1-IPFV.DJ -15-OM1-follow=RESTR

        'Now she plucked it, the bee.sp is going on, he going, she following him.'

    b. *Ddóólríndd' óónówííbávi*   {doo.33}

        D.   ó-ni-ó-íbá=**vi**

        D.   1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing=RESTR

        'Ddoolrinddo is still singing (keeps singing)'

    c. *Nikúrábedh' oonááñgánávi wénéwal' oókúl' oodhúlu*   {maria.160}

        N.   o-ní-áñgáná=**vi**   wénéwale   ókúle   odhúlu

        D.   1-IPFV.CJ-look=RESTR   1.EDEM.III   17.DEM.III   17.top

        'Mr.Dugong is only looking above (keeps looking)'

Beside nouns and verbs, adverbial constituents may also be modified by =*vi*, as the following examples illustrate.

(7.22) Adverbs

    a. *aagíláatí vamodháávi góddógoddo*   {maria.85}

      a-hi-gíláatí   va-modhá＝**vi**   góddó-goddo

      2-PFV.DJ-sit   16-one＝RESTR   IDEO-RED

      'they sat all together'

    b. *balámé s' oocéná vañgóónôvi*   {elic.}

      balámé   sa   océná   vañgóónô＝**vi**

      10a.bird 10.COP.CON 15.be.white   16.little＝RESTR

      'the birds are not very white' (são pouco brancos)

   ＝*vi* is toneless but may bear a H tone from doubling (7.20)c, or when pronounced at the end of a prosodic unit (7.20)b.

7.1.2.2   *=to* 'then'

The particle ＝*to*, far less recurrent than ＝*vi* 'RESTR', encodes sentence linkage and can be translated as 'then'. It always appears on the first constituent of the clause in which it occurs, be it a personal pronoun (7.23), a demonstrative pronoun (7.24), an adverb (7.25), the independent particle *peéno* (7.26), the conjunction *nooná* 'hence' (7.27), or a verb (7.28). No example of ＝*to* following a noun was attested in my database.

(7.23) Personal pronoun

    a. *(kayíyó mwáha!) míyóto ddiḿfúná ddimúzíwé múnánddaágâya*   {maria.111}

    míyó＝**to**   ddi-ní-fúná   ddi-mú-zíw-é   múnánddi＝ágâ＝ya

    1SG.PRO＝then 1SG-IPFV.DJ-want   1SG-1-know-SBJ 1.co-wife＝POSS.1SG＝DEF

    '(No problem!) Then I want to know my co-wife.'

    b. *kaavó/kaawó óḿfuná gúw' ééji ? míyotó ddínótáya*   {semi-elic.}

    kahi＝vó   [ó-ní-funá   gúwó   éji]_{REL}

    NEG.COP＝16.LOC 1-IPFV.CJ-want 9.cloth 9.DEM.I

    míyo＝**tó**   ddí-ni-ótáya

    1SG.PRO＝then 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.tear

    'no one wants this cloth? Then, I am tearing it'

(7.24) Demonstrative pronoun

    ápató kaval' íísavi mugahídhów' oomusiká: , kamunááje   {semi-elic.}

    ápa＝**tó**   ka-va-lí   ésavi   mu-ga-hí-dhówa o-musiká   ka-mu-náá-j-e

    16.DEM.I＝then NEG-16-be 9.relish 2PL-SIT-NEG-go 17-3.market NEG-2PL-FUT-eat-IRR

    'here then, there is no relish, if you do not go to the market, you will not eat'

(7.25)   Adverb

    a. *baahito ddidhów' úuvi ?*   {maria.57}

       baahi = **to**   ddi-dhów-é   uuvi

       enough = then   1SG-go-SBJ   where

       'But then, where shall I go?'

    b. *"iiii, náadat' óonwaáláv' aánááyíma"*   {mbílri.38}

       hiii   náda = **tó**   o-ni-á-láva   áná-áyíma

       INTER   no = then   2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM2-curse 2.child-2.child

       '[excl.], then not this way, you are going to bring curse on the children'

(7.26)   Independent particle *peéno* 'WOND'

    áá, peénóto, míyó ddiímwóoná   {ddoo.19}

    áá   peénó = **to**   míyó   ddi-hí-mú-oná

    INTER   WOND = then   1SG.PRO   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-see

    'Ahh, I do not know, was I supposed to see her?'

(7.27)   Conjunction *nooná* 'hence'

    noonátó báddihídháawo   {semi-elic.}

    nooná = **tó**   bá-ddi-hí-dhá = wo

    hence = then   SEQ-1SG-NEG-come = 17.LOC

    'that's why I did not come'

(7.28)   Verb

    kadhánáto mkwáágá:ya óddo [...] ǹdhé nimóône   {maria.118}

    ka-dhá = ná = **to**   mukwáágá = ya   óddo   ni-dh-é   ni-mú-ôn-e

    IMP-go = COM = then   1.friend.POSS.1SG = DEF 1.DEM.II 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-OM1-see-SBJ

    'bring then that friend of mine [...] so that we see her'

This last example is interesting in that = *to* follows the comitative formative = *na*, which confirms the verbal enclitic status of the latter.

7.1.3   Agreeing clitics

7.1.3.1   = *ya* 'DEFinite'

As many Bantu languages, Cuwabo does not have grammaticalised definite and indefinite articles as English for instance. This means that the bare noun *múyaná* in Cuwabo can be found in contexts that in other languages would require a further (morphological)

specification depending on the interpretation meant, either definite ('the woman'), indefinite ('a woman'), or generic ('woman'). Nonetheless, it appears that some type of determiner is used in Cuwabo to identify an entity and impart definiteness to it, by means of a specific particle cliticised to the right edge of the entity to be defined. This definite enclitic is composed of the formative *-a* preceded by an agreeing prefix, but in a somewhat inconsistent way, since the agreement in class is only respected in half of the classes, namely classes 4-5-9-10-15-16-17-18. The remaining classes all exhibit a default particle *ya*, corresponding to class 9 agreement. Although the definite particle is formally similar with the connective relator *-a*, it cannot be considered as connective-derived, since their agreement patterns differ, as the full paradigm presented in Table 42 shows.

Table 42   Definite particles

Person/Class	DEF	CON
1sg	míyô=ya	
2sg	wéyô=ya	
3sg	íyééné=ya	
1pl	íyô=ya	
2pl	nyúwô=ya	
3pl	áwééné=ya	
1	mwááná=ya	wa
2	ááná=ya	a
3	murí=ya	wa
4	mirí=dha	dha
5	ńzáyí=na	na
6	mázáyí=ya	a
9	élóbó=ya	ya
10	dhílóbó=dha	dha
14	ógóógó=ya	wa
15	ópâ=wa	wa
16	valúlî=va	va
17	odhúlû=wa	wa
18	munddúnî=mwa	mwa

In narrative texts, the definite clitics occur in noun phrases whose referents have previously been mentioned or are assumed to be shared knowledge further evidenced by the context. Note that in Portuguese, my main consultant Sérgio usually translates the definite enclitic by the possessive expression *dele* (contracted from *de ele*), meaning literally 'of he' or 'of him'. This anaphoric function is particularly clear when the definite marker follows a noun, as in (7.29). In (7.29)a, for instance, the boss with a European appearance (*múzúgúya*),

interpreted by the protagonist character Maria, has a central role in the story, and has thus already been introduced in the preceding sentences. In (7.29)b, the day (*síkúna*) of the departure is not specifically pre-mentioned but we know from the context that an expedition to the sea has been planned.

(7.29)   Noun phrase

    a. *múzúgúy' oódd' úńníkosá íyo dhaáyi, ba aani ?*   {maria.83}

múzúgú=**ya**	óddú	[o-ní-ní-kosá	íyo	dhaáyi]_{REL}	ba	aani
1.European=DEF	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1PL-do	1PL.PRO	like.this.I	2.COP	who

'this white person who treats us like this, who is she?

    b. *alóófíyá síkúna ńttlíle*   {maria.143}

a-lé-ófíyá	síkú=**na**	ńttíle
2-CE-15.arrive	5.day=5.DEF	5.DEM.III

'they reached that day'

    c. *vatákúlúva ápá waálívo ba aani ?*   {maria.127}

va-tákúlú=**va**	ápá	[o-á-lí=vo]_{REL}	ba	aani
16-9a.house=16.DEF	16.DEM.I	1-PST.IPFV-be=16.LOC	2.COP	who

'who was in this house?'

Interestingly, beside nouns, the definite enclitics also mark other types of constituents, such as personal pronouns (7.30), demonstrative pronouns (7.31), and possessives (7.32), i.e. elements that typically encode referential definiteness. In this respect, the presence of the definite might appear to be a superfluous addition from a semantic viewpoint. The reason for such a redundancy is difficult to determine. Note for that matter that no diachronic source for the definite as an enclitic is established. Presumably, in these cases, the definite conveys an additional determiner-like function with an emphasis purpose.

(7.30)   Personal pronouns

    Maríyá agaañgáná : "mééyá ddilú ?".   {maria.124}

M.	a-gaa-áñgáná	míyó=**yá**	ddi-lí	uuvi
M.	1-SIT-look	1SG.PRO=DEF	1SG-be	where

'Maria, when she looked : Where am I ?'

(7.31)   Demonstrative pronouns

    a. *shá:! ńng' óddíy' oońddúkuwélá ba aaníí: ?*   {páaká.6}

shá	ningá	óddú=**ya**	[o-ní-ddí-kuwélá]_{REL}	ba	aani
INTER	VOC	1.DEM.I=DEF	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call	2.COP	who

'but who is this one calling me?'

b. *ōk' úúk' waadhowílííh' úulíma*   {maria.78}

ōkú=**wa**	óku	[o-a-dhow-ílé=íhú	olíma]_{REL}
17.DEM.I=17.DEF	17.DEM.I	17-PST-go-PFV.REL=1PL.PRO	15.cultivate

'there where we have been cultivating'

(7.32)   Possessives

múzúgw' ééhuy' oologilé wíí [...]   {maria.78}

múzúgu	wééhu=**ya**	o-log-ilé	wíí
1.boss	1.POSS.1PL=DEF	1-say-PFV.CJ	CMP

'our boss asked for [us to go on Saturday, father, you mother, us, to go there]'

In case of 3rd person pronoun subjects, the definite clitics allow marking the distinction between co-referential and non-referential subjects, and thus avoid ambiguity of interpretation. For instance, whereas the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the one in the the main clause in (7.33)a, in (7.33)b, *íyéénéya* '3SG.PRO=DEF' receives a definite specification so that it is distinguished from the subject of the preceding clause.

(7.33)   a. *íyééné ologilé wíí onoódha*   {elic.}

íyééné	o-log-ilé	wíí	o-ni-ódha
3SG.PRO	1-say-PFV.CJ	CMP	1-IPFV.DJ-15.come

'he_i said that he_i will come'

b. *íyééné ologilé wíí íyéénéya onoódha*   {elic.}

íyééné	o-log-ilé	wíí	íyééné=**ya**	o-ni-ódha
3SG.PRO	1-say-PFV.CJ	CMP	3SG.PRO=DEF	1-IPFV.DJ-15.come

'he said that she will come'

Finally adjectives (7.34) and infinitive verbs (7.35) can host this clitic provided they are the last word of a NP marked for definiteness.

(7.34)   Adjectives

a. *dhińdéeyíná dha déréétúdhá*   {mbílri.9}

[dhi-ní-dhá=iyé=ná	dha	déréétú=**dhá**]_{REL}
10-IPFV.CJ-go=3SG.PRO=COM	10.CON	good=10.DEF

'the good things he brings'

b. *bagáfuná wííl' áaziwé bá aaní ońjá dha paámâdha*   {mbílri.10}

ba-gá-funá	wíílá a-ziw-é	ba	aaní	[o-ní-já	dha	paámâ=**dha**]_{REL}
SEQ.1-SIT-want	CMP 1-know-SBJ	2.COP	who	1-IPFV.CJ-eat	10.CON	good=10.DEF

'he started investigating to know who keeps eating the tasty part'

(7.35)   Verbs

    a. *baakalá: w' oonyákúwaya, waábulélá vaddíddí*   {maria.6}

ba-a-kalá	wa	onyákúwa = ya	o-a-hí-bulélá	vaddíddí
SEQ-1-be	1.CON	15.be.dirty = DEF	1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.sick	much

        'she was dirty (pale/weak) and always got sick'

    b. *mwánága wa náwóraarú dd' oolápáya*   {elic.}

mwánága	wa	ná-ó-o-raarú	ddi-a	olápá = ya
1.child.POSS.1SG	1.CON	PFX-14-1-three	1.COP-CON	15.be.tall = DEF

        'my third child is the tallest one'

7.1.3.2   *=ene* 'INTensive'

The enclitic *=ene* 'INT' has an intensive meaning and can be translated in English as 'very', 'exact' or 'really'. Similarly to the definite clitic *=ya*, analysed above, the intensifier *=ene* respects a specific agreement system *vis-à-vis* the constituent it attaches to. As Table 43 illustrates, *=ene* is in fact a cliticised version of the independent intensifier form *wéene*, which also takes an agreement marker. Both independent and cliticised forms are well attested in the language.

Table 43   Intensifying particles/clitics

Person/Class	Noun + full form	Noun = ene	AGR.oté = ene
1sg	míyo wéene	míyééne	wooté = êne
2sg	wéyo wéene	wéyééne	wooté = êne
3sg	íyééne wéene	íyénééne	wooté = êne
1pl	íyo wéene	-	nooté = êne
2pl	nyúyo wéene	nyúwééne	mooté = êne
3pl	áwééne wéene	áwénééne	ooté = êne
1	múyáná wéene	múyánééne	wooté = êne
2	áyáná wéene	áyánéêne	ooté = êne
3	múri wéene	mwiréêne	wooté = êne
4	míri dhéene	mirídhêne	dhooté = dhêne/êne
5	ńzayi néene	ńzáyínêne	nooté = êne
6	mázayi wéene	mázáyééne	ooté = êne
9	élóbo wéene	élóbwééne	yooté = êne
10	dhílóbo dhéene	dhílóbódhêne	dhooté = dhêne/êne
14	olíbo wéene	olíbwééne	wooté = êne
15	ója wéene	ópáwene	wooté = wêne/êne
16	vatí véene	vatívêne	vooté = vêne/êne
17	odhúlu wéene	odhúlúwene	wooté = wêne/êne
18	munddúni mwéene	munddúnímwene	mwooté = mwêne/êne

Note that the clitic *= ene* triggers the idiosyncratic phonological modifications studied in section 2.4.

In the process of encliticisation, the original full form of the intensifier loses one mora, exactly the same way as was observed with possessive encliticisation (see section 3.3.2.1). When the head noun involves a noun class prefix made of a single vowel (classes 1-2-3-6-9-14-15-17), the vowel-initial agreement prefix *o-* in *wéene* gets deleted and a resyllabification process occurs between the two remaining vowels. In (7.36), *dīlééne* 'the very way' is the surface form of *dīlá + ene*.

(7.36) *kurúmáanje: odhowilé diléén' eéjíle yoonyákûwa*   {maria.31}

      kurúmáanje   o-dhow-ilé   **dilá = éne**   éjíle   ya   onyákûwa

      1a.bee.sp   1-go-PFV.CJ   9a.path.PL = INT 9.DEM.III   9.CON   15.be.dirty

      'The bee.sp went into that dirty path.'

Note that in case of fast speech, the output of the vowel sequence may be reduced to a short as in (7.37).

(7.37)   *oórómá íyééne múúnyéné: ówélâvo*   {mbílri.16}

     o-hí-rómá   íyééne   **múúnyá = éné**   ówélâ = vo

     1-PFV.DJ-start   3SG.PRO   1.owner = INT   15.climb = 16.LOC

     'as the boss, started to climb onto it'

Conversely, the consonant-initial agreement prefixes (*dhi-* in classes 4 and 10, *ni-* in class 5, *va-* in class 16, and *mu-* in class 18) are preserved, but the following long vowel gets reduced. Compare the full intensive form (7.38) with the cliticised intensive form in (7.39).

(7.38)   *díla dhííń' dhéené: , oshága onoḿpémbelríha múttu, mwiilábôni*   {mute.23}

     díla   dhí-ínjí   **dhéené**   oshága   o-ni-o-mú-pémbelr-íh-a

     10a.time 10-many   10.INT   14.smartness   14-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-be.fair-CAUS-Fi

     múttu   mu-elábô = ni

     1.people   18-9.society = LOC

     'cleverness often benefits man in our society'

(7.39)   *Nikúrábedha síkúnéne ńttó oódha*   {maria.105}

     N.   **síkú = néne**   ńttó   o-hí-dha

     D.   5.day = 5.INT   5.DEM.II   1-PFV.DJ-come

     'Mr.Dugong came that very day'

Several constituents may obtain an emphatic reading by suffixation of the intensifier *= ene* 'INT', ranging from nouns, demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, adverbs, personal pronouns, and infinitive verbs. Each category is exemplified in turn.

(7.40)   Nouns

    a. *wéyó: oḿfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo*   {maria.25}

       wéyó   o-mú-fwár-eg-e   kurúmáanje = éne   óddo

       2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ 1a.bee.sp = INT   1.DEM.II

       'follow this very bee.sp.'

    b. *Maríya mikálélo dhaálíiyé: kayíyó dh' oorúméelo wííl' áálígi Mariyeen' oólle* {maria.89}

       maríya   mikálélo   [dhi-á-lí = iyé]_REL   kahíyó   dha   orúméela

       maria   4.way   4-PST.IPFV-be = 3SG.PRO   NEG.COP   4.CON   15.believe

       wíílá   o-á-lígí   mariya = ene   ólle

       CMP   1-PST.IPFV-be.HAB   maria = INT   1.DEM.III

       'the way maria was could not make one believes that she really was that Maria'

(7.41)   Demonstratives

    a. *ejúwéene baáhí, íyó ninódhôwa*   {maria.142}

ejí	**wéene**	baáhí	íyó	ni-ni-ódhôwa
9.DEM.I	INT	only	1PL.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go

        'if these are the conditions, we will go'

    b. *ókwééné "sií, Ddoolrínddo, ǹdhów' óóttólóni ǹdhówé náfûle."*   {ddoo.10}

ókú=**éné**	sií	D.	ni-dhów-é	o-ttóló=ni	ni-dhów-é	ni-á-fûl-e
1.DEM.I=INT	INTER	D.	1PL-go-SBJ	17-well=LOC	1PL-go-SBJ	1PL-IT-wash-SBJ

        'At this very moment : "Sii, Ddoolrinddo, let's go to the well, let's go and do the laundry."'

    c. *kakúnúulani kómídá: , ofwanyilémó dhayéêne*   {páaká.27}

ka-kúnúula=ni	kómíídá	o-fwany-ilé=mó	dhaayí=**êne**
IMP-uncover=PLA	9a.food	1-meet-PFV.CJ=18.LOC	like.this.I=INT

        'when he uncovered the food (lit. 'uncover the food'), he found it like this'

(7.42)   Possessives

    pa vénéw' óokosííyé masárápitt' ááyeén' áábo   {mbílri.18}

pa	vénéwó	[va-á-kosá=íyé	masárápitti	ááye=**éné**	ábo]REL
16.COP	16.PRO.DEM.II	16-PST.CJ-do=3SG.PRO	6.magic	6.POSS.3SG=INT	6.DEM.II

    'it is there that he decided to make that magic of his.'

(7.43)   Quantifier

    ǹníngó neetéêne kaneéddíle víína, ǹlógúnáǹtí   {body.14}

ǹníngó	ni-eté=**êne**	ka-ni-édd-íle	víína	ni-lé-ógúnáǹtí
5.body	5-all=INT	NEG-5-walk-PFV	too	5-CE-15.lie.down

    'the whole body no longer worked (walked), it kept on sleeping'

(7.44)   Adjectives

    a. *ató waáfíya yúúmó énddímúwéêne*   {mute.3}

até	o-á-fíya	yúúmó	é-nddímúwá=**êne**
until	1-PST.IPFV.DJ-arrive	9.age	9-big=INT

        'she eventually got older'

    b. *yéén' uúkómésááru wuúndda ya déréétwééne vaddíddi*   {mbílri.40}

íyééne	o-hí-kómésáári	wuúndda	ya	déréétú=**éne**	vaddíddi
3SG.PRO	14-PFV.DJ-begin	15.cry	9.CON	well=INT	much

        'she began to cry for real'

(7.45)   Adverbs

kudhówíl' oók' óóváneéne ?   {maria.110}

ku-dhów-íle   ókú   óváno = **éne**
NEG.2SG-go-PFV   17.DEM.I   now = INT

'have you not just left right now?'

(7.46)   Personal pronouns

akála ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúwe   {mbílri.21}

akala   ddi   míyó = **ene**   ósálu   óbú   o-patúw-e
if   1.COP   1SG.PRO = INT   14.thread   14.DEM.I   14-break-SBJ

'if it is me, make this thread break'

(7.47)   Verbs

a. *ońddíshatiyaarélecéené dhayééne, ońbáálá dháaví ?*   {páaká.17}
[o-ní-ddí-shatiyaari-el-éc = **ếné**   dhaayí = éne]REL   o-ní-báálá   dháaví
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-annoy-APPL-DUR = INT   like.this.I = INT   1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth   how

'this one annoying me like this, how does it give birth?'

b. *wéyó ońkálél' oójá wééne*   {body.4}
wéyó   o-ni-kál-él-a   ójá   **wééne**
2SG.PRO   2-IPFV.CJ-remain-APPL-Fi   15.eat   15.INT

'you keep eating'

c. *ddabunó: ósál' uúpátúwawene verdáádi*   {mbílri.41}
ddabunó   ósálu   o-hí-pátúwa = **wene**   verdáádi
then   14.thread   14-PFV.DJ-break = 14.INT   really

'and then the thread broke for real'

The quantifier *oté* (or *eté*) is almost systematically followed by the intensifier clitic, in which case the agreement prefixes on the intensifier become optional as shown in Table 43 and exemplified in (7.48). This suggests that the different forms of agreement displayed by the clitic tend to neutralise in this environment.

(7.48)   *dhílóbo dhootédhêne / dhootééne*
dhílóbo   dhi-oté = **dhêne**   /   dhi-oté = **êne**
10.thing   10-all = 10.INT   10-all = INT
'all the things'

Note that a few monomorphemic forms ending in = *ene*, such as *íyééne* 'he', *áwééne* 'they', *cibaarééne* 'for real' (7.49), *ebéwéene* 'vainly', suggest that the clitic = *ene*

underwent a process of lexicalisation. Although such words are easily segmentable, it seems that the clitics *=ene* got totally incorporated since the roots are never found on their own[42].

(7.49)   *áttw' áánótíba, ánótíba, ánótíba. cibaaréén' ahímfwanyā Ddóólrínddo*   {ddoo.34}

áttu	á-ni-ótíba	**cibaarééne**	a-hí-mú-fwanyā	D.
2.people	2-IPFV.DJ-15.dig.out	for.real	2-PFV.DJ-OM1-meet	D.

'people dug out, dug out. And for real they met Ddoolrinddo.'

Table 44 aims to compare the class agreement system applied on the intensifier clitic (column 2) and the definite clitic (column 3), as well as the connective, given only as an indication.

Table 44   Comparison of agreement system on clitics

Person/Class	INT	DEF	CON
1sg	=ene	=ya	
2sg	=ene	=ya	
3sg	=ene	=ya	
1pl	=ene	=ya	
2pl	=ene	=ya	
3pl	=ene	=ya	
1	=ene	=ya	wa
2	=ene	=ya	a
3	=ene	=ya	wa
4	=dhêne	=dha	dha
5	=ene	=na	na
6	=ene	=ya	a
9	=ene	=ya	ya
10	=dhêne	=dha	dha
14	=ene	=ya	wa
15	=wêne	=wa	wa
16	=vêne	=va	va
17	=wêne	=wa	wa
18	=mwêne	=mwa	mwa

---

[42] Note that the form *=iye* is attested as the cliticised version of the personal pronoun *íyééne* '3SG.PRO', but in a very specific environment, namely on the verbs of non-subject relatives (see section 10.1.3).

7.2   Adverbs

Adverbs are invariable modifiers and form a small word class. They are canonically used as predicate modifiers, but may also have a wider scope on the entire clause. Cuwabo has a limited number of underived adverbs. Other adverbs also behave as morphologically simple (i.e. are non-segmentable synchronically), but reveal internal morphological structure, which now have to be considered as fossilised. Most are formed by means of the locative noun class prefixes, attached to nominal stems. In this section, those which coincide with locatives are presented in the lists, but not discussed in further detail, since they have already been dealt with in section 4.1.8, on nominal morphology.

According to their semantic functions, five categories of adverbs may be distinguished, being related to time, place, manner, degree, and epistemic aspect. For ease of presentation, each semantically-related category is discussed in turn.

7.2.1   Adverbs related to time

Cuwabo has both underived (7.50)a and derived (7.50)b time-related adverbs. In the second case, derivation is made by means of the locative class prefixes. As extensively discussed in section 4.1.8, these prefixes typically convey adverbial notions, linked with time and location. While half of the resulting adverbs are derived from verb stems, the others got lexicalised and are thus no longer segmentable.

(7.50)   Time-related adverbs

a. *agóra*   'now/then'
   cípo   'never'
   ddabuno   'today/then'
   nzílo   'yesterday'
   mángwáána   'tomorrow'
   dáayo   'the next day'
   naváno   'still, till now'
   ńgámála   'after, then'

b. *vaáya*   'early in the morning'   ▸ verb *óya*   'rise (sun)'
   valeló   'finally'
   voomágúvavéene 'then, at this moment'   ▸ verb *waágûva* 'hurry up'
   wíílí   'again'   ▸ numeral *-elí* 'two'
   omáró mélo   'at the beginning'   ▸ verb *óromá*   'begin, start'

omágómélo	'at the end'	▶	verb *ógomá*	'finish, stop'
oso(n)gólro	'next, in the future'	▶	verb *osógôlra*	'go on, continue'
mwaawonó	'this year'			

The subsequent examples illustrate the use of some of the adverbs listed in (7.50). As can be observed, they most often appear clause-initially.

(7.51) *cípó kaninágúlâga mafugi*   {elic.}

cípó   ka-ni-ná-gúl-âg-a   mafugi

never   NEG-1PL-CE-buy-HAB-Fi   6.banana.PL

'never have I bought bananas'

(7.52) *órómáná ddabunó: , par' oosogólro kaddinuúttébaani*   {body.9}

órómá=ná   **ddabunó**   para   **osogólro**   ka-ddi-ni-ú-ttéba=ni

15.start=COM   today   to   17.future   NEG-OM1SG-IPFV-OM2SG-carry=PLA

'from now on, I am not carrying you anymore'

(7.53) *mángwáâna! míyó ǹnódhána múnânddo*   {maria.112}

mángwáâna   míyó   ni-ni-ódhá=na   múnânddo

tomorrow   1SG.PRO   1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come=COM   1.co-wife.POSS.2SG

'tomorrow! I will bring your co-wife'

(7.54) *múréddáya navánó kanávúlumuwa*   {elic.}

múréddá=ya   **navánó**   ka-ná-vúlumuwa

1.patient=DEF   still   NEG.1-CE-recover

'the patient has not cured yet'

(7.55) *ohúúńlá wíilí*   {elic.}

o-hí-úńlá   **wíilí**

1-PFV.DJ-cry   again

'he cried again'

The adverbs *agóra* 'now/then' (from Portuguese *agora*) and *ddabuno* 'today/then' have a wider semantic range than the English words for 'now' and 'today', as they may refer to a wider time frame meaning 'nowadays', or be used as discourse connectors, expressing 'then'. This semantic array is exemplified in (7.56) with the adverb *ddabuno*. Note the fossilised presence of the formative =*no*, which constitutes otherwise a productive morpheme of proximity with demonstratives (see section 5.2).

(7.56)   Use of *ddabuno* 'today/then'

a. Present reference

ji gáhál' éémfúnééh' úutágíha íyó ddabuno vénêva   {mbílri.6}

ji	gáhálá	[e-ní-fúná=íhu	otágíha	íyó	**ddabuno**	vénêva]_{REL}
9.COP	9a.story	9-IPFV.CJ-want=1PL.PRO	15.tell	1PL.PRO	today	16.EDEM.I

'this is the story we want to tell here today'

b. Present reference to wider time frame ('nowadays')

ddabunó Maríya vatákúlú váaye muttu w'ookálá vaddíddí: , ddabunó ónólábúwa {maria.65}

ddabunó	M.	va-tákúlú	váaye	muttu	wa	okálá	vaddíddí
today	M.	16-9a.house	16.POSS.3SG	1.people.PL	1.CON	15.be	much

ddabunó	ó-ni-oláb-úw-a
today	1-IPFV.DJ-work-PASS-Fi

'today Maria, in her house, is a self-made person, today she is a boss' (people work for her)

c. discourse connector

ddabun' óósál' uúkómésáar' oodéba   {mbílri.30}

ddabunó	ósálu	o-hí-kómésáari	odéba
then	14.thread	14-PFV.DJ-begin	15.weaken

'then the thread began to weaken'

The temporal adverb *mwaawono* 'this year' constitutes a fossilised form, whose origin may stem from the class 3 word *mwaaka* 'year', attested in many Eastern Bantu languages. In Cuwabo, we know that PB *k has a null reflex. An epenthetic glide may have then been inserted. *mwaawono* is contextually illustrated in (7.57), in which a prosodic boundary H tone is present on the proximity suffix =*no*.

(7.57)   *mwaawonó kaddińdhów' óólima*   {semi-elic.}

mwaawono	ka-ddi-ní-dhówá	ólima
this.year	NEG-1SG-IPFV-go	15.cultivate

'this year, I am not going to cultivate'

Cuwabo counts a few adverbial forms ending with the formative *no*, e.g. *ddabuno* 'today, then', *mwaawono* 'this year', *navano* 'still, until now'. Although these words are synchronically non-segmentable (since a lexical base without *no* is not attested), it is likely that the formative *no* is historically the clitics of proximity, which has since then lexicalised. In fact, the formative *no* can be isolated morphologically only in the context of the demonstrative system (see section 5.2).

7.2.2   Adverbs related to location

Adverbs of location are all originally derived from forms including locative class prefixes, as can be seen in (7.58). In most cases, lexicalisation took place. In others, the morphological structure is more transparent, and the derived noun or verb is still attested in the language.

(7.58)   Location-related adverbs

vaári	'in the middle, between'			
vakúkúuví	'near, around'			
vákûvi	'near, around'			
vatákûlu	'at home'	> noun *tákûlu*	'home'	
vatí	'down, on the ground'			
oddúni	'behind'	> noun *éddûni*	'back'	
oso(n)gólro	'in front of'			
otákûlu	'outside'	> noun *tákûlu*	'home'	
owââni	'at home, birth place'			
omáddóówélo	'in the west, occident'	> verb *óddóówéla*	'(sun) set'	
omadhéélo	'in the east, orient'	> verb *odhééla*	'come to'	
edhúlúdhulu	'in the north'			
omóónóní wa mára	'on the left'			
omóónóní w' oója	'on the right'			
waáddámela	'near'	> verb *wááddáma*	'be neighbour'	
ḿba	'inside, at home'			
mucíddo	'at the bottom'	> noun *cíddo*	'stamping'	
mwaáno	'in the mouth'			
mwaári	'into, inside'			

Several examples of locative adverbs are provided in section 4.1.8 where they are more extensively discussed. Note that unlike temporal adverbs, locative adverbs are usually placed after the verb they modify.

The cardinal directions 'east' and 'west' are derived from verbs referred to the sun activity, especially *óddóówéla* '(sun) set'. As in many Bantu languages, the expressions 'on the left' and 'on the right' correspond to connective constructions semantically linked with cultural uses performed by the arm or the hand, *móonó*. This is particularly true in Cuwabo with the right hand, used to eat, hence the set phrase *móónó wa ója* to express 'right', translated literally as 'hand of eating'. It is however more difficult to account for the expression *móónó wa mára*, used for 'left'. No obvious semantic link can be done with the word *mára* 'saliva'. In fact, my consultants all confirmed that this is a different meaning, but

could not think of a different environment in which the present word *mára* could apply. This unexpected noun thus seems to be strictly used in the set phrase for 'left'. Such constructions are commonly used as adverbs, in which case *móonó* is formally embedded into locative affixes (class 17 *o-* and locative clitic *=ni*), as shown in (7.59).

(7.59) *mwáán' óógilaatilé: omóónóni w' oójá: wa báâbi*   {elic.}
      mwááná o-gilaati-ilé o-móónó=ni   wa   ójá   wa   báâbi
      1.child   1-sit-PFV.CJ   17-3.arm=LOC 3.CON 15.eat 3.CON 1a. father
      'the child is sitting at his father's left side'

vaári 'in the middle, between' and *mwaári* 'into, inside' may be fully reduplicated, in which case the long vowel is reduced, and the first reduplicant becomes toneless, as shown in (7.60). This reduplication has the semantic effect of emphasising or intensifying the meaning of the original adverb.

(7.60) *érúgúlú ddíma yááhe, y' oójá, bagaágáwela: mwaarimwáári*   {body.22}
      érúgúlú ddíma yááhe   ya   ójá   ba-gaá-gáw-el-a   **mwaari-mwáári**
      9.belly 9a.task 9.POSS.3SG 9.CON 15.eat SEQ.1-SIT-share-APPL-Fi 18.inside-RED
      'Mr.Belly's task is to eat and share inside' (for the organs)

7.2.3 Adverbs related to manner

Adverbs of manner, listed in (7.61), indicate in which way things are performed.

(7.61) Manner-related adverbs
    paáma   'well'
    dereétu   'well'   < from Portuguese *direito*
    yooví   'in vain, for free'
    dhaáyi   'like this'

An example of each is provided in the following sentences.

(7.62) *mángwáána ddigaavenya paáma ddinódhówá muttátti*   {semi-elic.}
      mángwáána ddi-gaa-venya **paáma** ddi-ni-ódhówá   muttátti
      tomorrow   1SG-SIT-wake up well   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.go 3.swamp
      'tomorrow if I wake up well, I am going to the swamp'

(7.63)   *vatákúlúvaw' aánója dereétú*   {maria.13}

va-tákúlú = vawa   á-ni-oja   **dereétú**

16-9a.home = 16.POSS.3PL   2-IPFV.DJ-15.eat   well

'at home, they eat well'

(7.64)   *munddíváanyela yooví kaddaajíle*   {semi-elic.}

mu-ni-ddí-váany-el-a   **yooví**   ka-ddi-a-j-íle

2RESP-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-contest-APPL-Fi   in.vain   NEG-1SG-PST-eat-PFV

'you are arguing with me in vain, I did not eat'

(7.65)   *weééba dhááyi*   {mbílri.20}

o-á-íba   **dhááyi**

1-PST.IPFV.CJ-sing   like.this.I

'he was singing this way'

Note that *dhaáyi* 'like this' is related to demonstrative morphology with series I, II, III (see section 5.2).

A productive way of creating adverbs of manner is by combining the class 16 prefix *va-* (and optionally the locative clitic =*ni*) to infinitive forms, as exemplified in (7.66).

(7.66)   a. *dhiíb' éésó ttaaró dhóolápa dhirimeeÌlé vóorúrúmuca wéêne/véêne*   {elic.}

dhiíbá   ésó   ttaaró   dhá   olápa   dhi-rimeel-ilé

10.hoe   10.DEM.II   10.three   10.CON   15.be.tall   10-disappear-PFV.CJ

vá-orúrúmuca   wéêne

16-15.surprise   15.INT

'these three long hoes suddenly disappeared'

b. *ējó ebuleeÌlé vóotíkíniyani véêne*   {elic.}

ējó   e-buleel-ilé   **vá-otíkíniya = ni**   véêne

9.DEM.II   9-get.ill-PFV.CJ   16-15.surprise = LOC   16.INT

'this one got suddenly ill'

7.2.4 Adverbs related to degree

Adverbs of degree (or quantity), listed in (7.67), bring information on the intensity of an event, and describe more precisely to what degree something is done.

(7.67)   Degree-related adverbs
         vaddíddi   'much'
         vañgóóno   'little'
         kakámwe   'totally'

    vaddíddi 'much' and *vañgóóno* 'little' are very commonly attested in Cuwabo. As already seen in section 5.5.4, they may function as noun modifiers, and more particularly quantifiers, when they follow nouns. After verbs, *vaddíddi* 'much' expresses a high degree or amount (7.68). It functions as an intensifier. On the other hand, *vañgóóno* 'little' indicates a weak extent (7.69).

(7.68)   a. *ddabunó maríya vatákúlú váaye muttu w'ookálá vaddíddí: / *dhíínji*   {maria.65}

        ddabunó   maríya   va-tákúlú   váaye   muttu   wa   okálá   **vaddíddí**

        today   maria   16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG 1.people 1.CO   15.be   much

        'today Maria, in her house, is a self-made person'

     b. *[...] mútt' uuńzíwá wííyá vaddíííddi   / *dhíínji*   {maria.136}

        múttu   [o-ní-zíwá   wííyá   **vaddíddi**]REL

        1.person.PL 1-IPFV.CJ-know   15.steal   much

        'someone who steals a lot'

(7.69)   a. *áyím' aábá: awúúnúwa vañgónó vañgónó*   {maria.4}

        áyíma   ábá   a-hí-únúwa   **vañgónó** **vañgónó**

        2.child   2.DEM.I 2-PFV.DJ-grow 16.little   16.little

        'these children grew up little by little'

     b. *balámé s' oocéná vañgóónôvi*   {elic.}

        balámé   si-a   océná   **vañgóónô=vi**

        10a.bird 10.COP-CON   15.be.white 16.little=RESTR

        'the birds are a little white'

    Depending on the context, *vaddíddi* may also express an excessive degree, translated as 'too much', as in (7.70).

(7.70)   *íyééne waáyélúwá vaddíddí ofíyáwa vamúttípóni*   {elic.}

    íyééne   o-a-hí-yélúwá   **vaddíddí**   ofíyá=wa   va-múttípó=ni

    3SG.PRO   1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.late   too.much   15.arrive=15.DEF   16-3.cerimony=LOC

    'he arrived too late to attend the ceremony'

    kakámwe 'totally' expresses an idea of superlative degree.

(7.71)   *múzíyó ohítwéyá kakámwe*   {elic.}

        múzíyó   o-hí-tw-éy-á   **kakámwe**

        3.plate   3-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi   totally

        'the plate is totally broken'

7.2.5   Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs, listed in (7.72), are belief-based adverbs which introduce the speaker's attitude towards the proposition expressed in the sentence. Such adverbs can be assertive, in which case a statement on truth value is asserted (7.73), or non-assertive, when the speaker is questioning the existence of something or making a guess on it, since (s)he is not certain about the truth of the utterance (7.74).

(7.72)   Epistemic adverbs

        a. *cibaaréene*   'really, for real'

        b. *buré*   'maybe, at random'

          cíno   'maybe'

(7.73)   *áttw' áánótíba, ánótíba, ánótíba. cibaaréén' ahímfwanyā Ddóólrínddo.*   {ddoo.34}

        áttu   á-ni-ótíba   **cibaarééne**   a-hí-mú-fwanyā   D.

        2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.dig.out really.INT   2-PFV.DJ-OM1-meet D.

        'People dug out, dug out. And for real they met Ddoolrinddo.'

(7.74)   *ddińdhówá ddéédde baáhí burebúre*   {maria.22}

        ddi-ní-dhówá   ddi-á-édd-e   baáhí   **burebúre**

        1SG-IPFV.CJ-go   1SG-IT-walk-SBJ   only   at.random

        'I am going to walk, at random'

Note that the originally complex word *cibaarééne* is synchronically frozen, i.e. no lexical stem without the intensive clitic =*ene* is attested.

Also recall that possibility or uncertainty is typically expressed by the phrasal particle *peéno* 'WOND', analysed above in section 7.1.1.1.

7.2.6 Other morphemes with adverbial function

The expressions for 'also', 'only', and 'even' are independent words classified as adverbs in many languages. The corresponding Cuwabo forms are listed in (7.75).

(7.75) Other adverbs

 até   'even'
 viína   'too, also'
 baáhi   'just, only'

até 'even' is a Portuguese loan, which typically precedes the verb it modifies, as shown in (7.76).

(7.76) *at' óóceyá: ddíma énddímúwéene*   {mute.15}

até	ó-ceyá	ddíma	é-nddímúwá=ene
even	NAR-sow	9a.plot	9-big=INT

'he even sowed a big plot of land'

After a verb, *viína* 'too' expresses addition (7.77). In association with the suffix *-gúwa*, which has no morphological autonomy and no clear meaning in itself, it adds an idea of repetition, translated in English by 'again' (7.78).

(7.77) *oddíváhe viína ǹjáángara [nińlógélá ...]*_{REL}   {maria.180}

o-ddí-váh-e	**viína**	ǹjáángara
2SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ	too	5.card

'give me too a card [which says ...]'

(7.78) *ddaadhowíl' óoǹvahá mwán[áy]e ńzíná viínágúwa*   {páaká.15}

ddi-a-dhow-ílé	o-mu-vahá	mwánáye	ńzíná	**viíná-gúwa**
1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ	15-OM1-give.PL	1.child.POSS.3SG	5.name	too-again

'I went and gave his child a name again'

baáhi 'only' may modify a noun, in which case it always follows it (7.79), or a (disjoint) verb form, (7.80).

(7.79) *aámóoná ńnga múzúgu muzugúví baáhi*   {maria.67}

a-a-hí-mú-ona	nínga	múzúgu	muzugú=ví	**baáhi**
2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see	like	1.European	1.European.PL=RESTR	only

'they had seen her as a white person, and only as a white person'

(7.80)   *elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwéla bááhi*   {maria.79}

    elóbó=yá   ka-lóg-íle   so   ó-ni-ó-ní-kuwéla   **bááhi**

    9.thing=DEF   NEG.1-say-PFV   but   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call   only

    'she did not say why, she only called us'

7.3 Ideophones

Primarily used in spoken language, ideophones have an expressive or mimetic function, often derived from onomatopoeic notions. An oft-cited definition is the one by Doke (1935: 118), according to whom an ideophone is "[a] vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity."

Ideophones are not to be confounded with interjections. Creissels (2006a: 257) explains that while interjections are used in isolation, ideophones usually participate in the sentence construction. In Cuwabo they basically function as a sub-category of adverbs, commonly attested in conversations or narratives.

The following list of ideophones was mainly provided by my main consultant Sérgio. It is then likely that some of them are pronounced in a different way by other Cuwabo speakers, as ideophones represent a world class greatly subject to variation. It is also understood that this list is far from exhaustive.

ddingí   Symbolises the sound of the guitar

(7.81)   *ddingí mumvírá míyó múnóddáaganyedha*   {ddingí.12}

    ddingí   [mu-ní-vírá   míyó]_{REL}   mú-ni-ó-ddí-áganyedha

    IDEO   18-IPFV.CJ-go   1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-suspect

    "[guitar sound] wherever I go by, you suspect me"

ddóbúróddó: Filling up until it overflows (synonym: *tépútépú*)

dhuwadhúwa   Aimless, with no goal

esáwásawa   Perfectly equal (< Swahili *sawasawa* < Arabic)

elévéleve   Quietly, softly (maybe < Portuguese *leve*)

felúfelúfelú   Sound of the water boiling

gágáwu   On one's back

góddógoddo   Indicates that several people are seated quietly and passively.

(7.82)   *aagíláatí vamodhá:vi góddógoddo*   {maria.85}
    a-hi-gíláatí   va-modhá=vi   **góddó-goddo**
    2-PFV.DJ-sit   16-one=RESTR   IDEO-RED
    'they sat all together'

gulagúla   Crooked, in zigzag (synonyms: *kombanokómbâno*, *pupurupúpûru*, *pootipooti*)

guruwagúrúwa   Quickly (synonym: *kukuttú*)

gwe   'a lot' (synonym: *fwa*)

(7.83)   *Maríy'oolówávahá dhílóbo gwe vaddíddí*   {maria.98}
    Maríya   o-lé-ó-á-vahá   dhílóbo **gwe**   vaddíddí
    Maria   1-CE-15-OM2-give 10.thing IDEO   much
    'Maria gave them many things, they left.'

gwégwêre   Something open (synonym: *gábu* = something completely open)

gwéngwêre   Metallic sound

gúba   'no matter how'

jási   Suddenly, instantaneously (synonyms: *ñganí*, *saddú*, *ttanyú*, *ttuupí*)

jigajigajigajiga   Many standing people waiting for something

kácápwá: Someone totally soaked by the rain (synonym: *kámwá:*)

kápákápá   Indicates a state of exhaustion

(7.84)   *ogwádda mír' íísi ooníttiyá kápákápákápákápá*   {elic.}
    ogwádda mírí ési   o-hi-ní-ttiyá   **kápákápá-kápákápá**
    15.cut   4.tree 4.DEM.I 15-PFV.DJ-OM1PL-leave IDEO-RED
    'cutting these trees made us tired'

kíbiii: Indicates that something fell into the water, translated as 'splash'.

(7.85)   *ommóttéla mmáánjéní kíbííí: !*   {mbílri.42}

      o-hi-mótt-éla   mu-máánjé = ní   **kíbiiii**

      1-PFV.DJ-fall-APPL   18-6.water = LOC   IDEO

      'she fell into the water "splash!" '

kókóró: Sit or kneel to do something in a focused way

konyakónya   Slowly and with pride

kúlûwi   Forever, once for all

kurerekúrêre   Sadly (synonym *kúríjéje*)

kúpááá: Indicates water flowing (used for waves, or water poured on the floor)

(7.86)   *olówííla kúpáááa: vatákúl' aápále va Maríyâ*   {maria.120}

      o-lé-wííla   **kúpáááa**   va-tákúlu   ápále   va   M.

      1-CE-15.do IDEO   16-9a.house   16.DEM.III 16.CON M.

      'he threw water (lit. 'did kupaaa') on Maria's house.'

This example is interesting in that it shows that ideophones have the ability to combine with light verbs, such as *wíílá* 'do, say' in Cuwabo. Thus 'to throw water' is literally expressed by 'to do *kúpááá* '.

kuvilkúvîlu   Frequently

mbwée   Suddenly / peacefully / falling of tear (soundless) / falling of flour

mbwerrrrr   Great quantity (used for people or animals)

pemú   Clapping, sound of the impact of something falling

pwící   Indicates high temperature, great heat (used for sun, water, pan, iron).

rútúu: Designates someone meditative, contemplative

shrrrl   Sound of the water falling down

ttókóó: Being dead drunk (synonym: *cápwárá:*)

tíkíní: Designates someone quiet and focused or concentrated

ttíttíttí   With reduced time intervals

(7.87)   *ttíttítt' uúnóddúkuwéla ttíttítt' uńddúkuweÌlécéeni?*   {páaká.18}

    ttíttíttí   ó-ní-ó-ddí-kuwéla   **ttíttíttí**   o-ní-ddí-kuwel-el-éc-á = éni

    IDEO   1-IPFV.DJ-15-1SG-call   IDEO   1-IPFV.CJ-1SG-call-APPL-DUR-Fi = what

    'Again and again he is calling me, but why is he calling me?'

turiii Spying on

tututú Used to indicate the end of a story

(7.88)   *tutútú, yeéŕlege*   {ddingí.48}

    tutútú   [e-ér-él-eg-e]ᵣₑₗ

    IDEO   9-do-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL

    'end of the story, this is what it did/said'

uffff Sound of a motorboat

(7.89)   *óĺle namáváviya baaŕk' úkúl' agaadhow' óóffff, óttámágíha pāpóór' oóĺle*   {maria.145}

    óĺle   namáváviya   baaŕkú   ókúle   a-gaa-dhowá   **uffff**

    1.DEM.III 1a.pilot   1a.boat.PL 17.DEM.III 1-SIT-go   IDEO

    óttámág-íh-a   pápóóro óĺle

    15.run-CAUS-Fi   1a.boat   1.DEM.III

    'That pilot, going in there 'fffff', making that boat run'

volotto Weakly, without strength

wolololooo Indicates the sound made by the bee

(7.90)   *Kurúmáanj' oódha wolololooo*   {maria.24}

    kurúmáanje   o-hí-dha   wolololooo

    1a.bee.sp   1-PFV.DJ-come   IDEO

    'The bee.sp came 'bzzbzzbzzzz''

yooví In vain (synonym: *záambwi*)

wulrúú: Sound of laughter in surprise

(7.91)   *"hééé! wulrú:! …namárógolo keédh' úceyá ḿbûga*   {mute.17}

    hééé   **wulrú**   namárógolo   ka-ídhi   óceyá   ḿbûga

    INTER IDEO   1a.hare   NEG.1-know 15.sow 3.rice

    "[excl. + laugh], Mr.Hare does not know how to sow rice!""

    As can be seen, many ideophones are reduplicated words, and the number of times of reduplication can vary among speakers and according to the emphasis carried out.

Furthermore, due to their expressive function, ideophones sometimes display exceptional phonological features, which violate the phonotactic constraints of the language. For instance this is the case with *mbwérrrr* (indicates a great quantity), which ends in a consonant, and *shrrrl* (sound of water falling down), which is vowelless.

7.4 Interjections

Interjections form another invariable world category used in direct (and somewhat colloquial) discourse to express a spontaneous emotion. They are syntactically independent from any other sentence constituent, and may in fact appear on their own as whole sentences, as shown in (7.92). Because of their exclamative prosody, I usually indicated a punctuation mark after them.

(7.92)   Interjections in isolation

    a. *Ddabunó pááká oromá : "Hó:!" waakula.*   {pááká.6}

      ddabunó pááká o-romá   **hó**   o-akula

      then   1a.cat NAR-start   INTER   NAR-answer

      'Then Mr.Cat started : Ye! (sound to respond to a call) he answered.'

    b. *waaddikúwéllé, ddi cívéevē." "ííñg!" "Waaddikúwél̀le oná mwánayé: [...]"*   {pááká.10}

      [o-a-ddi-kúwél-ilé]_{REL}   ddi   cívéevé   **ííñg**   o-a-ddi-kúwél-el-e

      1-PST-OM1SG-call-PFV.CJ   1.COP   9a.swallow.sp INTER   1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ

      o-ná   mwánayé

      1-have   1.child.POSS.3SG

      'It is Mr.Bird.sp who called me, you see, it is Mr.Bird.sp who called me.' "Umm?" (Intd. 'What is it?') "He called me because he has a son [...]"

When inserted inside a sentence, these emotive outbursts are not subject to a strict distribution in the sentence, although they are often found at the beginning of a sentence (7.93).

(7.93)   Sentence-initial interjections

    a. *"sísi!, k' uúĺle, óĺlé ki namarogoló [...]"*   {ddingí.19}

      sísi   ku   óĺle   óĺle   ki   namarogoló

      INTER 17.COP   1.DEM.III   1.DEM.III   EMPH   1a.hare.PL

      "Hey! Here it is, that one there is the hare [...]'

b. *"ńddéka! ddiírómʼ óókáána."*   {maria.61}

ńddéka   ddi-hí-rómá   ókáána
INTER   1SG-PFV.DJ-start 15.have
"Yes, it's true! I have begun to receive (have)"

Similarly to ideophones, interjections are sometimes difficult to translate suitably, and they may include words with phonological peculiarities, such as vowelless syllables or consonant-ending syllables.

No attempt is made here at a systematic description of interjections in Cuwabo. The following examples in (7.94) constitute a partial listing of common interjections. Note that some utterance variation exists and a given interjection may be realised in a slightly different way by the same speaker in the same narrative. Whenever some variation was observed, it is indicated.

(7.94)   Common interjections
    ńdde   'yes'
    ńddeka   'yes, it's true' (emphatic positive answer)
    ńne   'no'
    polrepólre!   'be careful!' (< Swahili *polepole*)
    aá?   'waht' (asking for repetition or clarification)
    ííñg   'what is it?'
    sísi   calling someone in a reproving way
    hó!   responding to someone calling
    shiííː / siííː   'good grief, yikes!' (surprise)
    épa   expresses surprise or irritation
    apó!   'really!'
    gwigíwigwi   'God bless you!' (after sneezing)
    baáhi!   'enough!' (< Swahili basi < Arabic)

7.5 Prepositions

Prepositions in Cuwabo constitute a small class of words. Each one is discussed in turn below.

7.5.1   *na* 'and, with, by'

na is one of the few reported prepositions in Bantu languages. It is used to link a verb to a complement noun phrase, conveying a comitative (7.95) or an instrumental (7.96) reading. It usually translates as 'and' or 'with'.

(7.95)   Comitative reading

a. *aavénya na Ddóólrínddó aádhów' óóttólôni*   {ddoo.11}

a-hi-vénya	**na**	D.	a-hí-dhówá	o-ttólô=ni
2-PFV.DJ-go.out	with	D.	2-PFV.DJ-go	17-well=LOC

'they left with Ddoolrinddo and went to the well'

b. *… na kurúmáanj' aay' oóll' aafĩyá:*   {maria.37}

na	kurúmáanje	wáaye	ólle	a-hi-fĩyá
with	1a.bee.sp	1.POSS.3SG	1.DEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-arrive

'together with her bee.sp they arrived'

(7.96)   Intrumental reading

a. *otibuwa n' aahíba*   {ddoo.33}

o-tib-uw-a	**na**	ehíba
NAR-dig.out-PASS-Fi	with	9.hoe

'It was dug out with a hoe.'

b. *áám̀vadá n' uuddúní na músólro n' eégúgúnyó na pottókó na dháálá: …*   {maria.156}

á-á-ni-vadá	**na**	éddûni	**na**	músólro	**na**	égúgúnyó	**na**	pottókó
1-PST-IPFV.DJ-hit	with	9.back	with	3.head	with	9.elbow	with	9a.heel

na	dháálá
with	10.nail

'he was hitting with the back, with the head, with the elbow, with the heel, with the nails'

Note that the verb *oláddâna* 'look like' is obligatorily followed by the preposition *na*, as shown in (7.97).

(7.97)   *múri óbu oǹláddána na múnâzi*   {elic.}

    múri   óbu   **o-ni-láddána**   **na**   múnâzi
    3.tree 3.DEM.I   3-IPFV.CJ-resemble   with   3.tree.sp
    'this tree looks like a *munazi*'

    **múri óbu oǹláddána múnâzi*

After passive verbs forms, an overtly expressed agent is introduced by *na*, but interestingly the presence of the preposition is optional, as indicated in the following examples.

(7.98)   a. *mírí dhínójúwá (na) nyenyéle*   {elic.}

        mírí   dhí-ni-ó-j-úw-á   (**na**)   nyenyéle
        4.tree   4-IPFV.DJ-15-eat-PASS-Fi   by   10a.ant
        'the trees are being eaten by the ants'

    b. *Sitóyí oottíddúwa (na) nyákôko*   {elic.}

        Sitóyí   o-hi-ttídd-úw-a   (**na**)   nyákôko
        Sitoe   3-PFV.DJ-catch-PASS-Fi   by   1a.crocodile
        'Sitoe was caught by the crocodile'

After certain verbs, *na* may indicate a reason and is better translated as 'of', as illustrated in (7.99).

(7.99)   *olóókála mureddá, olóókwá na dála*   {body.16}

        o-lé-ókála   mu-reddá   o-lé-ókwá   **na**   dála
        1-CE-15.stay   1-sick.PL   1-CE-15.die with   9a.hunger
        'he got sick, and died of hunger'

na is further used in temporal expressions to express 'by', as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

(7.100) *Maríyá na maámbéesí agaamala waábá: , odhow' óója*   {maria.102}

        maríyá **na** **maámbéesí** a-gaa-mala   waábá   o-dhowá   o-ja
        maria by 6.morning   1-SIT-finish   15.bathe   1-go.SEQ   1-eat.SEQ
        'In the morning, Maria after bathing, went and ate'

(7.101)   *mwíínyú kuulobá: na mūtáneéne, vohí kúńlóbúwa na mattí:*   {semi-elic.}

mwíínyú   ka-olobá   **na**   **mūtána = éne**   vohí   ku-ní-lób-úw-a
3.salt   CF-15.ask.PL   by   3.noon = INT   because   NEG.2SG-IPFV-ask-PASS-Fi

na   matti
by   6.night.PL

'if you had asked for salt by noon (intd. 'it would been nice'), because you cannot be asked this by night'

7.5.2   *se* 'without'

The preposition *se* 'without' expresses the absence or the exclusion of someone or something. It probably constitutes a loan from Portuguese *sem*.

(7.102)   *oómútelá mwánámwíyaná sé kóobilri*   {mute.24}

o-hí-mú-telá   mwáná-mwíyaná   **sé**   kóobilri
1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry   1.child-1.woman   without   9a.money.PL

'he married that girl with no money'

(7.103)   *ddabunó: múlóbwana okala sé muyaná:*   {mbílri.44}

ddabunó   múlóbwana   o-kala   **sé**   muyaná
then   1.man   NAR-be   without   1.woman.PL

'then the man remained without any woman'

7.5.3   *m̀páka* 'until'

The preposition *m̀páka* 'until' expresses the idea of a spatio-temporal limit, applied for a physical space to be crossed (7.104), or for the time duration of an action (7.105). It apparently cannot introduce a clause, but is instead simply followed by a noun, which may be an infinitive as in (7.105). Note that the source or provenance (translated as 'from' in English) is expressed by means of the infinitives *ovénya* 'leave' (7.104)b, or *órómáná* 'start with' (7.104)c.

(7.104) Locative limit

    a. *Maríy' óolóódhówááá: m̀páká nikómé na bára*   {maria.58}

maríya	o-lé-ódhówá	**m̀páká**	nikómé	na	bára
maria	1-CE-15.go	until	5.limit	5.CON	9a.sea

       'Maria went to the seaside'

    b. *ovény' óókúnó m̀pák' óPebáné munááá35búwe yiíkó taanú*   {semi-elic.}

ovényá	ókú=nó	**m̀páká**	o-Pebáné	mu-náá-ábúw-e	yiíkó	taanú
15.leave	17.DEM.I=INT	until	17-Pebane	2PL-FUT.CJ-cross-IRR	9.river	10.five

       'from here to Pebane, you will go cross five rivers'

    c. *órómáná pambáno éjílé m̀páká vatákûlu*   {elic.}

órómá=ná	pambáno	éjílé	**m̀páká**	vatákûlu
15.start=COM	9a.intersection	9.DEM.III	until	16-9a.house

       'from that intersection to the house'

(7.105) Temporal limit

    a. *amallé súmaána m̀pák' óóm̀fwanyá nikúrábedha valííye*   {maria.144}

a-maal-ilé	súmaána	**m̀páká**	ó-mú-fwanyá	N.	[va-lí=íye]REL
2-finish-PFV.CJ	9a.week.PL	until	15-OM1-meet	D.	16-be=3SG.PRO

       'they spent a week until they found Mr.Dugong, and the place where he lives'

    b. *íyó nigáńgulécá máfúgi m̀páka wáákwáníha*   {semi-elic.}

íyó	ni-gá-ní-gul-éc-á	máfúgi	**m̀páka**	wáákwán-îh-a
1PL.PRO	1PL-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-buy-DUR-Fi	6.banana	until	15.be.complete-CAUS-Fi

       'we will keep on buying bananas until we have enough'

    Note that the preposition *para*, borrowed from Portuguese, may be used as an alternative to *m̀páka*.

(7.106) *órómáná ddabunó pár' oosongólro*   {body.5}

órómá=ná	ddabunó	**pára**	osongólro
15.start=COM	today	till	17.front

       'from now on'

7.5.4 *nínga* 'like, as'

The preposition *nínga* 'like, as', often reduced as *ǹnga*, is used to indicate similarity (7.107) or approximation (7.108). It is thus much used to establish comparisons of equality (7.109).

(7.107)   Similarity

    a. *míyó ddímfúná ddikálé ńng' aáligíímí vatákúlu va ábábaani*   {maria.91}

míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-kál-é	**níngá**
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-be-SBJ	as

[e-á-ligí = ímí	va-tákúlu	va	ábábaani]_{REL}

[e-á-ligí = ímí   va-tákúlu   va   ábábaani]_{REL}

9-PST-be.HAB.Fi = 1SG.PRO   16-9a.house   16.CON   2a.my.parents

        'I want to be the way I used to be in my parents' house'

    b. *ńttítti na Rosa niluweyilé nínga árígóra*   {elic.}

       ńttítti   na   Rosa   ni-luw-ey-ilé   **nínga**   árígóra

       5.hair   5.CON   Rosa   5-plait-NTR-PFV.CJ   like   2.ring

       'Rosa's hair is like rings'

(7.108)   Approximation

    a. *Maríya nínga dda yúúmó yââga*   {elic.}

       maríyá   **nínga**   ddi-a   yúúmó   yââga

       maria   like   1.COP-CON   9.age   9.POSS.1SG

       'Maria is more or less of my age'

    b. *níngá ddiromilé ósuńza na dhááká táánu*   {elic.}

       níngá   ddi-rom-ilé   ósuńza   na   dhááká   táánu

       like   1SG-start-PFV.CJ   15.study   with   10.year   10.five

       'I started school at about five years old'

(7.109)   Comparison of equality

    a. *ehíb' ééjó kiǹgwáddá dereetú nínga dhíína*   {elic.}

       ehíbá   éjó   ki-ni-gwáddá   dereetú   **nínga**   dhí-ína

       9.hoe   9.DEM.II   NEG.9-IPFV-cut   good.PL   like   10-other

       'why does that hoe not cut as well as the others?'

    b. *íyééné oója máfúgi méénji nínga míyo*   {elic.}

       íyééné   o-hí-ja   máfúgi   má-ínji   nínga   míyo

       3SG.PRO   1-PFV.DJ-eat   6.banana   6-many   like   1SG.PRO

       'he ate as many bananas as I did'

When used with *okála* 'be, stay', *nínga* can usually be translated as 'seem (like)', as shown in (7.110).

(7.110)   *bagákála   nínga múttú w' oómvuuzédha*   {maria.24}

ba-gá-kála   **nínga**   múttú   wa   ó-mú-vuuz-édh-a

SEQ.1-SIT-be   like   1.people   1.CON   15-OM1-ask-APPL-Fi

'it looked like it was giving her a greeting'

7.6   Conjunctions

Conjunctions are grammatical words whose function is to link or connect words, phrases or clauses. Typically, conjunctions are either coordinate or subordinate. The coordinate conjunctions tend to associate elements of "equal rank" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). On the other hand, the elements conjoined by the subordinate conjunctions are hierarchically distinct, and convey a principal-subordinate relation. Both coordinate and subordinate conjunctions are discussed in turn below.

7.6.1   Coordinate conjunctions

7.6.1.1   *na* 'and'

As a conjunction, *na* 'and' coordinates nouns (7.111) and noun phrases (7.112). No example of coordinated clauses was found in my corpus. Instead, juxtaposition of verb forms are much preferred, as shown in (7.113).

(7.111)   *báábe na mááye aazívéliwa*   {mute.18}

báábe   **na**   mááye   a-hi-zívéliwa

1a.father   and   1.mother   2-PFV.DJ-like

'the parents were pleased'

(7.112)   *áttw' eetééne na míyo niirúrúmuwa sábwá ya muzógwé na pévo*   {elic.}

áttu   a-eté=éne   **na**   míyo   ni-hi-rúrúmuwa   sábwá   ya

2.people   2-all=INT   and   1SG.PRO   1PL-PFV.DJ-frigthen   because   9.CON

muzógwé   na   pévo

3.rain   and   9a.wind

'everyone, I included, got scared by the storm' (lit. 'all the people and I')

(7.113) *íyó niídhów' óómusíka ǹzíló, niígúláwo máfûgi*   {elic.}

    íyó   ni-hí-dhówá   ó-musíka   ǹzíló   ni-hí-gúlá＝wo   máfûgi

    1.PL.PRO 1PL.PFV.DJ-go 17-3.market   yesterday   1PL.PFV.DJ-buy＝17.LOC   6.banana

    'we went to the market yesterday, and we bought bananas'

It seems that *na* may be freely replaced by *ni*, maybe as an influence of Makhuwa. Still, the example in (7.114) is the single occurrence of *ni* in my database.

(7.114) *j' iíjílé eǹkósa mwánábwá ni páaká*   {páaká.35}

    ji   éjílé   [e-ní-kósa   mwánábwá **ni** páaká]_{REL}

    9.COP 9.DEM.III 9-IPFV.CJ-do   1.dog   and 1a.cat

    'this is what the dog and the cat are doing'

7.6.1.2   *óbe* 'or'

The conjunctions *óbe* 'or' indicates an alternative or a possible choice between two or more possibilities, which imparts a distinction value. *óbe* coordinates elements which share the same syntactic function, e.g. nouns (7.115), noun phrases (7.116), or clauses (7.117).

(7.115) *osáńzáyá manúvúru waaperengezelé áyimá óbe ábáaba ?*   {elic.}

    osáńzáyá manúvúru o-a-perengez-el-é   áyimá   **óbe**   ábáabá

    osanzaya 6.book   1-OM2-send-appl-PFV.CJ 2.child.PL or   2.parent

    'did Osanzaya send the books to the children or the parents?'

(7.116) *ǹburó gáaní wa déréétu : w' ooCuwábo óbê w' ooNampúla ?*   {elic.}

    ǹburó   gáaní wa   déréétu wa   o-cuwábo   **óbê** wa   o-nampúla

    3.place.PL which 3.CON good   3.CON 17-quelimane or   3.CON 17-nampula

    'which place is better: Quelimane or Nampula?'

(7.117) *osúńze: óbé: odh ówé vakúgúlúni*   {elic.}

    o-súńz-é   **óbé**   o-dhów-é   va-kúgúlú＝ni

    2SG-study-SBJ   or   2SG-go-SBJ   16-9a.bed＝LOC

    'study or go to bed'

7.6.1.3   *ǹne* 'nor'

The conjunction *ǹne* 'nor' represents to a certain extent the negative counterpart of *óbe* 'or', in that it negates every possible alternative. Most often, *ǹne* coordinates two nouns as in (7.118). Note that negation is also carried out by the verb.

(7.118) *kaddim̂fúná omutteba ǹne Érúgúlú, ǹné viínagwíya Máda*   {body.13}

ka-ddi-ní-fúná	o-mu-tteba	ǹne	érúgúlú	ǹne	viína-gwíya máda
NEG-1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	15-OM1-carry.PL	nor	9.belly	nor	too-again 6.hand

'I do not want to carry Mr.Belly, nor Mr.Hand'

In my database, *ǹne* is not attested as a clause coordinator. Clause juxtaposition is in fact preferred, with optional addition of the adverb *viína* 'too', as (7.119) illustrates.

(7.119) *kaddim̂fúná: osuńzá: , viíná: kaddim̂fúná: ogoná*   {elic.}

ka-ddi-ní-fúná	osuńzá	viíná	ka-ddi-ní-fúná	ogoná
NEG-1SG-IPFV-want	15.study.PL	too	NEG-1SG-IPFV-want	15.sleep.PL

'I don't want to study, nor do I want to sleep'

7.6.1.4 *m̂bonye* 'but'

The conjunction *m̂bonye* 'but' is used to introduce a clause which establishes a contrast with or contradicts the preceding clause. Beside 'but', 'however', 'although' or 'still' are possible translations in English. Following are a few illustrating examples.

(7.120) *ddilódhówá vatákúlú vááwá: bâddaarédhâ m̂bonye kaddaajíle*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-lé-ódhówá	vatákúlú	vááwá	bâ-ddi-arédhâ
1SG-CE-15.go	16-9a.house	16.POSS.3PL	SEQ-1SG-have.fun

m̂bonye	ka-ddi-a-j-íle
but	NEG-1SG-PST-eat-PFV

'I went to their house, I have had a good time but I did not eat anything'

(7.121) *ddahídhowá óbóléya supádda m̂bonye kaddaavahíwe*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-a-hí-dhowá	óbóléya	supádda	m̂bonye	ka-ddi-a-vah-íw-e
1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-go	15.borrow	9.machete	but	NEG-1SG-PST-give-PASS-PFV

'yes, I went to borrow the machete, but I didn't get it'

(7.122) *kaddaáná makalra m̂bonye ddaápíya dhaawéné, baddijá*   {semi-elic.}

ka-ddi-á-ná	makalra	m̂bonye	ddi-a-hí-píya	dhaawo = éné
NEG-1SG-PST-have	6.charcoal.PL	but	1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-cook	like.that.II = INT

ba-ddi-já
SEQ-1SG-eat

'I had no charcoal but I cooked it anyway, and I ate it'

In (7.123), the clause introduced by *m̀bonye* indicates a counterpart to the preceding clause, and more particularly, a condition (expressed by the future tense) so that the latter be realised. Maria's suffering will be over if she accepts to follow the bee.

(7.123) *māsóósoʷ ááw' ootééné ddabunó aamála,*   {maria.46}
         m̀bony' aápo, oneelá wíiyéla na kurúmáanj' aáwo

másóóso	ááwo	a-oté=éné	ddabunó	a-hi-mála	**m̀bonye**	ápo
6.suffering	6.POSS.2SG	6-all=INT	today	6-PFV.DJ-finish	but	16.DEM.II

o-naa-ilá	wíiyéla	na	kurúmáanje	wáawo
2SG-FUT.DJ-AUX	15.go.back.PL	with	1a.bee.sp	1.POSS.2SG

'all your suffering today is over, but in this way, you will go back with your bee.sp.'

Note that the form *mazhi*, borrowed from Portuguese *mas*, is sometimes attested as an alternative to *m̀bonye*, as illustrated in (7.124).

(7.124) *mwánâg' oődd' ûnófûn' óótélîwa, mazhi kańlôgā keédh' úulogā*   {mute.6}

mwánâga	óddû	o-ni-ófúná	ótélîwa	**mazhi**
1.child.POSS.1SG	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV-15.want	15.get.married	but

ka-ní-lôgā	ka-ídhí	ologá
NEG.1-IPFV-speak	NEG.1-know	15.speak.PL

'this daughter of mine wants to get married, but she does not speak, she can not speak'

The conjunction *so* is semantically equivalent to *m̀bónye* 'but'. It is likely that this conjunction was also borrowed from Portuguese *so* 'only', and progressively adopted a meaning of contrast. Two examples in context are provided below.

(7.125) *elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwéla bááhi*   {maria.79}

elóbó=yá	ka-lóg-íle	**so**	ó-ni-ó-ní-kuwéla	bááhi
9.thing=DEF	NEG.1-say-PFV	but	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call	only

'but she did not say why, she only called us'

(7.126) *om̀mála wóódda. só kanákwa.*   {ddoo.35}

o-hi-mála	wóódda	**só**	ka-ná-kwa
1-PFV.DJ-finish	15.be.thin	but	NEG.1-CE-die

'she has turned thin, but she had not died yet, no'

This conjunction *so* 'but' is not to be confused with *sé* 'without', also borrowed from Portuguese *sem* 'without'. Whereas the former has a contrastive meaning, the latter is used in assertive clauses to negate the meaning carried out by the verb, as shown in (7.127) and (7.128).

(7.127) *íyééne s' óóziveliwagá*   {mbílri.10}

     íyééne   **sé**   o-ziveliw-ag-á

     3SG.PRO   without   NAR-like-HAB-Fi

     'he did not like this'

(7.128) *ma íyééne baahalá dhawééné s' óótelíwa*   {mute.4}

     mas   íyééne   ba-a-halá   dhaawó = éne   **sé**   ótel-íw-a

     but   3SG.PRO SEQ-1-stay PRO.DEM.II = INT without 15.marry-PASS-Fi.PL

     'but she remained like this, without getting married'

7.6.1.5 *nooná* 'hence'

The conjunction *nooná* 'hence' introduces a clause as being the subsequent result or consequence of an aforementioned situation. It can be translated in English as 'as a result', therefore', or 'consequently'. This dependent clause may appear sentence-initially (7.129), but it usually follows the main clause, as in (7.130) and (7.131).

(7.129) *noonátó báddihídháawo koóbílriya yaalogúwe j' iíjú wéén' ééñgónóoví*   {semi-elic.}

     nooná = tó   bá-ddi-hí-dhá = wo   koóbílri = ya   [e-a-log-úw-e]$_{REL}$

     hence = then   SEQ-1SG-NEG-come = 16.LOC   9a.money = DEF 9-PST-speak-PASS-PFV.CJ

     ji   éjí   wééné é-ñgónó = ví

     9.COP 9.DEM.II INT   9-little = RESTR

     'that's why I did not come, the money that was mentioned is that little!'

(7.130) *pááká kum̀vádíle paamá, nooná baahíkwa*   {semi-elic.}

     pááká ku-mu-vád-íle   paamá   **nooná**   ba-a-hí-kwa

     1a.cat NEG.2SG-OM1-beat-PFV well   hence   SEQ-1-NEG-die

     'the cat, you did not beat it well, as a result it did not die'

(7.131) *ēsúwódhá m̀bwaná dhíipúzá bure, nooná ddihígûla*   {semi-elic.}

     ēsí = wó = dhá   m̀bwaná   dhí-hi-púzá   bure

     10.DEM.I = 17.LOC = 10.DEF 1.friend.PL 10-PFV.DJ-undervalue badly

     nooná   ddi-hí-gûla

     hence   1SG-NEG-buy.SEQ

     'this stuff of his, my friend, is badly measured, therefore I did not buy'

7.6.2 Subordinate conjunctions

7.6.2.1 *wíílá* 'CMP'

Complement clauses are introduced by the complementiser *wíílá* 'that', which constitutes a grammaticalised form derived from the verb *wíílá* 'say, do'. Its main function is to introduce a subordinate clause, which comes in complement of the verb in the main clause, as shown in (7.132).

(7.132) *muńzíwá: dháav' íílá míyó ddili Maríya ?*   {maria.39}

mu-ní-zíwá		dháaví	**wíílá**	míyó	ddi-li	maríya
2RESP-IPFV.CJ-know	how		CMP	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	maria

'how do you know that I am Maria?'

When *wíílá* is followed by a subjunctive verb form, the clause often acquires a purpose meaning (7.133), with an optional addition of the applicative extension to *wíílá* (7.134). However, the presence of the complementiser in this context is not obligatory, as shown in (7.135).

(7.133) *waavedágá: áttú wíílá amwáámele naámbéedde*   {ddingí.3}

o-a-ved-ág-á		áttú	**wíílá**	a-mú-ámel-e	naámbéedde
NAR-OM2-search-HAB-Fi	2.man		CMP	2-OM1-chase-SBJ	1a.maize

'he looked for people to protect the maize (from the thieves)'

(7.134) *ééloómfwará wiíléla ańpe*   {ddingí.10}

a-á-íla-ó-mú-fwará		**wiíléla**	a-mú-p-e
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-follow		CMP	2-OM1-kill-SBJ

'they were following him to kill him'

(7.135) *mattiy' áábáno mwátáye mábûgu mángwáán' nilúwe mábwêndde*   {semi-elic.}

mattiyú	ábá=no	mu-á-táy-e	mábûgu	mángwáána	ni-lúw-e
6.night	6.DEM.I=INT	2PL-IT-tear-SBJ	6.plant.sp	tomorrow	1PL-weave-SBJ

mábwêndde
6.mat

'tonight go and tear apart the reed so that tomorrow we weave mats'

wíílá is also commonly used to introduce direct speech (7.136), but again, its presence is optional (7.137).

(7.136)   a. *namárógolo moónêlííye wíílá "míyó ǹnówélélúwa",*   {ddingí.28}
          okomesáár' uúkúl' ookíta

namárógolo	[mu-ón-êl-é = íye		wíílá	míyó
1a.hare	18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		CMP	1SG.PRO

ni-ni-ówél-él-úw-a]_{REL}		o-komesáári	ókúle	okíta
1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.climb-APPL-PASS-Fi		NAR-start	17.DEM.III	15.go.down

   'the hare, when he saw he was being chased, started to go down' (lit. 'when he saw: "I am being chased"')

   b. *baatagíha dílá biili, wíílá : "ókúnó niíwánélâwo: ósápélîwa"*   {body.7}

ba-a-tagíha	dílá	biili	wíílá	ókú = nó
SEQ-1-repeat	10a.time	10.two	CMP	17.DEM.I = PROX

ni-hí-wánélâ = wo	ósápél-îw-a
1PL-PFV.DJ-fight.for = 17.LOC	15.feed-PASS-Fi

   'he said again : "we are fighting here about food supply" '

(7.137)   *moónelííyé ddiḿfún' óógumana n' oóll' oońddífwará, olóólúpa*   {ddingí.22}

[mu-ón-el-é = íyé		ddi-ní-fúná	ógum-an-a
18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	15.bump.into-REC-Fi.PL

na	ólle	[o-ní-ddí-fwará]_{REL}]_{REL}	o-lé-ólúpa
with	1.DEM.III	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-follow	1-CE-15.jump

   'When he realised "I am going to bump into the one who is following me", he jumped.'

Note that *wíílá* may be shortened to *wí*, as shown in (7.138).

(7.138)   *mudhówelííyé: , oomútóonyedha mwáádhíí' wí :*   {maria.122}
          "mwádhâga waámúlogíímí dd' uúddu"

[mu-dhów-el-é = íyé]_{REL}	o-hi-mú-tóony-edh-a	mwáádhí = iye	wí
18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	1-IPFV.DJ-OM1-show-APPL-Fi	1.wife = POSS.3SG	CMP

mwádhâga	[o-á-mú-logá = ímí]_{REL}	ddi	óddu
1.wife.POSS.1SG	1-PST.CJ-OM1-speak = 1SG.PRO	1.COP	1.DEM.I

   'when he arrived, he showed his wife that : "this is the wife I talked about"'

Finally, *wíílá* may introduce a clause expressing a reason or a justification (7.139), in which case, it is usually preceded by *sábwa* 'because' (7.140).

(7.139)   *ééloóḿfwará wíílél' aaḿpe, wíílá namárógoló namapuja*   {ddingí.10}

a-á-íla-ó-mú-fwará		wííléla a-mú-p-e	wíílá	namárógoló	namapuja
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-follow		CMP 2-OM1-kill-SBJ	CMP	1a.hare	1a.joker.PL

   'they were following him to kill him, because the hare is a joker'

(7.140) *kaázíveluwána sabw' éélá: m̌báalááw' oonyákûwa*   {maria.8}

ka-á-zíveluw-án-a   **sabwa**   **wíílá**   m̌báalí = awa   o-hi-nyákûwa

NEG.2-PST.IPFV-like-REC-Fi   because   CMP   1.sister = POSS.3PL   1-PFV.DJ-be.dirty

'they did not like her because she was pale/weak'

7.6.2.2 *nínga* 'as'

The conjunction *nínga* 'as' is used to express simultaneity of the subordinate clause with the main clause. No temporal delimitation is clearly established, hence *nínga* is much compatible with imperfective situations, as shown in (7.141), but also occurs with perfective verb forms (7.142).

(7.141) *nínga muńddóonélíinyú [...] maníngw' áága alí dháyééne*   {maria.40}

[**nínga**   mu-ní-ddí-on-él-á = inyú]_REL   maníngó   áága

as   18-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-Fi = 2RESP.PRO   6.body   6.POSS.1SG

a-lí   dhááyí = éne

6-be   like.this.I = INT

'as you can see me [...] my body is like this'

(7.142) *nyúwó munóóná nínga ddaakweńtílé, iiyí kaddaakweńtíle*   {semi-elic.}

nyúwó   mu-ní-óná   **nínga**   ddi-a-kweńt-ílé

2PL.PRO   2PL-IPFV.CJ.see   as   1SG-PST-copulate-PFV.CJ

iiyí   ka-ddi-a-kweńt-île

INTER   NEG-1SG-PST-copulate-PFV

'you see me as if I had had sex, whereas I had not'

Furthermore, *nínga* can be a causal conjunction, rendered by the English 'considering that', 'because', or 'since'. In this case, the causal clause introduced by *nínga* is usually preponed to the main clause, to establish the cause-effect relationship, as shown in (7.143) and (7.144).

(7.143) *nńgá dda mwaaná múñgíníñgíní, muńddóoná nńgá muttengú: dda tádu' wéényu* {ddingí.8}

nńgá ddi-a   mwaaná múñgíní-ngíní   mu-ní-ddí-oná

as   1SG.COP-CON   1.child   1-little-RED   2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see

nńgá   muttengú   dda   táduwá = ényu

as   mistakenly   1SG.COP-CON   1a.fool = 1.POSS.3PLPL

'because I am small, you see me as your fool"

(7.144) *ńngá kaajííle pa vénéw' óokosííyé masárápitt' ááyeén' áábo*   {mbílri.18}

nńngá   ka-a-j-íle   pa   vénéwó   [va-á-kosá = íyé

as   NEG.1-PST-eat-PFV   16.COP   16.EDEM.II   16-PST.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO

masárápitto   ááye = éné   ábo]REL

6.magic   6.POSS.3SG = INT   6.DEM.II

'as he had not eaten, it is there that he decided to make that magic of his'

7.6.2.3 *akala* 'whether, if' and *yoóvi* 'otherwise'

akala 'whether, if' and *yoóvi* 'otherwise' are conditional conjunctions which thus introduce condition clauses. *akala* indicates hypothetical situations which trigger consequences suggested in the main clauses as in (7.145). The hypothesis may relate to a future condition, which is contemplated or wished, as in (7.146).

(7.145) *akala ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúwéle mwiíko*   {mbílri.21}

akala   ddi   míyó = ene   ósálu   óbú   o-patúw-él-e   mu-íko

if   1.COP   1SG.PRO = INT   14.thread   14.DEM.I   14-break-APPL-SBJ   18-river

'if it is me, may this thread break, break to the river'

(7.146) *ddávéde ddoón' áakala ǹneelóókaana mikállo dhiíná*   {maria.18}

ddi-á-véd-e   ddi-ón-é   **akala**   ni-naa-ilá-ókaana   mikálélo   dhi-íná

1SG-IT-search-SBJ   1SG-see-SBJ   if   1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.have.PL   4.way.of.life   4-other

'I will go and see if I can have another way of life'

The conjunction *yooví* constitutes the negative alternative to the preceding clause. It means 'otherwise' or 'if not', as shown in (7.147).

(7.147) *kattáwáni, yoóví: munójîwa*   {elic.}

ka-ttáwá = ni   **yoóví**   mu-ni-ój-îw-a

IMP-flee = PLA   otherwise   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi

'run away, otherwise you will be eaten'

7.6.2.4 *maásíkiní* 'even if'

The conjunction *maásíkiní* 'even if' is used to introduce hypothetical clauses with a concessive value. Such a dependent clause usually appears sentence-initially as in (7.148) and (7.149), or it may be embedded in a main clause as in (7.150).

(7.148) *maásíkiní ddivény' óóváneéne ddinááfíyé pavaribilē*   {semi-elic.}

    maásíkiní   ddi-vény-é   óváno=éne   ddi-náá-fíy-é   pa-va-rib-ilē

    even.if   1SG-leave-SBJ 17.now=INT   1SG-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR   SEQ-16-be.dark-PFV

    'even if I leave now, I will arrive late'

(7.149) *maásíkiní kúuwiilúwa ddaáli musilaámu, kaddigáp' íifuwo*   {semi-elic.}

    maásíkiní   ká-wiil-úw-a   ddi-á-li   musilaámu

    even.if   CF-15.tell-PASS-Fi.PL   1SG-PST-be   1.muslim.PL

    ka-ddi-gá-p-i   efuwo

    NEG-1SG-FUT.IPFV-kill-NEG   9.domestic.animal.PL

    'even if I was a muslim, I would not slaugther domestic animals'

(7.150) *míyô maásíkiní ddíkaánê dálá dhaaví, ójâ múkucé: ? néé:!*   {semi-elic.}

    míyo   **maásíkiní**   ddí-kaán-ê   dálá   dhaavi   ójâ   múkucé   néé

    1SG.PRO   even.if   1-have-SBJ   9.hunger   how   15.eat 3.leftover no

    'I am very hungry, but to eat the leftovers? No way!'

7.6.2.5 *vohí* 'because', 'so that'

The conjunction *vohí* 'because' expresses a causal relation between two clauses, and more particularly, it introduces a dependent clause that explains or justifies the content of the main clause, as shown in the following examples.

(7.151) *kooribeluwa buré ddigaákûmbíra vógó baddigonávo vohí ápánga aattábwa*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-oribeluwa   buré   ddi-gaá-kûmbíra vógó   ba-ddi-goná=vo

    CF-15.get.late.PL   much 1SG-HYP-ask   16.place SEQ-1SG-sleep=16.LOC

    vohí   ápánga   a-hi-ttábwa

    because   2a.murderer   2-PFV.DJ-get.worth

    'if it were very late, I would ask a place to sleep because the murderers are more and more numerous'

(7.152) *kanigaalogíle, vohí kanińfúná muladdu*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-ni-gaa-log-íle   **vohí**   ka-ni-ní-fúná   muladdu

    NEG-1PL-HYP-speak-PFV   because   NEG-1PL-IPFV.CJ-want   3.problem.PL

    'I would not say a word because I do not want problems'

    In (7.153), *vohí* rather expresses an intentional clause, which implies a consequential purpose, in the present case, my not eating. It is best translated in English as 'so that' or 'in order to'.

(7.153) *vohí míyó ddihijé, ónó.tí.ttamagíhá vatákûlu*   {semi-elic.}

       vohí   míyó   ddi-hi-j-é   ó-ni-ó-ddí-ttamag-íh-á   va-tákûlu

       so.that   1SG.PRO 1SG-NEG-eat-SBJ   1-IPFV.DJ-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi 16-9a.house

       'he made me run around the house so that I do not eat'

7.6.2.6 *sábwa* or *ttángu* 'because'

Similarly to *vohí*, the conjunctions *sábwa* and *ttángu*, both meaning 'because', also establish a causal relation between two clauses. Originally, both *sábwa* and *ttángu* are class 9a nouns with the lexical meaning 'reason', which progressively underwent a grammaticalisation process, and are synchronically best translated as 'because'.

(7.154) *kańddífuná: sabwa ddiǹkálá mureddáví:*   {maria.20}

       ka-ní-ddí-funá   **sabwa**   ddi-ni-kálá   mu-reddá=ví

       NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want   because   1SG-IPFV.CJ-be   1-sick.PL=RESTR

       'they do not want me because I am always sick'

However, in many ways these conjunctions behave as nouns. This is first seen in the examples (7.155), where they are followed by a class 9 connective relator.

(7.155) *sábwa* and *ttángu* class 9 connective

    a. *múlóbwana okala sé muyaná: , sábwa y' oómútelá múyáná woorúûca*   {mbílri.44}

       múlóbwana   o-kala   sé   muyaná   **sábwa**   **ya**   ó-mú-telá

       1.man   NAR-be   without 1.woman.PL   because   9.CON   15-OM1-marry

       múyáná   wa   orúûca

       1.woman   1.CON   15.steal

       'the man remained without any woman because of his marrying a woman who steals.'

    b. *ddiimála súmáána ddihīsúǹzagá: tángû ya óréddá oddifwányîle*   {semi-elic.}

       ddi-hi-mála   súmáána   ddi-hī-súǹz-ag-á

       1SG-PFV-complete   9a.week   1SG-NEG-study-HAB-Fi

       ttángû   **ya**   óréddá   [o-ddi-fwány-île]_{REL}

       because   9.CON   14.disease 14-OM1SG-found-PFV.REL

       'I have been off from school a week because I got sick' (lit. 'because of the illness which found me')

They may be added the definite clitic, at least with *sabwa*, as shown in (7.156) with *sábwaya*. In this respect, the comparison with *elóbóya* 'the thing' (but here semantically implying 'the reason'), which fully preserved its nominal features, is edifying.

(7.156)   *eǹtã̂wú, yéén' éélóbwéyá kalógíle, sabwáya yaakumbílrelííye*   {mute.12}
        ejúwêne wí [ddidhów' omúnddá na námwâli]

eǹtáwú	íyééné	**élóbó = yá**	ka-lóg-íle	**sabwá = ya**
then	3SG.PRO	9.thing = DEF	NEG.1-say-PFV	because = DEF

[e-a-kumbílr-el-é = íye	ejó = wêne	wí	...]REL
9-PST-ask-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	9.DEM.II = INT	CMP	...

    'then, he did not explain why he had asked [to go to the plantation with the girl]'

In (7.140) above, we saw that *sábwa* may be followed by the complementiser *wíilá*. This sequence further shows the original nominal status of *sábwa*, which is being complemented by the *wíilá*-clause. Another example of this sequence is provided in (7.157), where *sábwa* is preceded by the preposition *na* 'and, with'. The whole sequence can be translated in English 'with the reason that'.

(7.157)   *ovítómeya odhúlú wa muyére na sábw' aálá eetééne [...] ééloómperesegíri*   {ddingí.10}

o-ví-tómeya	odhúlú	wa	muyére	**na**	**sábwa**	**wíílá**	a-eté = éne
1-REFL-hang.up	17.top	17.CON	3.tree.sp	with	because	CMP	2-all = INT

    a-á-íla-ó-mú-peresegíri
    2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-chase

    'hang himself up in the tree.sp because all […] were chasing him'

Finally note the loan *puruke* 'because', borrowed from Portuguese *porque*. Unlike *sábwa*, *puruke* may appear sentence-initially. This is the case in the two following examples, both uttered by the same consultant, Guilherme.

(7.158)   *puruk' onuúttébaní: , ddi míyô!*   {body.10}

puruke	[o-ni-ú-ttéba = ní]REL	ddi	míyô
because	1-IPFV.CJ-OM2SG-carry = PLA	1.COP	1SG.PRO

    'Because, it is me who lifts you!'

(7.159)   *puǹké: Manyáló waákóódda omúttêba, Mádá waákóódd' oomúsápela*   {body.15}

puǹke	manyáló	o-a-hí-koódda	o-mú-ttéba	mádá
because	6.foot	1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse	15-OM1-carry	6.hand

o-a-hí-koódda	o-mú-sáp-el-a
1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse	15-OM1-hunt-APPL-Fi

    'Because Mr.Feet refused to carry him (Mr.Hands), Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.'

8

TAM system

As seen in chapter 6, verbs can be submitted to a large array of inflections. The aim of the present chapter is to provide a morphological and semantic description of several verbal categories, namely tense, aspect, mood (TAM), and polarity, in main and subordinate clauses.

TAM tend to form an interlocking system: in a single verb form, tense frequently combines with aspect, or aspects may also co-occur, but only one temporal reference is observed, "because an event can only be located at one time" (Nurse 2008: 14). By examining the morphology of the whole range of Cuwabo verbs, one can extract the different patterns of TAM and describe how they intersect and fit together to form a coherent whole, morphologically as well as semantically.

Tense indicates location in time, the temporal reference in which the action denoted by the verb is situated. Unlike many Bantu languages, Cuwabo does not distinguish several layers of pasts ranging from hodiernal (today), hesternal (yesterday), or even pre-hesternal. No distinction between a near and a far past is made. Instead, a single past exists, marked by the prefix -*a*- (with an additional H tone -*á*- in case of an imperfective past). This marker is very common across Bantu: Nurse and Philippson (2006: 158) postulate that this tense prefix finds its origin in at least Proto-Bantu. Present corresponds to a 'zero present', in that it is not morphologically marked in the pre-stem position. Supposedly, the present need not be marked, because this time reference is obvious to the interlocutors (Nurse 2008: 117).

What matters is how the present situation relates to past or future situations, or intertwines with broader situations, notably by means of aspectual marks such as perfective, imperfective or habitual. Finally, a formal distinction is made between simple and imperfective future time. The simple future is marked by the prefix *-naa-*, while the imperfective future is expressed by the marker *-ga-*. Note that beyond tense markers on verbs, temporal reference may be further established by adding temporal adverbials.

Aspect deals with the internal temporal flow of an event. As terminology for aspectual values varies considerably, I have tried to use a standardised set of categorical labels (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985; Bybee et al. 1994), such as perfective (PFV), imperfective (IPFV), habitual (HAB), counterexpectational (CE). The aspects in Cuwabo conform to those attested in most Bantu languages.

Mood signals modality, which reflects the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying. Beyond the indicative, which is usually signalled by the final vowel *-a*, several other moods are attested in Cuwabo, such as subjunctive (SBJ), imperative (IMP), irrealis (IRR), hypothetical (HYP).

In Cuwabo, while tense is only marked in the pre-stem position, aspect is found on both pre-stem and suffix positions. In several cases, a single morpheme may convey both tense and aspect. For instance, in the past imperfective (section 8.1.4), the prefix *-á-* covers both the past tense and the imperfective aspect.

Note that in this chapter, I henceforth use the term 'tense' in terms of form rather than meaning. A given tense thus designates a sets of verb forms which have identical structures, i.e. which include the same TAM markers. For instance, all the verbs which are marked by the final vowel *-e* and which respect a specific tone pattern belong to the tense conventionally labelled 'subjunctive'. All the TAM morphemes as well as the tenses in which they appear are listed in Table 45. The precise meaning of each tense is investigated in each section below.

Table 45   TAM morphemes

Morpheme	Label	Tenses attested in
-a-	past [pst]	past perfective
-á-	past imperfective [pst.ipfv]	past imperfective
-ni-	imperfective [ipfv]	present (imperfective)
		past imperfective
		future progressive
-hi-	perfective [pfv] (dj)	perfective
		past perfective
-ile	perfective [pfv] (cj)	perfective
		past perfective
-náá-	future [fut] (cj and dj)	future
-gá-	future imperfective [fut.ipfv]	future imperfective
-gaa-	hypothetical [hyp]	hypothetical
	situative [sit]	situative
-a-	situative [sit]	situative
-ná-	counterexpectational [ce]	counterexpectational
ka-	counterfactual [cf]	counterfactual
ka-	imperative [imp]	imperative
ba-	sequential [seq]	bare sequential
		sequential situative
		sequential perfective
na-	resumptive [res]	resumptive
-e	subjunctive [sbj]	subjunctive
-e	irrealis [irr]	future
-e	prohibitive [proh]	(future) prohibitive
-á-	itive [it]	itive subjunctive

Regarding tones, in some Bantu languages the tonal structure of the verbal word corresponds to the sum of the underlying tones of each morpheme, mediated by a few tonal rules, whereas in other languages, the verbal word has an imposed tonal pattern, so that the tones of individual morphemes are non-existent or unimportant. Cuwabo verbs function as in the latter case: in most cases, the assignment of a H tone onto TAM markers is not the obvious reflex of a historical tonal origin of the morpheme. Furthermore, in several tenses where the contrast between Ø-toned and H-toned verbs is preserved, interaction between grammatical H and lexical H tones is observed. The tone patterns for each tense are indicated in Table 46 and Table 47 below, but the reader is referred to section 3.4 for a more detailed account on the interaction between tones and tenses.

In this chapter, the distribution and semantic content of TAM markers in Cuwabo is examined in both independent and dependent tenses. Such a distinction is based on syntactical and morphological grounds. First, regarding syntax, independent tenses are normally used as the only tensed predicate in a simple sentence, known to be an independent clause. Independent tenses may also be part of complex sentences, as the tensed predicate of the main (or matrix) clause. Dependent tenses, on the other hand, cannot stand alone as a sentence, and typically occur in the dependent (or subordinate) clause of complex sentences. On the morphological level, independent tenses make use of the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* to form their negative counterparts, while dependent tenses resort to the post-initial negative marker *-hi-*. Note that the distinction between independent and dependent tenses is more a tendency than a clear-cut division. For example, the subjunctive can be used in both dependent and independent clauses, and exhibits two different negative forms accordingly.

Independent and dependent tenses are listed in Table 46 and Table 47, respectively, with their morphological formulas and their underlying tone patterns. In Table 46, it is important to note that in addition to temporal and aspectual meanings, most verb forms also tell something about information structure and focus interpretation (on the element following the verb or on the verb itself). This contrast between postverbal and verb focus corresponds to what is known as conjoint/disjoint (CJ/DJ) alternation. CJ verb forms maintain a close relationship with the following constituent, be it object, adverbial, wh-word, or prepositional phrase. In DJ verb forms, no special relationship between the verb and the following constituent is observed. This means that a DJ form can stand on its own, contrarily to CJ forms. The relationship between CJ/DJ verb forms and information structure is treated in chapter 11. In this chapter, I am concerned with the morphology of these verb forms. The CJ/DJ alternation is more commonly attested in Eastern and Southern Bantu and is generally assigned to affirmative presents and pasts, discarding negative and relativised verb forms (Nurse 2008: 205). In Cuwabo, several affirmative verbal forms are involved, including present, past, futures, and even hypothetical. It is also interesting to note that relativised verbs are morphologically identical to CJ forms, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 10.1.1.

Table 46   Independent tenses

Label		Formula	Tone pattern
PRS PFV	CJ	SM-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on Final
	DJ	SM-hi-(OM-)VB-a	MH on MS1 + lexical H
	NEG	ka-SM-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on MS2
PST PFV	CJ	SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on MS2
	DJ	SM-a-hí-(OM-)VB-a	-hí- + lexical H contrast
	NEG	ka-SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on MS2
PRS IPFV	CJ	SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a	MH on MS1 + lexical H
	DJ	SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a	SM + MH on MS1 + lexical H
	NEG	ka-SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a	MH on MS1 + lexical H
		ka-SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a	SM + lexical H contrast
PST IPFV	CJ	SM-á-(OM-)VB-a	-á- + stem tone erasure
	DJ	SM-á-ni-(OM-)VB-a	lexical H contrast
	NEG	ka-SM-á-(OM-)VB-a	-á- + stem tone erasure
FUT	CJ	SM-náá-(OM-)VB-e	-náá- + MS1
	DJ	SM-naa-ilá-o-(OM-)VB-a	lexical H contrast
	NEG	SM-náá-(OM-)VB-e	-náá- + MS1
FUT IPFV	CJ	SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a	-gá- + stem tone erasure
	DJ	SM-gá-ni-(OM-)VB-a	-gá- + lexical H contrast
	NEG	ka-SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a	-gá- + stem tone erasure
HYP	CJ	SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on MS2
	DJ	SM-gaa-hí-(OM-)VB-a	-hí- + lexical H contrast
	NE	ka-SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on MS2
CE	NEG	ka-SM-ná-(OM-)VB-a	-ná- + stem tone erasure

Table 47   Dependent (inflected and uninflected) tenses

Label		Formula	Tone pattern
IMP	AFF	(OM-)VB-a	MH on Final
PFX.IMP	AFF	ka-VB-a	MH on S1
		ka-OM-VB-e	MH on Final
PROH	NEG	SM-náá-(OM-)VB-e	-náá- + MS1
SBJ	AFF	SM-VB-e	MH on S2
		SM-OM-VB-e	MH on MS1
	NEG	SM-hi-(OM-)VB-e	stem tone erasure
		ka-SM-(OM-)VB-e	stem tone erasure
IT.SBJ	AFF	SM-á-(OM-)VB-e	-á- + stem tone erasure
CE	NEG	SM-hi-ná-(OM-)VB-a	-ná- + stem tone erasure
SIT	AFF	SM-a-(OM-)VB-a	lexical H contrast
	NEG	SM-a-hí-(OM-)VB-i	-hí- + stem tone erasure
	AFF	SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-i	lexical H contrast
	NEG	SM-ga-hí-(OM-)VB-a	-hí- + stem tone erasure
SEQ	AFF	(ba-)SM-VB-a	MH on S2
		(ba-)SM-<u>OM</u>-VB-a	OM + MH on Penult
	NEG	(ba-)SM-hí-(OM-)VB-a	-hí- + stem tone erasure
SEQ SIT	AFF	ba-SM-ga-(OM-)VB-a	MH on MS1 + lexical H
SEQ PFV	AFF	ba-SM-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on Final
	NEG	ba-SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ile	MH on M
INF	AFF	o-(OM-)VB-a	MH on MS1 + lexical H
	NEG	o-hí-(OM-)VB-a	-hí- + stem tone erasure
NAR	AFF	o-(OM-)VB-a	lexical H contrast
	NEG	o-hi-(OM-)VB-a	lexical H contrast
RES	AFF	na-o-(OM-)VB-a	MH on MS1 + lexical H
CF	AFF	ka-o-(OM-)VB-a	lexical H contrast
	NEG	ka-o-hí-(OM-)VB-a	-hí- + stem tone erasure

Independent tenses are developed in section 8.1, while the dependent tenses are further divided into inflected (section 8.2) and uninflected (section 8.3) verb forms. Further note that certain aspectual forms (e.g. the progressive) are created by means of analytic constructions, which consist of an auxiliary and an infinitive verb (section 8.4). The chapter ends with a discussion of defective verbs (section 8.5). For each tense presented in this chapter, both affirmative and negative verb forms are exemplified, and among affirmative independent tenses, the formal distinction between CJ and DJ form is raised.

8.1   Independent tenses

8.1.1   Perfective [PFV]

In Cuwabo, two perfective morphemes exist, which differ according to the conjoint/disjoint alternation: the prefix *-hi-* used in DJ forms, and the suffix *-ile* in CJ forms. Unlike *-hi-*, whose origin is not traced, *-ile* is a well-known suffix across Bantu, usually analysed as undergoing a grammaticalisation process, ranging from perfect (aspect) to perfective (aspect) to past (tense) (Nurse 2008).

Most Bantu languages have a contrast between dynamic and 'stative' verbs, and this seems to be of importance to the aspectual interpretation of the perfective, either as a punctual past (section 8.1.1.1), or a current state (section 8.1.1.2). For both interpretations, the time reference is the present, which is not marked morphologically in Cuwabo, hence not indicated in the glosses.

8.1.1.1   Perfective reading

Most definitions (Comrie 1976, Hewson 1997, Nurse 2008) converge to say that the perfective refers to bounded or complete situations with no internal shape: all parts of the situation, beginning, middle, end, are presented as a single whole. Such events thus can be seen as punctual, in that they indicate a "point-like or momentary situation" (Comrie 1976: 17), which happens over a short period of time, and with no internal structure (as the opposite of durativity). This perfective interpretation is attested with dynamic verbs, which describe an active process that changes over time and which usually has an end point. The perfective is very recurrent in stories, as the examples below demonstrate, first with disjoint verb forms (8.1), then with conjoint verb forms (8.2).

(8.1)   DJ verb forms with *-hi-*

a. *oottámágél' ookómídan' ttúkúla párááto [...]*   {páaká.26}

    o-hi-ttámág-él-a   o-kómíída=ni   **o-hi-ttúkúla**   párááto

    1-PFV.DJ-run-APPL-Fi 17-9a.food=LOC   1-PFV.DJ-take   9a.plate

    'he ran towards the food, took the plate [...]'

b. *míma oovénya oofíy' óokobélá, owííyéla*   {mbílri.27}

míma	o-hi-vénya	o-hi-fíya	o-kobélá	o-hí-íyéla
1.child	1-PFV.DJ-leave	1-PFV.DJ-arrive	17-9a.bank	1-PFV.DJ-go.back

'the child left, arrived to the other bank and went back'

(8.2)   CJ verb forms with *-ilé*

a. *mákága áayé: ottukuÌlé ósalu*   {mbílri.12}

mákága	áayé	o-ttukul-ilé	ósalu
6.oracle	6.POSS.3SG	1-take-PFV.CJ	14.thread.PL

'for his oracular trial, he took a thread'

b. *vattólóní vâmeÌlé foloóri énddímúwá vaddíddí*   {ddoo.23}

va-ttóló = ní	vâ-mel-ilé	foloóri	é-nddímúwá	vaddíddí
16-well = LOC	16-blossom-PFV.CJ	9a.flower.PL	9-big	much

'at the well blossomed a very big flower'

The action usually occurs in a recent past, but not necessarily, since a whole range of past adverbs can be used with the perfective, including remote temporal reference, such as 'last year', as (8.3) shows.

(8.3)   *mwaanéhû: oótélíwắ yáák' éjíléeya*   {elic.}

mwaanéhû	o-hí-tél-íw-á	yááká	éjílé = ya
1.child.POSS.1PL.PL	1-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi	9.year	9.DEM.III = DEF

'our daughter got married last year'

In CJ forms, the perfective suffix *-ilé* may shorten to *-í*. This is particularly attested with the verb *wóoná* 'see', as shown in (8.4).

(8.4)   a. *ahináábuwá: amooní nyákoko bagapílúwa mwiíkômwa*   {semi-elic.}

a-hi-ná-ábuwá	a-mu-on-ilé	nyákoko	ba-ga-pílúwa	mu-íkô = mwa
2-NEG-CE-cross	2-OM1-see-PFV.CJ	1a.crocodile	SEQ.1-SIT-emerge	18-river = 18.DEF

'before crossing over they saw a crocodile emerging in the river'

b. *paddí kamútamaarí míyó kaddimóóni*   {ddoo.21}

paddí	ka-mú-tamaarí	míyó	ka-ddi-mú-ón-ile
I.said	NEG-2PL-provoke.SBJ	1SG.PRO	NEG-1SG-OM1-see-PFV

'I said don't annoy me, I have not seen her!'

In DJ forms, when the verb stem or macrostem (in case there is an OM) begins with a vowel, the perfective prefix *-hi-* usually assimilates with the following stem-initial vowel (8.5), or the vocalic OM (8.6). Examples of both H- and Ø-toned verbs are provided.

(8.5)   Assimilation of *-hi-* with stem-initial vowel

a. *o**wúúbúwéla** ókósá mákága*   > *wúúbúwéla* 'think'   {mbílri.12}
   o-hí-úbúwéla   ókósá   mákága
   1-PFV.DJ-think   15.do   6.oracle
   'he thought of consulting an oracle'

b. *já oódhówá o**waá**bála já sáyóóta*   > *waábâla* 'dress'   {mbílri.39}
   já   o-hí-dhówá   o-hi-ábála   já   sáyóóta
   already   1-PFV.DJ-go   1-PFV.DJ-dress   already   9a.underskirt
   'she went, put on the underskirt'

(8.6)   Assimilation of *-hi-* with vocalic OM

a. *o**wáá**vuúz' áábál' aálîvo*   > *óvúúza* 'ask'   {mbílri.23}
   o-hí-á-vuúzá   ábálé   [a-á-lî = vo]_{REL}
   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask   2.DEM.III   2-PST-be = 16.LOC
   'he asked those who were there'

b. *o**waá**píyela dhílóbó*   > *opíyêla* 'cook for'   {maria.82}
   o-hi-á-píy-el-a   dhílóbó
   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi   10.thing
   'she prepared them food'

8.1.1.2   Stative reading

The perfective is also used to express a current state, when used with a certain type of verb, namely the stative or 'stativised' verbs. Stative verbs describe a static or unchanging state of being throughout their entire duration. This does not exclude the possibility of change in a later stage. For instance, while 'be tall' is supposed to be a permanent property, this is not necessarily the case with 'be cold'. In Cuwabo, the state reading can be interpreted as temporary (8.7) or permanent (8.8).

(8.7)   a. *ddiíléma vaddíddi*   {elic.}
            ddi-hí-léma   vaddíddi
            1SG-PFV.DJ-be.tired   much
            'I am very tired'

b. *vattólóní maánj' áawíínjívâvo*   {ddoo.31}
   va-ttóló = ní   maánjé   **a-hí-ínjívâ = vo**
   16-well = LOC   6.water   6-PFV.DJ-abound = 16.LOC
   'there is a lot of water in the well'

(8.8)   *Ddóólríndd' oókóddéla mas*   {ddoo.3}

    D.   **o-hí-kóddéla**   mas

    D.   1-PFV.DJ-be.beautiful   more

    'Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful'

The addition of certain extensions, such as the neuter (8.9) or the passive (8.10), allows changing the valency of the verb and typically produces stative verbs.

(8.9)   *námá eepíyéya vaddíddi*   {elic.}

    námá   **e-hi-píy-éy-a**   vaddíddi

    9.meat   9-PFV.DJ-cook-NTR-Fi   much

    'the meat is well cooked'

(8.10)   *báábe na mááye aazívéliwa*   {mute.18}

    báábe   na   mááye   **a-hi-zívél-iw-a**

    1a.father   with   1.mother   2-PFV.DJ-please-PASS-Fi

    'the parents were pleased'

The stative reading is also obtained with change-of-state verbs, as shown in the following examples with *óvibá* 'swell', *óríídha* 'be cold' and *órímééla* 'disappear'.

(8.11)   a. *modd' áág' oóvíba*   {elic.}

        moddo=ága   **o-hí-víba**

        3.leg=POSS.1SG   3-PFV.DJ-swell

        'my leg is swollen / my leg has swollen'

      b. *máánjé aáríídha*   {elic.}

        máánjé   **a-hí-ríídha**

        6.water   6-PFV.DJ-be.cold

        'the water has cooled down / the water is cold'

      c. *m̀bén' áága oórímééla*   {elic.}

        m̀béni=ága   **o-hí-rímééla**

        3.knife=POSS.1SG   3-PFV.DJ-disappear

        'my knife is lost, lend me yours'

As dynamic situations (or events) are more usual than stative ones in spontaneous situations of communication, we could say that, on the path of grammaticalisation, *-hi-* and *-ile* have reached the perfective step, but that stativity is still attested when the situation referred to is stative. This actually confirms the fact that stative verbs usually do not have forms with perfective meaning. And when they do, "the combination of perfectivity and stativity can only have a rather restricted semantic range - reference to a state with its

inception and termination" (Comrie 1976: 50-51), as shown in (8.12) with the verb *óziwá* 'know'.

(8.12)   *ebáríbari oziwilé ǹzílo*   {elic.}
     ebáríbari   o-ziw-ilé   ǹzílo
     9.truth   1-know-PFV.CJ   yesterday
     'he came to know the truth yesterday'

In this example, *óziwá* 'know' may in fact be better considered as a change-of-state verb, and not a stative verb, hence the 'came to know' reading.

In the following examples, we note that both stative/anterior and perfective are possible readings. In (8.13), *oókwa* can be interpreted as 'died' or 'is dead', and in (8.14), *eepátúwá* can be interpreted both as 'broke' and 'is broken'.

(8.13)   *íyééne kadhílé, sabwa mááyé: oókwa*   {elic.}
     íyééne   ka-dh-ílé   sabwa   mááyé   **o-hí-kwa**
     3SG.PRO NEG.1-go-PFV because 1.mother.POSS.3SG 1-PFV.DJ-die
     'he came because his mother died/is dead'

(8.14)   *kabál' êepātúwá sabwa: yaálí a wále*   {elic.}
     kabála   **e-hi-pātúwa**   sabwa   e-á-lí   a   wále
     9a.rope 9-PFV.DJ-break because 9-PST.IPFV-be 9.CON formerly
     'the rope broke/is broken because it was old'

Without a more explicit context, there is no way to distinguish which reading is more relevant than the other.

8.1.1.3   Negative perfective

The negative perfective is built upon the perfective suffix *-ile*, and not the perfective prefix *-hi-*. According to the semantic of the verb, both perfective and stative reading are obtained, as shown in (8.15) and (8.16), respectively.

(8.15)   *áwéén' óomutamelá, namárógolo kaǹfwányíle*   {ddingí.23}
     áwééne   o-mu-tamelá   namárógolo   **ka-mu-fwány-île**
     3PL.PRO NAR-OM1-look.for 1a.hare   NEG.2-OM1-find-PFV
     'they looked for the hare, but did not find him'

(8.16)   *mwáán' óotáméluwá koonéyîle*   {ddoo.22}

mwááná   o-hi-támél-uw-á   **ka-on-éy-île**

1.child   1-PFV.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi   NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV

'the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible)'

Note in (8.17) the predicative lowering process on the following object, here the infinitive verb *waattambilriya*.

(8.17)   *íyééne kafúńle waattambilriya anámálaba*   {elic.}

íyééne   **ka-fún-íle**   o-a-ttambilr-ih-a   anámálaba

3SG.PRO   NEG-want-PFV   15-OM2-get-CAUS-Fi.PL   2.worker

'he didn't want to pay the employees'

8.1.2   Past Perfective [PST PFV]

If *-hi-…-a* (DJ) and *-…-ile* (CJ) are patterns for perfective where the reference point is the present, *-a-hi-…-a* and *-a-…-ile* normally indicate a more remote situation in the past, encoded by the past TAM marker *-a-*. By more remote, two meanings are possible: first, along a timeline, the denoted action occurs further in the past; second, it is more remote by virtue of being related to another event, as English 'had V-ed' denotes. As will be shown below, the interchangeability of the perfective and past perfective in some contexts reflects this dual possibility in Cuwabo.

Similarly to the perfective, the past perfective makes a distinction between perfective and stative readings.

8.1.2.1   Perfective reading

(8.18)   DJ verb forms with *-hi-*

a. *omóónúwél' oóku m̀modha waákáanáávó' ǹtówa*   {maria.5}

omóónúwélo   óku   mu-modha   **o-a-hí-káaná = vó**   ǹtówa

17.growing.fase   17.DEM.I   1-one   1-PST-PFV.DJ-have = 16.LOC   5.curse

'in the growing process, one of them (had) got cursed'

b. *"muwííwá: ?" ayí': "niwííwa". awaákúla "niwííwá" bagóôva*   {maria.74}

mu-hí-íwá   ayíma   ni-hí-íwa

2PL-PFV.DJ-hear   2.child   1PL-PFV.DJ-hear

a-a-hí-akúla   ni-hí-íwá   ba-gá-ôva

2-PST-PFV.DJ-answer   1PL-PFV.DJ.hear   SEQ.2-SIT-be.afraid

'did you hear? The girls : we did. They had answered "we understood", but feeling fear.'

(8.19)   CJ verb forms with *-ile-*

a. *ábáal' aa Maríya [...] aádha. aadhél' óólimela*   {maria.69}

ábáale a   M.   a-hí-dha   **a-a-dh-él-é**   ólim-el-a

2.sister 2.CON M.   2-PFV.DJ-come   2-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ   15.cultivate-APPL-Fi.PL

'Maria's sisters [...] came. They had come to work.'

b. *waádhówííyé: kańzíwaawo. íyéén' waalogílé :*   {maria.21.22}
"ddińdhówá ddéédde baáhí burebúre"

[o-á-dhówá = íyé]$_{REL}$ ka-ní-zíwa = wo   íyééne   **o-a-log-ílé**

17-PST.IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO   NEG.1-IPFV-know = 17.LOC   3SG.PRO   1-PST-say-PFV.CJ

ddi-ní-dhówá   ddi-á-édd-e   baáhí   burebúre

1SG-IPFV.CJ-go   1SG-IT-walk-SBJ   only   at.random

'she did not know where she was going; she had said: "I am going to walk, at random"'

Interestingly, a semantic neutralisation may arise between the past perfective and the perfective, in that past perfective verb forms in the examples above could perfectly be replaced by the perfective. Furthermore, in some cases, a perfective interpretation with a present tense reference (translated by a simple preterit in English) even seems more adequate than with a past tense reference (translated in English by a pluperfect 'had Ved'). For instance, the following examples present direct speech situations in which a perfective would be more expected than a past perfective (in bold). In (8.20) the cat explains to the dog that he has been away for a few minutes to give the bird's son a name. And in (8.21), an old man wants to know if the bee has landed on a fruit.

(8.20)   *ddaadhowíl' óoṁvahá mwánáyé ńzíná viínágúwa*   {páaká.15}

ddi-a-dhow-ílé   o-mu-vahá   mwánáye   ńzíná   viíná-gúwa

1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ   15-OM1-give.PL   1.child.POSS.3SG   5.name   too-again

'I went to give his child a name again'

(8.21)   *[…] íyééne waámwérel' ólóbo dhaáyí yoobúrúnga: vamúríní, owaápa ?*   {maria.44}

	íyééne	**o-a-hí-mwérela**	ó-lóbo	dhaáyí	ya	obúlrúnga
	3SG.PRO	1-PST-PFV.DJ-land	17-thing	like.this.I	9.CON	15.make.round

	va-múrí = ní	o-hi-ápa
	16-3.tree = LOC	1-PFV.DJ-pluck

'[…] he (had) landed on a round fruit in a tree. did you pluck it?'

Further note that DJ past perfective and DJ perfective verb forms used with the SM of class 2 *a-* are not distinguishable, neither formally nor tonally, when applied on H-toned verbs. Thus the verb form *aámóoná* in (8.22), from the H verb *wóoná* 'see', can be interpreted either as 'they had seen her' (formally segmented *a-a-hí-mú-oná*) or 'they saw her' (segmented *a-hí-mú-oná*). This formal lack of distinction may be a first element of explanation toward the semantic neutralisation between the perfective and the past perfective.

(8.22)   *aámóoná ńnga múzúgu muzugúví baáhi*   {maria.67}

	a-a-hí-mú-oná	nínga	múzúgu	muzugú = ví	baáhi
	2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see	like	1.European	1.European = RESTR	only

'they had seen her as a white person, and only as a white person'

8.1.2.2 Stative reading

Like the simple perfective, the past perfective is used to express a state or condition when stative verbs are employed. The difference between both verb forms is the anchoring reference point: present in the former case, past in the latter case. Compare (8.23)a and (8.23)b.

(8.23)   a. *kāámâ dhiñgoōnóví dhihíndééya*   {elic.}

	kāámâ	dhi-ñgoōnó = ví	**dhi-hí-índ-ééy-a**
	10a.bed	10-few = RESTR	10-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi

'few beds are broken'

b. *kāámâ dhiñgoōnóví dhaahíndééya*   {elic.}

	kāámâ	dhi-ñgoōnó = ví	**dhi-a-hí-índ-ééy-a**
	10a.bed	10-few = RESTR	10-PST-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi

'few beds were broken'

In (8.23), the state of being broken is a consequence of a previous event consisting in bed breaking. However, while in (8.23)a the beds are still broken at the moment of utterance, in

(8.23)b, the breaking occurred at a further past time and the relevance of this event manifests in the past, i.e. at a time preceding the time of speech.

A stative past perfective can encode the state resulting from a dynamic past perfective. For instance, in (8.24), the first verb *ddaálezéla* is stative and represents the state of being drunk in a very recent past (*ǹzílo* 'yesterday'). This state results from a further past action brought up by the second verb form *ddaamwilé* 'I had drunk'. This verb form also has past and (conjoint) perfective markers, but unlike *ddaálezéla*, *ddaamwilé* represents a dynamic situation: drinking. And it shows a complete event in a further past, it then has a perfective reading.

(8.24)   *ǹzílô ddaálezéla vaddíddi, ddaamwílé oyema*   {semi-elic.}
          ǹzílô   **ddi-a-hí-lezéla**   vaddíddi   **ddi-a-mw-ílé**   oyema
          yesterday 1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-be.drunk much   1SG-PST-drink-PFV.CJ 14.palm.wine.PL
          'yesterday I was very drunk, I had drunk palm wine'

The state expressed by the past perfective may also be interpreted as the cause triggering another event, in turn interpreted as a punctual event (expressed by a simple perfective). Such a situation is illustrated in (8.25).

(8.25)   *mwir' ááye ohíígwa, sabwa micícīdhaá dhaahívûdda*   {elic.}
          mwirí=áye   o-hí-gwa   sabwa   micícī=dha   **dhi-a-hí-vûdda**
          3.tree=POSS.3SG 3-PFV.DJ-fall   because   4.root=4.DEF 4-PST-PFV.DJ-be.rotten
          'his tree has fallen/fell because its roots were rotten'

Here, the verb *dhaahívûdda* in example (8.25) indicates that the tree's roots were not strong, which is the consequence of a previous (and probably lasting) rotting process, hence a stative reading with a past reference. Regarding the first verb of this sentence, *ohígwa*, without any more explicit context, it can be interpreted as 1) a stative, in that his tree is currently in a state of having fallen (i.e. it is lying on the floor) because its roots were not strong. Such a stative reading would require a temporal adverb which involves the time of speech such as *ddabunó* 'today'; or 2) a perfective: the falling of the tree is seen as a (dynamic) event, the tree simply fell because its roots were not strong. Here, a possible temporal adverb would be *ǹzílo* 'yesterday'. But here, in the absence of an adverb, it is hard to determine which reading is meant.

Two more examples extracted from stories are provided in (8.26) with a DJ form and in (8.27) with a CJ form.

(8.26)   *mbílr' ij' aánúna vaddíddi*   {mbílri.17}

   mbílri   éjó   **e-a-hí-núna**   vaddíddi

   9a.fish.sp 9.DEM.II 9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat much

   'that fish was very fat (= healthy)'

(8.27)   *eetéén' aaazuzúmél' oókúle*   {maria.158}

   a-eté=éne **a-a-zuzúm-él-e**   ókúle

   2-all=INT 2-PST-be.confused-APPL-PFV.CJ 17.DEM.III

   'all were busy over there'

The verb in (8.26) represents in fact a permanent state, an inherent property of this type of fish, and could in this respect be expressed by a simple perfective, rather than a past perfective. However, the context of the story seems to matter and as the time reference is past, this verb form has to carry this past reference.

8.1.2.3   Negative past perfective

Similarly to the negative perfective, the past perfective makes use of the perfective suffix -*ile*, in addition to the pre-initial negative marker *ka-*. Both perfective and stative reading are exemplified in (8.28) and (8.29), respectively.

(8.28)   *eǹtáwú: , níngá kaajíle pa vénéw' óokosííyé masárápitt' ááyeén' áábo*   {mbílri.18}

   eǹtáwú níngá **ka-a-j-íle**   pa   vénéwó

   then   as   NEG.1-PST-eat-PFV 16.COP 16.EDEM.II

   [va-á-kosá=íyé   masárápitto ááye=éné   ábo]_{REL}

   16-PST.CJ-do=3SG.PRO 6.magic   6.POSS.3SG=INT 6.DEM.II

   'then, as he had not eaten, it is there that he decided to make that magic of his'

(8.29)   *mwáán' óóíle kaálóga. kaaziwíl' oologā*   {mute.2}

   mwááná óíle   ka-á-lóga   ka-a-ziw-ílé   ologā

   1.child 1.DEM.III NEG.1-PST.IPFV-speak NEG.1-PST-know-PFV 15.speak.PL

   'that child did not speak. she was not able to speak'

  To conclude on both perfective and past perfective in Cuwabo, we can say that: i) both tenses have developed the same aspectual distinction between dynamic situations and stative situations; ii) the morphemes -*hi*- and -*ile* are only and exclusively aspectual markers. They do not assume any temporal reference in themselves, and thus rely on the presence or absence of the -*a*- past prefix to distinguish between a present and a past anchoring; iii) while the difference of time reference (present or past) is clearly made with stative

situations, it is more ambiguous with dynamic situations which tend to have similar interpretations.

8.1.3   Present (Imperfective) [PRS IPFV]

The present (imperfective) is not marked for tense (as typical with present tense) but only by an aspectual prefix *-ni-*, which expresses imperfectivity. In Cuwabo, the imperfective aspect covers both continuous and habitual. Whereas the former denotes an unbounded view internal to an event (Comrie 1976), the latter indicates repetition or recurrence of an event over an unbounded interval. In Cuwabo, the DJ present forms differ morphologically from the CJ forms by the addition of the infinitive prefix between the imperfective prefix and the verb stem. Semantically, the present tense expresses an ongoing or progressive action at the time of utterance (8.30), as well as a more general and habitual present, which implies longer time span processes, encompassing the present moment (8.31).

(8.30)   On-going situations

	CJ	*onímóoná múyaná w' oókóddéla vaddíddí*			{maria.106}

        o-ní-mú-oná   múyaná   wa   ókóddéla   vaddíddi

        1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see   1.woman.PL   1.CON   15.be.beautiful   much

        'he sees a very beautiful woman'

   DJ   *"akále Ddoolríndo?" "peénóto" "sií, nááda nyúwó múnózívâla!"*   {ddoo.27}

        a-kál-e   D.   peénó = to   sií   náda   nyúwó   **mú-ni-ózívâla**

        1-be-SBJ   D.   WOND = then   INTER   no   2RESP.PRO   2RESP-IPFV.DJ-15.lie

        "Is it Ddoolrinddo?!" "I don't know!" "[excl.], no! You are lying."

(8.31)   Habitual present

   CJ   *bābááni oǹkálêca vatákûlu*   {elic.}

        bābááni   **o-ni-kál-êc-a**   va-tákûlu

        1a.my.father   2-IPFV.CJ-be-DUR-Fi   16-9a.home

        'my father spends the day at home'

   DJ   *vatákúlúvaw' aánóója dereétú ʷānóómw' áánókosá dhootédhéné:*   {maria.13}

        va-tákúlú = vawa   **á-ni-ója**   dereétú   **á-ni-ómwá**

        16-9a.home = 16.POSS.3PL   2-IPFV.DJ-15.eat   well   2-IPFV.DJ-15.drink

        á-ni-ókosá   dhi-oté = dhéné

        2-IPFV.DJ-15.do   10-all = 10.INT

        'at home, they eat well, drink and do whatever they want'

The imperfective marker in the CJ forms systematically surfaces as a syllabic nasal, homorganic with the following stem consonant onset, as shown in *oǹkálêca* in (8.31). However, the addition of an OM, as in *onímóoná* in (8.30), indicates that the underlying form is *-ni-*.

Interestingly, another construction for the DJ present (imperfective) exists. It is morphologically similar to the aforementioned one, but exhibits a slight tone difference, marked by the absence of a H tone on the subject marker. Compare (8.32)a and (8.32)b.

(8.32)   a. *ddínógúlíha*   b. *ddinógúlíha*

        ddí-ni-ógúlíha   **ddi**-ni-ógúlíha

        1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.sell   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.sell

        'I am selling'   'I am selling / I am going to sell'

Sérgio, my main consultant, states that forms as in (8.32)b with no H on the SM are used to express a near future, translated as 'be going to' in English. Illustrating examples are provided in (8.33). The temporal range of this near future is not easy to determine, but at least covers "tomorrow" as shown in the example (8.33)b.

(8.33)   Near future

    a. *náadat' óonwaáláv' aánááyíma*   {mbílri.38}

      náda = tó   **o-ni-á-láva**   áná-áyíma

      no = then   2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM2-curse   2.child-2.child

      'not this way, you are going to provoke curse on the children'

    b. *mángwááana, míyó ǹnódhána múnânddo*   {maria.112}

      mangwááná   míyó   **ni-ni-ódhá = na**   múnânddo

      tomorrow   1SG.PRO   1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come = COM   1.co-wife.POSS.2SG

      'tomorrow, I will bring your co-wife'

    c. *eḿfúnééényu kalógáni míyó ǹnowúttámbirihani*   {maria.141}

      [e-ní-fúná = ínyu]REL   ka-lógá = ni   míyó

      9-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO   IMP-say = PLA   1SG.PRO

      ni-ni-o-ú-ttámbir-ih-a = ni

      1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-receive-CAUS-Fi = PLA

      'tell whatever you want, and I will grant you'

However, it turns out that the same form with a toneless SM is also used in a wider range of situations, and in fact assumes the same usage as the first CJ form seen above. It thus typically describes an on-going event at the time of speech (8.34), as well as a habitual present (8.35) or even a generic statement (8.36).

(8.34)   On-going situations

ǹnóóná ǹng' aámbáva [...] awíínjíva   {ddingí.25}

ni-ni-ó-óna   nínga   ámbáva   a-hí-ínjíva
1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-see   as   2.thief   2-PFV.DJ-abound

'I see that the thieves [...] are many!'

(8.35)   Habitual present

ddigaadhowá ǹmátakúlú mwaaw' aanóddíttamagíhá: {maria.19}

ddi-gaa-dhowá   mu-mátakúlú   mwaawa   a-ni-ó-ddí-ttamag-íh-á
1SG-SIT-go   18-6.house   18.POSS.3PL   2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi

'when I go and visit them, they make me run all around'

(8.36)   Generic statement

oshága onoḿpémbelríha múttu   {mute.23}

oshága   o-ni-o-mú-pémbelr-íh-a   múttu
14.smartness   14-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-be.fair-CAUS-Fi   1.people

'cleverness often benefits man'

It appears that the presence of the H tone on the SM allows the interpretation of a near future, while its absence semantically restrains the verb form to progressive or habitual present. We may tentatively assume that the Ø-toned SM form is heading toward a process of semantic specialisation, which will tend to discard the progressive and habitual meanings (associated with the H-toned SM form) and concentrate exclusively on the near future interpretation. Still, at this point, I refrain from further speculation.

Further note that in both DJ forms, the sequence of the imperfective *-ni-* plus the infinitive *o-* undergoes as expected an elision process, but no vowel lengthening occurs, which means that one mora is lost on the surface form. This is true for every verb, except both monosyllabic (8.37) and vowel-initial (8.38) stems, which display vowel lengthening and thus maintain the number of moras originally found in the input.

(8.37)   *ddinosápá, wéy' óonoójá [kuńddívahámo]*   {body.8}

ddi-ni-osápá   wéyó   o-ni-ójá
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt   2SG.PRO   2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat

'I bring food, you eat [you do not give me anything]'

(8.38)   *namárógolo ol' úúdhúlú wa muyér' oónówííbá wénéwo*   {ddingí.18}

namárógolo   o-lí   odhúlú   wa   muyére   ó-ni-ó-íbá   wénéwo
1a.hare   1-be   17.top   17.CON   3.tree.sp 1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing   17.EDEM.II

'the hare is at the top of the tree sp., he is singing up there'

However, vowel lengthening no longer holds as soon as a derivational extension is added to a monosyllabic stem (8.39), or in case an object marker is present (8.40).

(8.39)   *naámbédd' oónójúwáávi*   {ddingí.24}

naámbédde   **ó-ni-ój-úw-á=vi**

1a.maize   1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi=RESTR

'maize keeps being eaten'

(8.40)   a. *ddinolímá naámbéddéː, wéy' oónomúja*   {elic. from body.8}

ddi-ni-olímá   naámbédde   wéyó   **o-ni-o-mú-já**

1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate   1a.maize   2SG.PRO   2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-eat

'I cultivate maize, you eat it'

b. *ddinómóoná*   {elic.}

ddi-ni-ó-mú-oná

1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-see

'I see it (cl.1)'

Both DJ and CJ present verb forms may host the pre-final suffix *-ag-*, to express a generic statement (8.41)a or a habitual (8.41)b.

(8.41)   a. *áttú anocéttága na máttîyu*   {elic.}

áttú   **a-ni-océtt-ág-a**   na   máttîyu

2.people   2-IPFV.DJ-15.dance-HAB-Fi   by   6.night

'people usually dance at night'

b. *kaddíńgúlágá garoóso, ddíńgúlága manduwi*   {semi-elic.}

ka-ddi-ní-gúl-ág-á   garoóso   **ddi-ní-gúl-ág-a**   manduwi

NEG-1SG-IPFV-buy-HAB-Fi   10a.caju.nut.PL   1SG-IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi   6.peanut.PL

'I do not buy caju nuts, I usually buy peanuts'

The negative present illustrated below formally associates the pre-initial negative *ka-* with the CJ verb form.

(8.42)   a. *onimúttéba ddi míyo. kanééddá yéeka.*   {body.11}

[o-ni-mú-ttéba]$_{REL}$ ddi   míyo   **ka-ní-éddá**   yéeka

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-carry   1.COP   1SG.PRO   NEG.1-IPFV-walk   1.alone

'I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.'

b. *ónóm̅vedá na méńto, kanímóoná*   {maria.165}

ó-ni-ó-mú-vedá   na   méńto   **ka-ní-mú-oná**

1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-look.for   with   6.eye   NEG.1-IPFV-OM1-see

'he is looking for him with the eyes, but does not see him'

8.1.4 Past Imperfective [PST IPFV]

The past imperfective is used to express a process in the past, or an event that occurred more than once in the past. In Cuwabo, both DJ and CJ forms are marked by the TAM prefix *-á-*, which in itself seems to assume a past imperfective marker (it differs tonally from the past prefix *-a-*, seen in the past perfective, section 8.1.2). Still, the DJ form is further marked by the TAM prefix *-ni-* 'IPFV', which means that it is formally double-marked for the imperfective aspect.

DJ form

a. *ábále: ábáalé éenâ: áánimunyapwaaríya*   {maria.7}

ábále	ábáalé	á-inâ	**á-á-ni-mu-nyapwaaríya**
2.DEM.III	2.sister	2-other	2-PST-IPFV.DJ-OM1-despise

'the other sisters despised her'

b. *vaálíimí mwáaná:, ddáánja mattákâ vaddíddi*   {semi-elic.}

[va-á-lí = imí	mwáaná]REL	**ddí-á-ni-ja**	mattákâ	vaddíddi
16-PST.IPFV-be = 1SG.PRO	1.child	1SG-PST-IPFV-eat.DJ	6.sand	much

'when I was a child, I used to eat a lot of sand'

(8.43)   CJ form

a. *eetéén' aáb' wáármagyedha Namárógolo*   {ddingí.5}

a-eté = êne	ábó	**a-á-mú-magyedha**	namárógolo
2-all = INT	2.DEM.II	2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-slander	1a.hare

'all of them were slandering Mr.Hare'

b. *ózómbwe wáaga wootééne ddaágúla kokó, baddigágulíha mulója*   {semi-elic.}

ózómbwe	wáaga	o-oté = éne	**ddi-á-gúla**	kokó
14.youth	14.POSS.1SG	14-all = INT	1SG-PST.IPFV.CJ-buy	10a.coconut.PL

ba-ddi-gá-gul-íh-a	mu-lója
SEQ-1SG-SIT-buy-CAUS-Fi	18-5.shop

'during all my childhood, I used to buy coconut and sell it at the store'

Both DJ and CJ forms may further be marked by the habitual extension *-ag-*, as shown in (8.44).

(8.44)   a. *vaánéemíína yiítêlé:, ddáńgulíhága soókîri*   {semi-elic.}

[va-á-ná = imí = na	yiítêlé]REL	**ddí-á-ni-gulíh-ág-a**	soókîri
16-PST.IPFV-have = 1SG.PRO = COM	9.bar	1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-sell-HAB-Fi	9a.sugar

'when I had a bar, I used to sell sugar'

b. *ddaágúlaga mandduwi*   {elic.}

    ddi-á-gúl-ag-a   mandduwi

    1SG-PST.IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi   6.peanut.PL

    'I used to sell peanuts'

Finally, the examples in (8.45) illustrate the negative past imperfective, formed by adding the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* to the CJ form.

(8.45)   a. *mwáádhíye kaámváha mwámúni, mwámúní kadhaámfiya*   {mbílri.9}

    mwáádhí = ye   **ka-á-mú-váha**   mwámúni   **ka-dhi-á-mú-fiya**

    1.wife = POSS.3SG   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-OM1-give   1.husband   NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-arrive

    '(the good things he brings, after she cooks them,) his wife did not give them to her husband, they did not reach him.'

    b. *kaázíveluwána sabw' éélá: ḿbáalááw' oonyákûwa*   {maria.8}

    ka-á-zíveluw-án-a   sabwa   wíílá   ḿbáalí = awa   o-hi-nyákûwa

    NEG.2-PST.IPFV-like-REC-Fi   because   CMP   1.sister = POSS.3PL   1-PFV.DJ-be.dirty

    'they did not like her because she was pale/weak'

8.1.5 Future [FUT]

There are two grades of future whose difference is not linked with temporal remoteness but with aspectual precisions: one is a simple or indeterminate future while the other is an imperfective one. This section deals with the simple one, which neutrally expresses that an event will take place in the future, be it close or remote.

As with the present imperfective, the CJ and DJ forms of the simple future are distinguished by the presence or absence of the infinitive prefix. While the CJ forms make use of the TAM prefix *-náá-*, plus the irrealis final vowel *-e* (8.46), the DJ future is formed by means of the auxiliary *wíílá* 'do, say', followed by the infinitive verb. From this incorporation process, if we decompose the future verbs observed in (8.47), we can suppose that the form *-neelá-* is the output of a coalescence process between the (toneless!) future prefix *-naa-* + the auxiliary *-ila*, hence the gloss 'FUT.DJ-AUX'. Furthermore, the infinitive verb undergoes Predicative Lowering (PL). This means that the verb stem remains toneless in Ø-toned verbs, but maintains the lexical H on the penult mora with H-toned verbs.

(8.46)   CJ forms

    a. *ddínowóóvá wíí ddigaasuńza buré, ddináátádûwe*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-ni-ó-óvá		wíí	ddi-gaa-suńza	buré	**ddi-náá-tádûw-e**
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-be.afraid		CMP	1SG-SIT-learn	much	1SG-FUT.CJ-get.mad-IRR

        'I fear that if I study a lot, I will get mad'

    b. *peén' áákala munáádhówe mángwáána:, ánddímúwáya kanálóg' eelo*   {semi-elic.}

peénó	ákala	**mu-náá-dhów-e**	mángwáána	ánddímúwá = ya	ka-ná-lóga	elo
WOND	if	2PL-FUT.CJ-go-IRR	tomorrow	2.chief = DEF	NEG.2-CE-say9.thing.PL	

        'I do not know if you are going tomorrow, the chiefs have not said anything yet'

(8.47)   DJ forms

    a. *na góyî dhawééné mulúgú agafuná oneelówúunúwa*   {semi-elic.}

na	góyî	dhaawó = éne	mulúgú	a-ga-funá	**o-naa-ilá-wúunúwa**
with	9a.sorrow	like.that.II = INT	1.god	1-SIT-want	1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.grow.PL

        'despite such sorrow, if God wishes, you will grow'

    b. *óĺĺééne, [ojíl' éésáv' iíjí] oneelóómuttidda vénêva*   {mbílri.14}

óĺĺé = éne	[o-j-ílé	ésávi	éjí]_{REL}	**o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-ttidda**
1.DEM.III = INT	1-eat-PFV.REL	9.relish	9.DEM.I	1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-catch.PL

vénêva
16.EDEM.I

        'the very one who ate the relish, it will catch him straight away'

The future marker *-naa-* is undoubtedly linked with the grammaticalised verb form *-na* 'have' (see section 9.1.3), derived from the conjunction *na* 'and, with'. The resulting forms are literally interpreted as 'I have to V'.

Conjoint forms are mostly attested in questions, in which the interrogative pronoun always follows the conjoint verb form (see section 10.2 for an analysis of the interrogatives).

(8.48)   a. *kí nináákósé dháavi ?*   {maria.95}

kí	**ni-náá-kós-é**	dháavi
EMPH	1PL-FUT.CJ-do-IRR	how

          'what are we going to do?'

    b. *kí ddaahílími m̀búga ǹnáádhéna ʷuuvi ?*   {semi-elic.}

kí	ddi-a-hí-lím-i		m̀búga	**ni-náá-dh-é = na**		uuvi
EMPH	1SG-SIT-NEG-cultivate-NEG		3.rice	1PL-FUT.CJ-come-IRR = COM		where

          'if I do not cultivate, where will I find rice?'

Both future forms may affix the habitual pre-final marker *-ag-*, as shown in (8.49).

(8.49)   a. *ddinááfúlége guwo*   {elic.}

      ddi-náá-fúl-ég-e   guwo

      1SG-FUT.CJ-wash-HAB-IRR   10.cloth.PL

    b. *ddineelóófulága gúwo*   {elic.}

      ddi-naa-ilá-óful-ág-a   gúwo

      1SG-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.wash-HAB-Fi.PL 10.cloth

      'I will wash clothes'

The negative future is built upon the affirmative CJ future, to which the negative pre-initial marker *ka-* is added, as exemplified below.

(8.50)   *mugahídhów' oomusiká: , kamunááje*   {semi-elic.}

    mu-ga-hí-dhówa   o-musiká   ka-mu-náá-j-e

    2RESP-SIT-NEG-go   17-3.market.PL   NEG-2RESP-FUT-eat-IRR

    'if you do not go to the market, you will not eat'

8.1.6 Future imperfective [FUT IPFV]

The future imperfective indicates a lengthy and unbounded process, taking place in the future. I first thought of a progressive aspect as my main consultant would most of the time translate this verb form by a progressive form: 'he will be V-ing', indicating an on-going process at some future point in time. But the fact that habitual suffix can be added to this future form shows it ought to be considered as an imperfective. What habitual and imperfective actually share is the notion of lengthy and unbounded duration, as contrasted with progressive, which emphasises a short period of time around the point of reference, which is not necessarily always the case in Cuwabo.

The future imperfective is marked by the morpheme *-gá-*, which includes a high tone as part of its constituent structure. The DJ forms (8.51) differ from the CJ forms (8.52) in adding the imperfective prefix *-ni-*, already observed in DJ forms of the past imperfective. We may infer that this prefix, above an imperfective aspectual reading, is most often associated with DJ constructions. However, we cannot generalise here, since *-ni-* appears in both DJ and CJ present tense.

(8.51)   DJ forms : *-gá-ni-…-a*

    a. *agahífúlege guwo dhaáyé: agáńnuka*   {semi-elic.}

        a-gaa-hí-fúl-eg-e   guwo   dhaáyé   **a-gá-ní-nuka**

        1-SIT-NEG-wash-HAB-Fi   10a.cloth.PL   10.POSS.3SG   1-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-smell.bad

        'if he does not wash his clothes, he will smell bad'

    b. *kattíyá dhoóbódha vélévo, agánáañgána*   {semi-elic.}

        ka-ttíyá   dhoóbó = dha   vélévo   **a-gá-ní-añgána**

        IMP-leave   10.luggage = 10.DEF   16.PRO.DEM.I   1-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-see

        'leave the luggage right here, he will be watching them'

(8.52)   CJ forms: *-gá-…-a*

    a. *míyó ńngá kaddiná múdhîdhi dereétú: , naámbédde ddigámúlima na mattí*   {semi-elic.}

        míyó   níngá   ka-ddi-ná   múdhîdhi   dereétú   naámbédde

        1SG.PRO   as   NEG-1SG-have   3.time   well   1a.maize

        ddi-gá-mú-lima   na   mattí

        1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-OM1-cultivate   by   6.night

        'as I don't have time enough, I will be cultivating maize at night'

    b. *wéyó wa mwáánáya, ogáséma macukwa*   {semi-elic.}

        wéyó   wa   mwááná = ya   **o-gá-séma**   macukwa

        2SG.PRO   1.CON   1.child = DEF   2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-work.wood   6.beam.PL

        'you the youngest one, you will be cleaning up the beams'

As mentioned above, the habitual pre-final TAM marker *-ag-* may be added to both CJ and DJ forms of future imperfective, as shown in (8.53).

(8.53)   CJ   *ddigágúlaga mandduwi*   {elic.}

                  ddi-gá-gúl-ag-a   mandduwi

                  1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi   6.peanut.PL

                  'I will be buying peanuts'

       DJ   *áyím' aábále agaawunúwa agáńlimaga*   {semi-elic.}

                  áyíma   ábále   a-gaa-unúwa   **a-gá-ní-lim-ag-a**

                  2.child   2.DEM.III   2-SIT-grow   2-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate-HAB-Fi

                  'these children, when they grow up, will be good farmers'

When the future imperfective is introduced by a counterfactual verb form as in (8.54), it is better interpreted as a hypothetical situation, dependent on the event described in the subordinate if-clause. This may be explained by the uncertain value of the future: since it describes a situation that has not happened yet, speculations may be permitted, hence the

possibility of a hypothetical interpretation. Furthermore, the imperfective aspectual reading is preserved.

(8.54)   *kuulugúwága ddaálí musupáyi, ddigáṁpuja*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-olog-úw-ág-a   ddi-á-lí   musupáyi

    CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL   1SG-PST.IPFV-be   1.policeman.PL

    ddi-gá-ní-puja

    1SG-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-despise

    'if I were a policeman, I would joke (with people)'

Interestingly, this hypothetical value of the future imperfective is invariably attested in the few examples of the negative future imperfective available in my database, two of which are provided in (8.55). Note in (8.55)a the presence of the optional negative final vowel *-i*.

(8.55)   a. *maásíkiní kúuwiilúwa ddaáli musilaámu, kaddigáp' íifuwo*   {semi-elic.}

       maásíkiní   kú-wiil-úw-a   ddi-á-li   musilaámu

       even.if   CF-15.tell-PASS-Fi.PL   1SG-PST.IPFV-be   1.muslim.PL

       ka-ddi-gá-p-i   efuwo

       NEG-1SG-FUT.IPFV-kill-NEG   9.domestic.animal.PL

       'even if I was a Muslim, I would not slaugther domestic animals'

    b. *ovuruvuru waawiínjívelé, kagáwásuluwa*   {semi-elic.}

       ovuruvuru   [o-á-ínjív-el-é]_{REL}   **ka-gá-wásul-uw-a**

       14.undiscipline.PL   14-OM2-abound-APPL-PFV.CJ   NEG.2-FUT.IPFV-whip-PASS-Fi

       'this is for being very stubborn, they would otherwise not be whipped'

8.1.7   Hypothetical [HYP]

The hypothetical tense, marked by the prefix *-gaa-*[43], expresses the result or the logical consequence of a situation presented as a condition. In this configuration, the hypothetical verb constitutes the main or independent clause (known as apodosis), while the conditional situation represents a dependent clause (called the protasis), often conveyed by a counterfactual verb (8.56), or a past imperfective (8.57). Note that no hypothetical form was found in spontaneous speech. Instead, every following example was created by my main consultant Sérgio.

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[43] The hypothetical marker *-gaa-* may have the same etymological origin as the future imperfective marker *-ga-*, but even if it was the case, it is obvious that both formatives evolved differently.

(8.56)   *kowaafwanyávo áttu, ddigaálôga*   {semi-elic.}

 ka-o-a-fwanyá = vo   áttu   **ddi-gaa-hí-lôga**

 CF-15-OM2-meet.PL = 16.LOC   2.people   1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-tell

 'if I had met people, I would tell / would have told'

(8.57)   *ddigaágulá koowiilúwa ddaákáana koóbílri yo wáákwánéla*   {semi-elic.}

 ddi-gaa-hí-gulá   ka-o-il-úw-a   ddi-á-káana   koóbílri   ya

 1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-buy   CF-15-tell-PASS-Fi.PL   1SG-PST.IPFV-have   9a.money   9.CON

 wáákwán-él-a

 15.be.enough-APPL-Fi

 'I would buy if I had enough money to'

The circumstance(s) upon which the result is contingent, rather than being expressed by means of a dependent clause, may also appear as a juxtaposed independent clause, to be understood as a contrastive clause. For instance, in (8.58)a, she would weave a mat, *but* she lacked thread. In (8.58)b, he would study, *but* he got no allowance.

(8.58)   a. *waatuwíle osalu, agaálúwa bwenddéna*   {semi-elic.}

 o-a-tuw-íle   osalu   **a-gaa-hí-lúwa**   bwenddé = na

 1-PST-miss-PFV.CJ   14.thread.PL   1-HYP-PFV.DJ-weave   5.mat.sp = 5.DEF

 'she (had) lacked thread, (otherwise) she would weave / have weaved a mat'

 b. *agaásuńza waatuwílé mukamyéédhi*   {semi-elic.}

 a-gaa-hí-suńza   o-a-tuw-ílé   mukamyéédhi

 1-HYP-PFV.DJ-study   1-PST-lack-PFV.CJ   1.subsidiary.PL

 'he would study, (but) he got no allowance'

As can be seen from the examples in (8.58), the class 1 subject marker *o-* always surfaces as *a-* in the hypothetical tense. Furthermore all the examples above, which exhibit conjoint verb forms, show that when *-gaa-* is followed by the conjoint perfective marker *-hi-*, its long vowel shortens due to the restriction on trimoraic syllables. The same vowel shortening is attested in the negative situative tense, between the situative marker *-gaa-* and the negative marker *-hi-* (see section 8.2.5 below).

So far, the hypothetical verb forms exemplified are all disjoint.

(8.59)   a. *īyééne oólógá wí agaadhowílé ǹzílo*   {elic.}

 īyééne   o-hí-lógá   wí   **a-gaa-dhow-ílé**   ǹzílo

 3SG.PRO   1-PFV.DJ-say   CMP   1-HYP-go-PFV.CJ   yesterday

 'he said you would go yesterday'

b. *ddigaafiyíle ńzána kohíkálagá muráttó ogujúwîle*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-gaa-fiy-íle	ńzána	ka-o-hí-kál-ag-á
1SG-HYP-arrive-PFV.CJ	before.yesterday	CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-Fi

muráttó	[o-gujúw-île]REL
3.bridge	3-be.broken-PFV.REL

'I would have arrived before yesterday if there had not been broken bridge'

Following are a few examples of the negative hypothetical, made of the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* and the aspectual suffix *-ile*.

(8.60)   a. kaddigaafunílé wuttu, íyééne waatukúĺle m̀buga   {semi-elic.}

ka-ddi-gaa-fun-ílé	wuttu	íyééne	o-a-tukúl-íle	m̀buga
NEG-1SG-HYP-want-PFV	14.flour.PL	3SG.PRO	1-PST-take-PFV.CJ	3.rice.PL

'I would not accept flour, (when) he borrowed rice'

b. kohíkálagá koddó, kamugaabélélle   {semi-elic.}

ka-o-hí-kál-ag-á	koddó	ka-mu-gaa-abélél-ile
CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-Fi	9a.war.PL	NEG-2PL-HYP-swim-PFV

'if it was not on account of the war, you would not swim'

8.1.8   Counterexpectational [CE] : 'not yet' tense

The counterexpectational tense, abbreviated as CE, is used both in positive and negative forms. The positive form, which makes use of an auxiliary, is discussed in section 8.4.2. On the other hand, the negative forms (one with *ka-* and the other with *-hi-*) are synthetic and contain the TAM prefix *-ná-*, which serves as a CE marker. Semantically, the negative form indicates that it still is the case that a certain situation does not hold at the time of speech. It corresponds to the English expression 'not yet'. This label was first put forward by Schadeberg (1990) who named it 'das Unerwartete'. Schadeberg explains the CE as a situation that has not come about at the time of speech, regardless of any past situation. However the form includes the possibility that the situation may still occur in the future. Another property of this verb form is that it goes against the expectation of the interlocutor (or the addressee). For instance in (8.61)a, the speaker is expecting his friend's return. This one should have arrived by the time, but has not, hence the question with *kunámála …* 'have you not finished …'. In (8.61)b, the character Ddoolrinddo has drowned in the well and is thus expected to be found dead, but the verb *kanákwa* indicates that she is not.

(8.61) a. *ogákóodd' oódha kunámál' oōsíńtínáárí: ?*   {páaká.31}

      o-gá-kóodda   ódha   **ku-ná-mála**   ōsíńtínáárí

      2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-refuse 15.come   NEG.2SG-CE-finish 15.defecate

      'are you not coming, are you not done yet with your necessities?'

    b. *oṁmála wóódda. só kanákwa.*   {ddoo.35}

      o-hi-mála   wóódda   só   **ka-ná-kwa**

      1-PFV.DJ-finish   15.be.thin but   NEG.1-CE-die

      'she has turned thin, but she had not died yet'

As can be seen from the examples in (8.61), the counterexpectational is expressed by the prefix *-ná-* which is underlyingly H. Both counterexpectational forms exist, an independent (presented here) and a dependent (developed in section 8.2.4 below). The independent verb form carries the negative pre-initial prefix *ka-*.

When the habitual suffix *-ag-* is added to a CE form, a longer time span is considered, in that the situation referred to has *never* happened, as shown in (8.62).

(8.62) a. *kanákósiwaga ńng' eesééné*   {maria.84}

      ka-ná-kós-iw-ag-a   nínga   esí꞊éné

      NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi   as   10.DEM.I꞊INT

      'things like this have never been done before'

    b. *míyó múnddáaw' oókó (óńlógíínyú) kaṁnáviragáwo*   {ddingi.6}

      míyó   o-múnddá꞊wa   ókó   ...   **ka-ni-ná-vír-ag-á꞊wo**

      1SG.PRO 17-3.field꞊17.DEM   17.DEM.II ...   NEG.1PL-CE-go.by-DUR꞊17.LOC

      'in this plantation (you are referring to), I have never been through it.'

8.2 Dependent inflected tenses

8.2.1 Imperatives [IMP]

Two imperative forms exist in Cuwabo, which both express a command. One common feature is that they include no subject marker, but systematically involve a 2nd person, singular or plural when the PLA enclitic ꞊*ni* is added.

The first form consists solely of the verb stem, with a H anchored on the last mora. It is very rarely attested in the language, and the following examples were elicited.

(8.63)   a. *capá mwáánddíya, okosilé dháavi ?*   {elic.}

       capá   mwáánddíya   o-kos-ilé   dháavi

       paddle   3.canoe   2SG-do-PFV.CJ   how

       'paddle (2sg) the canoe, what have you done ?!'

     b. *gulaní máfúg' aábo*   {elic.}

       gula = ní   máfúgi   ábo

       buy = PLA   6.banana   6.DEM.II

       'buy (2pl) those bananas!'

The second imperative form, much more common, makes use of the prefix *ka-* directly attached to the verb stem.

(8.64)   a. óllé Maríya omurumá Ddóólrínddo : "kadhówá vatákûlu!"   {ddoo.12}

       óllé   maríya   o-mu-rumá   D. **ka-dhówá** va-tákûlu

       1.DEM.III   maria   NAR-OM1-order D. IMP-go   16-9a.house

       'that Maria ordered Ddoolrinddo : "Go home!" '

     b. *íyééne waawiméca : "nyúwó karómáni wííméláani !"*   {maria.72}

       íyééne   o-a-iméca   nyúwó   **ka-rómá = ni**   wíímélá = ni

       3SG.PRO   NAR-OM2-rigidify   2PL.PRO IMP-start = PLA   15.stand = PLA

       'she made them stop: "you, stand up first!"'

Although this formative is phonologically indistinguishable from the negative pre-initial marker *ka-*, found in the independent tenses, its function and origin is different. Historically, *-ka* is a motion verb which means 'go' (Botne 1999, 2003). Imperative forms with *-ka-* are then associated with the itive concept of going. While Watkins (1937) identifies it through the notion of *-ka- movendi*, Botne (2003: 397) refers to a "distal imperative", and Devos speaks of "subsecutive imperative" (2008: 335). In Cuwabo, it seems that this idea of movement conveyed by *ka-* progressively eroded, and that the formative grammaticalised toward a simple imperative meaning. As far as I know, this grammaticalisation path is rarely attested over the Bantu domain.

The habitual suffix *-ag-* can be added to the imperative, without triggering any modification, as shown in (8.65).

(8.65)   *dhińfúnéényú kadhéélaganí*   {maria.97}

       [dhi-ní-fúná = ínyú]_{REL}   ka-dh-éél-ag-a = ní

       10-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO   IMP-go-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA

       'anything you want, come and collect'

Note that when an object marker is added, the final vowel changes to -*e*, which may be considered as a mere constraint, commonly attested in Eastern Bantu languages (e.g. in Swahili *soma kitabu* 'read a book' becomes *ki-som-e* 'read it', with *ki-* as class 7 OM). Furthermore, the tone pattern is also modified from the first stem mora to the pre-macrostem mora, i.e. onto the prefix *ka-* (see section 3.4.2.4 for more details on tones), as shown in (8.66).

(8.66)   a. *kámúwelelenī*   {ddingí.19}   b. *káddíjeedheni*   {maria.90}

       ká-mú-wel-el-e＝nī   ká-ddí-jeedh-e＝ni

       IMP-OM1-climb-APPL-Fi＝PLA   IMP-OM1SG-wait-Fi＝PLA

       'Catch him! (lit. 'climb after him')   'wait for me'

Unexpectedly, a prohibitive form exists in Cuwabo, which is morphologically and tonally similar to the conjoint future (see section 8.1.5 above). The formative -*náá*- expresses future in both tenses, however the final vowel -*e* carries different functions: in the conjoint future, it describes an irrealis situation (glossed IRR), while in the prohibitive, it serves as a prohibitive (glossed PROH). Compare (8.67) and (8.68).

(8.67)   FUT.CJ   *kí nináákósé dháavi ?*   {maria.95}

         kí   **ni-náá-kós-é**   dháavi

         EMPH   1PL-FUT.CJ-do-IRR   how

         'what are we going to do?'

(8.68)   PROH   *etélo éjó emvégíwúúna onáákúttúle óttʼ úûbo*   {semi-elic.}

         etélo   éjó   e-ní-végá＝íwé＝na

         9.van   9.DEM.II 9-IPFV.CJ-play＝2SG.PRO＝INSTR

         o-náá-kúttúl-e   óttú   óbo

         2SG-FUT-spill-PROH   14.flour   14.DEM.II

         'this van, which you are playing with, do not spill the flour!'

Syntactically, the two verb forms differ with respect to what follows the verb. The conjoint future implies, as expected, PL on the following object. This is not the case with the prohibitive. Another syntactic difference between these two tenses is that whereas the conjoint future must be followed by an object or a complement, the prohibitive can appear sentence-finally. Compare (8.69) and (8.70).

(8.69)   *wéyó onovááNyedha na míyó vaddíddí ddabun' óónáágón' ootákûlu*   {semi-elic.}

    wéyó   o-ni-ováány-edh-a   na   míyó   vaddíddí

    2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.transgress-APPL-Fi with 1SG.PRO much

    ddabunó   **ó-náá-gón-e**   o-tákûlu

    today   2SG-FUT.CJ-sleep-IRR   17-9a.courtyard

    'you are transgressing the limits with me, today you are going to sleep outside in the courtyard'

(8.70)   *mángwáána míyó ddinowújéedhela onáájómbe*   {semi-elic.}

    mángwáána   míyó   ddi-ni-o-ú-jéedh-el-a   **o-náá-jómb-e**

    tomorrow   1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-wait-APPL-Fi 2SG-FUT-miss-PROH

    'tomorrow I will wait for you, do not miss'

8.2.2   Subjunctive [SBJ]

The subjunctive is formed by means of the final vowel *-e*, glossed 'SBJ', while the other TAM positions remain empty. This means that the subjunctive is inherently tenseless. Instead, the context or the main verb (in case of dependent subjunctive clause) indicates the tense value. The subjunctive, also labelled "optative" in other grammars, serves a wide range of uses, and may appear in dependent as well as independent clauses.

In dependent or subordinate clauses, the subjunctive often has a purposive meaning. In this case, it may be introduced by the complementiser *wíílá* 'that' (8.71), but not necessarily (8.72).

(8.71)   *waavedágá: áttú wíílá amwáámele naámbéedde*   {ddingí.3}

    o-a-ved-ág-á   áttú   wíílá   **a-mú-ámel-e**   naámbéedde

    NAR-OM2-look.for-HAB-Fi 2.people CMP 2-OM1-chase-SBJ 1a.maize

    'he looked for people to protect the maize (from the thieves)'

(8.72)   *oddíjé ddirúlé sitíya*   {mbílri.31}

    o-ddí-jéedh-e   **ddi-rúl-é**   sitíya

    2SG-OM1SG-wait-SBJ 1SG-undress-SBJ 9a.bra

    'wait for me so that I take it off'

Tonally, the distinction between H and Ø-toned verbs is neutralised, and a substitutive grammatical H tone invariably anchors on the second mora of the stem (or the first one in case of a disyllabic stem as in (8.72)). Now, when an OM is added, the tone pattern differs

(as is often the case in eastern Bantu languages), whereby a fixed H is imposed on the first mora of the macrostem, i.e. the OM, as in (8.71).

In independent or main clauses, a verb in the subjunctive may have the expressive force of a jussive, or in other words a strong exhortation or entreaty, usually translated in English as 'may …' (8.73) or 'shall …' (8.74); as well as a mutual encouragement, usually translated in English as 'let …' (8.75). The subjunctive also indicates a command (8.76), and thus constitutes an alternative to the imperative mood when used with 2SG or 2PL persons.

(8.73) *akala ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúwéle mwiíko*   {mbílri.21}

akala   ddi   míyó=ene   ósálu   óbú   **o-patúw-él-e**   mu-íko
if   1.COP 1SG.PRO=INT 14.thread 14.DEM.I 14-break-APPL-SBJ 18-river
'if it is me, may this thread break, break to the river'

(8.74) *ki ddikósé dhaavi ?*   {maria.21}

ki   **ddi-kós-é**   dhaavi
EMPH   1SG-do-SBJ   how
'what shall I do?'

(8.75) *ǹdhów' óóttólóni ǹdhówé náfûle*   {ddoo.10}

ni-dhów-é   o-ttóló=ni   **ni-dhów-é**   ni-á-fûl-e
1PL-go-SBJ   17-well=LOC   1PL-go-SBJ   1PL-IT-wash-SBJ
'let's go to the well, let's go and wash (do the laundry)'

(8.76) *odhoólé leńsó ǹlí mb' óodhéna*   {ddoo.13}

o-dhoól-é   leńsó   [ni-lí   mbá]REL   **o-dh-é=na**
2SG-fetch-SBJ   5.tissue 5-be   18.into   2 SG-go-SBJ=COM
'fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it'

The subjunctive often appears after modal verbs of volition as *ófuná* 'want' (8.77), or obligation as *ter que* 'have to', borrowed from Portuguese (8.78).

(8.77) *íyó nińfúná noón' éebáríbari*   {mbílri.36}

íyó   ni-ní-fúná   **ni-ón-e**   ebáríbari
1PL.PRO   1PL-IPFV.CJ-want 1PL-see-SBJ   9.truth
'we want to see the truth'

(8.78) *tinyá k' áavedúw' aáttu*   {ddoo.32}

tinyá ke **a-ved-úw-e**   áttu
had.to   2-look.for-PASS-SBJ 2.people
'they had to look for people'

The subjunctive is part of the tenses in which the selected subject marker for class 1 is the allomorph *a-*, as shown in (8.79).

(8.79)   *oḿfúń' áágáwe kómíd' eésîle*   {páaká.26}

    o-ní-fúná   **a-gáw-e**   kómíída   ésîle

    1-IPFV.CJ-want   1-serve-SBJ   9a.food   9.DEM.III

    'he wants to serve that food'

The borrowed verbs ending in *-i* maintain the high vowel as final vowel when used in the subjunctive.

(8.80)   *ǹngá kádháanóto odhé ǹjańtáari*   {páaká.33}

    ningá   ká-dhá=wo=nó=to   o-dh-é   **ni-jańtáari**

    VOC   IMP-come=17.LOC=PROX=then   2SG-come-SBJ   1PL-have.dinner.SBJ

    'come here then! come so that we have lunch'

The subjunctive has two negative forms, one with the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* (8.81), and the other with the post-initial negative marker *-hi-* (8.82). This dichotomy confirms both independent and dependent status of the subjunctive. Semantically, these forms represent incapacity of doing something, as well as prohibition or negative imperative.

(8.81)   a.*onuúttébaní: , ddi míyô. óddó Ǹládá kagaye*   {body.10}

    [o-ni-ú-ttéba=ní]~REL~   ddi   míyô   óddó   ǹládá   **ka-gay-e**

    1-IPFV-OM2PL-carry=PLA   1.COP   1SG.PRO   1.DEM.II   5.hand   NEG.1-balance-SBJ

    'it is me who lifts you! That Mr.Hand cannot balance itself.'

    b. *kulime vamucésáni kavańd' éelo*   {semi-elic.}

    ku-lim-e   va-mucésá=ni   ka-va-ní-dá   elo

    NEG.2SG-cultivate-SBJ   16-3.sand=LOC   NEG-16-IPFV-go   9.thing.PL

    'do not cultivate in sandy soil, nothing goes out of it'

(8.82)   *ooddíkúkusela owánínyu wíí ddíhikweǹté: ?!*   {semi-elic.}

    o-hi-ddí-kúkus-el-a   owánínyu   wíí   **ddí-hi-kweǹt-e**

    2SG-PFV-OM1SG-take-APPL-Fi   17.at home.POSS.2RESP   CMP   1SG-NEG-copulate-SBJ

    'you took me to your house to not have sex?!'

Interestingly, while the dependent negative subjunctive with *-hi-* triggers PL on the following object in transitive constructions (8.83), it is not the case with the independent negative subjunctive with *ka-* (8.84), which thus represents one of the few negative forms which do not trigger PL.

(8.83)   *ddihimugulihe balacáwu*   {elic.}

    ddi-**hi**-mu-gul-ih-e   balacáwu

    1SG-NEG-OM1-buy-CAUS-SBJ   1a.shrimp.PL

    'I cannot sell shrimp.sp'

(8.84)   *kaddimugulihe bálácáwu*   {elic.}

    ka-ddi-mu-gul-ih-e   bálácáwu

    NEG-1SG-OM1-buy-CAUS-SBJ   1a.shrimp

    'I cannot sell shrimp.sp'

8.2.3 Itive subjunctive

The itive subjunctive encodes the simple subjunctive to which a TAM prefix *-á-* is added. This prefix most likely originates from the itive or *ka-movendi* proto-form *-ka (already seen with the imperative, section 8.2.1), which lost the velar stop in Cuwabo. Well attested in many Bantu languages (Nurse 2008: 23), this prefix marks a movement, and more specifically indicates a "location of the event away from the deictic centre" (Nurse 2008: 244), hence it is also referred to as "distal" by Botne (1999). Devos (2008) and van der Wal (2009) use the term 'subsecutive'. It is usually translated in English as 'go and V', as shown in (8.85).

(8.85)   *ddiṁfúná nácéye ṁbúga*   {mute.11}

    ddi-ní-fúná   **ni-á-céy-e**   ṁbúga

    1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   1PL-IT-sow-SBJ   3.rice

    'I want us to go and sow rice'

Now, if we consider itive *-á-* and imperative *ka-* to be related historically and to stem originally from the same proto-form *-ka, how can we explain their different outputs on the synchronic level? A possible answer deals with the position of the morpheme in the word: it is usually the case in Bantu that a word-initial position is a strong position for consonants, which are overtly expressed. Inversely, intervocalic position is a weak position for consonants, which are more likely to weaken and eventually delete. In the present case, we may suppose that the original itive morpheme *ka* evolved in different ways depending on its position in the word: word-initially, it maintained its consonant onset, whereas word-internally, i.e intervocalically, the latter deleted.

The itive subjunctive typically occurs after verbs of movement, such as *ódhowá* 'go' (8.86), and other defective verbs with the same meaning, as in (8.87) and (8.88). In this verb

sequence, *ódhowá* may also be used in the subjunctive (8.86)a, or simply in the indicative mood (8.86)b.

(8.86)   a. *ǹdówe nááredhe*   {páaká.4}

ni-dhów-e   **ni-á-áredh-e**

1PL-go-SBJ   1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ

'let's go and have fun'

b. *ddińdhówá ddéédde baáhí burebúre*   {maria.22}

ddi-ní-dhówá   **ddi-á-édd-e**   baáhí   burebúre

1SG-IPFV.CJ-go   1SG-IT-walk-SBJ   only   at.random

'I am going to walk, at random'

(8.87)   *ddaagél' áḿvahe viína mwánáayé ńzína*   {páaká.21}

ddi-a-g-él-é   **ddi-á-mú-vah-e**   viiná   mwánááye   ńzína

1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ   1SG-IT-OM1-give-SBJ   too   1.child.POSS.3SG   5.name

'I went to give a name again to his son'

(8.88)   *kattúkúla shávi míyó ddíya ddárûdde*   {páaká.24}

ka-ttúkúla   shávi   míyó   ddí-ya   **ddi-á-rûdd-e**

IMP-take   10a.key   1SG.PRO   1SG-go   1SG-IT-urinate-SBJ

'take the key, I am going to pee'

As can be seen from the examples above, the itive prefix *-á-* has special formal and phonological properties that influence the preceding subject marker. Coalescence takes place between the vowels in sequence, but without vowel lengthening. The remaining single vowel thus bears the H tone of the TAM prefix.

Similarly to the simple subjunctive, the itive subjunctive may express a purpose when used in a subordinate clause, as shown in (8.89).

(8.89)   *oneelóódhowá omúnddâ wálîme*   {semi-elic.}

o-naa-ilá-ódhowá   o-múnddâ   **o-á-lîm-e**

2SG-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.go.PL   17-3.field   2SG-IT-cultivate-SBJ

'you will go to the field to go and cultivate'

Finally, no negative form of the itive subjunctive is attested in the language.

8.2.4 Counterexpectational [CE]

The counterexpectational (CE) is marked by the H-toned TAM prefix *-ná-* (glossed 'CE'), inserted within a negative verb form. Similarly to the negative (simple) subjunctive, the two negative prefixes *ka-* and *-hi-* are operative with the CE. The first form has already been discussed in section 8.1.8 above, as being part of an independent clause. Now, the CE verb form found in dependent clauses makes use of the negative marker *-hi-*. In this dependency context, the CE serves to introduce a situation at a previous stage with regard to what is expected. It may be translated in English as 'when I have not V-ed yet', 'before V-ing', or 'as long as', as illustrated in the three following examples.

(8.90)   a. *kapíyáni míímbw' iísó dhihinányâla*   {semi-elic.}

ka-píyá=ni   míímbu ésó   **dhi-hi-ná-nyâla**

IMP-cook=PLA   4.pod   4.DEM.II   4-NEG-CE-wither

'cook these peas before they fade away (as long as they are not withered)'

   b. *muhinágúla dhílóbódha, karómáno weéngésa koóbílriya*   {semi-elic.}

mu-hi-ná-gúla   dhílóbó=dha   ka-rómá=ni   weéngésa   koóbílri=ya

2PL-NEG-CE-buy   10.thing=10.DEF   IT-start=PLA   15.calculate   9a.money=DEF

'before you (2pl) buy these things, calculate first the money'

   c. *muhinákáan' éébaribarí munááváhe koóbílridha*   {semi-elic.}

mu-hi-ná-káaná   ébaribarí   mu-náá-váh-e   koóbílri=dha

2PL-NEG-CE-have   9.truth.PL   2PL-FUT-give-PROH   10a.money=10.DEF

'as long as you are not sure, do not give the money'

8.2.5 Situative [SIT]

The situative[44] is used to introduce a hypothetical situation or a "logical or temporal precondition" (van der Wal 2009: 97). As such, it appears in dependent or subordinate clauses, typically translated into English as a participial or an *if*-clause. In this respect, such a verb form constitutes an alternative to the clauses introduced by the conjunction *akala* 'if' (see section 7.6.2.3).

Interestingly, in Cuwabo, two situative TAM prefixes exist: *-a-* and *-gaa-*, as shown respectively in (8.91) and (8.92).

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[44] I follow here Devos (2008) and van der Wal (2009)'s terminology. This tense is otherwise known as 'conditional'. Katupha (1983) also refers to this tense as 'contingential'.

(8.91)   *mwaasegedhéyá dhińfúnéényú kadhélâganí*   {maria.97}

    mu-a-segedh-éy-á   [dhi-ní-fúná = ínyú]_{REL}   ka-dh-él-ag-a = ní

    2PL-SIT-cause.trouble-NTR-Fi   10-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO   IMP-go-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA

    'when/if you are in trouble, anything you want, come and collect'

(8.92)   *mugaddíkóséla mabáseen' aábó, eńfúnéényu kalógáni*   {maria.141}

    mu-gaa-ddí-kós-él-a   mabásá = ene   ábó   [e-ní-fúná = ínyu]_{REL}

    2PL-SIT-OM1SG-do-APPL-Fi   6.work = INT   6.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO

    ka-lógá = ni

    IMP-say = PLA

    'when/if you achieve that task for me, tell whatever you want'

Typically the subject expressed in the situative verb is coreferential with the subject expressed in the main clause, as well as with the subject expressed in the dependent relative. For instance, in (8.91) and (8.92), the 2PL subject marker is co-indexed with both the encliticised pronoun = *ínyu* '2PL.PRO' in the object relatives, and the plural addressee marker = *ni* in the imperative verb forms.

Tonally, both -*a*- and -*gaa*- situatives display the lexical contrast between H- and Ø-toned verbs. Whereas Ø verbs remain toneless, H verbs are characterised by a H on the penultimate syllable (or ultimate in case of a disyllabic stem). The same tone pattern applies when an OM is present, although the -*gaa*- situative also tolerates a neutralised pattern in which a grammatical H tone anchors to the first mora of the macrostem, i.e. the object marker, as seen in *mugaddíkóséla* 'when you achieve for me' in (8.92).

Regarding the origin of these situative markers, it is likely that -*a*- is a cognate of a proto-form/reconstruction *-ka- (formally similar to the itive *-ka-), whose consonant has here again been deleted. According to Nurse and Philippson (2006), among the different uses attested for the formative -*ka*- in Bantu, one displays the values conveyed by the situative tense (if-clause). Such a use is more particularly confined to "a thin strip of languages along the east coast and just inland, from Kenya to northern South Africa" (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 170). For instance, in Makonde (P23), 'if I buy' is rendered by *ni-ka-súma*. Cuwabo and Makhuwa (as shown in (8.93)) are other P-languages which exhibit this form of situative, but with Ø as the reflex of *k, which represents a shared innovation among both P30 languages.

(8.93)   nikhwáttá   **na**-khalá   ni-kíthi   o-hááná   o-loól-áka   (van der Wal 2009)

    5.wound   5.SIT-stay   5-unripe   2SG-have   2SG-treat-DUR

    'when the wound is fresh you have to treat it' (= 'strike while the iron is still hot')

Now, the second situative marker, -*gaa*-, reminds one of the formative *nga*, which represents the conjunction 'like, as', distributed across most Bantu zones, "except C, H and P" (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 194). In many of these languages, this particle nga underwent a grammaticalisation process, and progressively became incorporated as a TAM prefix (Nurse and Philippson 2006), to express conditional or hypothetical situations. This verb incorporation is particularly attested among zones M and N (Nurse 2008: 54). Consider for instance the two following examples from Sena, classified as N44.

(8.94)   a. a-**nga**-mphemba nyama ya m'madzi   (Funnell 2004: 57)
             'if he asks for meat from the water (=fish)'

          b. u-**nga**-tamanga, ntima unachita dididi   (Torrend 1900: 174)
             'when you run, the heart beats rapidly'

Since both Cuwabo and Makhuwa share the situative morpheme -*a*-, but only Cuwabo also counts -*gaa*- in the same context, the Sena examples in (8.94) are of particular interest, and may help to understand this case of variation in Cuwabo. Sena and Cuwabo are neighbouring languages (see Map 2 in chapter 1), and although they differ in many respects (starting with the absence versus presence of tones), mutual borrowing due to language contact are to be noted, especially as far as verbal morphology is concerned[45]. With regard to the situative -*gaa*-, it is very likely that such a morpheme was borrowed from the Sena -*nga*-, which expresses the same semantic function.

Both situatives may be inflected by the habitual pre-final marker -*ag*-, as shown in (8.95) and (8.96).

(8.95)   *ápáléé: ǹdhówén' aadhowága, ápáléé: ǹdhówén' aadhowága*   {maria.147}
          ápálé   ni-dhów-é=ni   **a-a-dhow-ág-a**
          16.DEM.III   1PL-go-SBJ=PLA   2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi
          "'Over there, let's go!", and they went. "Over there, let's go!", and they went (lit. 'while going')'

(8.96)   *mámbátta ábá ddigaavahágâ mákanyá: agáńrelá váddíddi*   {semi-elic.}
          mámbátta ábá   **ddi-gaa-vah-ág-â**   mákanyá   a-gá-ní-relá   váddíddi
          6.duck   6.DEM.I   1.SG-SIT-give-HAB-Fi   6.coconut.lees 2-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-lay   much
          'if I give coconut lees to these ducks, they will lay a lot of eggs'

Following are two examples of negative situative verb forms, one with the -*a*- marker (8.97) and the other with the -*gaa*- marker (8.98).

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[45] The formation of the relative clauses is one (very interesting) example of areal influence, as will be illustrated in section 10.1.

(8.97)   *ddaahíríǹtigí kabálayá: , bwenddéná kaǹnáálíbe*   {semi-elic.}

    ddi-a-hí-ríǹt-ig-í   kabála = yá   bwenddé = ná   ka-ni-náá-líb-e

    1SG-SIT-NEG-weave-HAB-NEG   9a.rope = DEF   5.mat = 5.DEF   NEG-5-FUT-be.strong-Fi

    'If I do not weave this rope, this mat will not be strong'

(8.98)   *ddigaahísúwi dhoobó, múnóddîvadá. omúlága mwááná: oǹvadá: ?*   {semi-elic.}

    ddi-gaa-hí-súw-i   dhoobó   mú-nó-ddî-vadá

    1SG-SIT-NEG-wash-NEG   10.dish.PL   2PL-IPFV.DJ-OM1SG-beat

    o-mú-lága   mwááná   o-mu-vadá

    15-OM1-educate   1.child   15-OM1-beat.PL

    'when/if I do not wash the dishes, you beat me. Is beating a way to educate a child?'

8.2.6 Sequential [SEQ]

Different verb forms in Cuwabo have the particularity of being marked by the pre-initial *ba-*, which implies a sequential meaning, as will be shown in the following subsections. While such a prefix does not seem to exist in other P30 languages, its intriguing presence in Cuwabo may be better understood if we compare it to the corresponding formative *mba-* in Sena (N44). In his grammar of Sena, Torrend (1900) comments on the formative *mba-*: "From Sena alone it is difficult to say what it is, but a comparison with its equivalent in the language of Quelimane shows it to be a variety of the copula" (Torrend 1900: 157). It is synchronically difficult to determine whether or not the formatives *ba-* in Cuwabo or *mba-* in Sena come from the class 2 copula, but it is very interesting to observe the existence of such a pre-initial morpheme in both languages, whereas it is not attested in Makhuwa. Furthermore, it turns out that *ba-* and *mba-* display relatively similar functions, analysed in turn.

Table 48   Sequential *ba-* followed by subject markers

Person/Class	SM	ba-SM	Expected output
1SG	ddi-	baddi-	
2SG	o-	bu-	bo-
1PL	ni-	bani-	
2PL	mu-	bamu-	
1	a-	ba-	
2	a-	ba-	
3	o-	bu-	bo-
4	dhi-	badhi-	
5	ni-	bani-	
6	a-	ba-	
9	e-	bi-	be-
10	dhi-	badhi-	
14	o-	bu-	bo-
15	o-	bu-	bo-
16	va-	pava-	
17	o-	bu-	bo-
18	mu-	pamu-	

Several observations arise from Table 48. First, the way *ba-* attaches to the SM parallels the pre-initial negative marker *ka-*. Both surface as Ca- (where C stands for consonant), when the SM is consonant-initial, but are restricted to C- in case of a single-vowel SM. In the latter case, coalescence takes place with the pre-initial morpheme, here *ba-*. Interestingly, with the mid-vowel SM, the vocalic value of the output does not correspond to the coalescence process analysed in section 2.4.1.1, repeated in the fourth column of the table. Instead, the resulting vowel is always high, which confirms the assumption that the concerned SM are in fact underlying high (as expected in Eastern Bantu), but underwent a word-initial constraint consisting in lowering high vowels to mid vowels, such as the SM *u-* lowered to *o-* (2sg, classes 3, 14, 15, and 17), and *i-* lowered to *e-* (class 9). The second observation deals with the class 1 SM *o-*, which always surfaces as *a-*, independently of the *ba-*-form considered. This is evidenced by the low output of the vowel sequence. Third, although the vocalic output is most commonly short, as represented in Table 48, in some cases (starting with example (8.100)), a long output is clearly heard. The reasons for this variation in length are not clear at this stage. Fourth, and finally, instead of the *ba-*, classes 16 and 18 involve the variant form *pa-*, as shown in (7.148). Here again, no clear explanation for this allomorphy could be found.

(8.99) *maásíkiní ddivény' óóváneéne ddinááfíyé pavaribilē* {semi-elic.}

maásíkiní ddi-vény-é óváno=éne ddi-náá-fíy-é **pa**-va-rib-ilē

even.if 1SG-leave-SBJ 17.now=INT 1SG-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR SEQ-16-be.dark-PFV

'even if I leave now, I will arrive late'

8.2.6.1 Bare Sequential

In association with a subject marker and a bare verb stem (with a lexical H in case of H-toned verbs), the pre-initial formative *ba-* 'SEQuential' in Cuwabo is much used in narratives to mark subsequent actions. In Torrend's words, in Sena "the form *mba-* connects two real facts" (Torrend 1900: 158). Among the different *ba-*forms, the 'bare' sequential verb form is semantically the most transparent with regard to the concept of sequence or concomitance. Illustrating examples of the 'simple' sequential are provided in Cuwabo (8.100) and in Sena (8.101).

(8.100) Cuwabo

baatelá: baakalá vatákúlu vááye na mwáádhíye. vélêvǒ: áwééne baakaána gárí y' oóbáálávǒ:

baakaána áyím' aaraarú ánáyanā {maria.2-3}

ba-a-telá **ba-a-kalá** va-tákúlu vááye na mwáádhí=ye

SEQ-1-marry SEQ-1-stay 16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG with 1.wife=POSS.3SG

vélêvó áwééne **ba-a-kaána** gárí ya óbáálá=vó

16.EDEM.II 3PL.PRO SEQ-2-have 9a.luck 9.CON 15.give.birth=16.LOC

ba-a-kaána áyíma a-raarú ánáyanā

SEQ-2-have 2.child 2-three 2.children.women

'He got married and lived in his house with his wife. There, they had the luck to become parents, they had three daughters.'

(8.101) Sena (Torrend 1900: 158)

akuata muala, **mba-u-teke-nha**, **mb-u-dza** dzafinha nka-lamu, **mb-i-fa**

'he took a big stone, and rolled it, and it came, and crushed the lion, and this died' [sic]

In my corpus, *ba-* is especially attested on reporting verbs used to introduce direct speech, as exemplified in (8.102).

(8.102) *íyééné balogá : "ddiyaápá jiíji". balogá: "ǹdde, wéy' óokáána gárí vaddíddi.* {maria.45}

íyééné	**ba-logá**	ddi-hi-ápá		ji	éji	íyééne	**ba-logá**
3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	1SG-PFV.DJ-pluck		9.COP	9.DEM.I	3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say

ǹdde	wéyó	o-hi-káána	gárí	vaddíddi
yes	2SG.PRO	2SG-PFV.DJ-have	9a.luck	much

'She said : I did, here it is. He said : Yes, you are very lucky.'

The bare sequential is not semantically different from the narrative, developed in section 8.3.2 below. Nor does it seem functionally different in marking certain kinds of sequences, although this would need to be checked more thoroughly.

Furthermore, note that the prefix *ba-*, although much attested, is not obligatory in this context. All the examples reported in my corpus are provided in (8.103).

(8.103) Sequential without *ba-*

a. *ōrúméél' óorumééĺl' oóll' oókúle odhúlú […] amottélá mbaárúkuní:*   {maria.163}

órúméélá	[o-rúméél-ile	óĺle]_REL	ókúle	odhúlú
15.disappear	15-disappear-PFV.REL	1.DEM.III	17.DEM.III	17.top

a-mott-él-á	mu-baárúku=ní
2-fall-APPL-Fi.SEQ	18-1a.boat=LOC

'Once that one above disappeared (lit. the disappearing which that one disappeared) from that place above […], he fell into the boat.'

b. *ór' éerurúmúwile Nikúrábedh' aadh' ááñgáná vatí [wááñgáná vatákúlú vááye:]* {maria.167}

órá	[e-rurúmúw-ile	N.]_REL	**a-dhá**	wááñgána	vatí
9a.hour	9-wake.up-PFV.REL	D.	1-come.SEQ	15.look	16.floor

'At that moment Mr.Dugong woke up, he came to look at the floor, [to look at his house.]'

c. *azugúnúwá adh' áámálríha dhoója ajá eeká*   {páaká.36}

a-zugúnúwá	**a-dhá**	**a-maríha**	dhoója	**a-já**	a-eká
2-turn.round.SEQ	2-come.SEQ	2-finish.SEQ	10a.food	2.eat.SEQ	2-alone

'(the cat) turned round, came to finish the food'

As for negative forms, they could not be found in narrative texts. The examples provided below, with (8.104) or without *ba-* (8.105), were invented by my consultant Sérgio.

(8.104) *vacéláníva kavaálí maanjé, nooná ddihírûga*   {semi-elic.}

va-célá=ní=va	ka-va-á-lí	maanjé	nooná	**ddi-hí-rûga**
16-well=LOC=16.DEF	NEG-16-PST-be	6.water.PL	then	1SG-NEG-draw.water

'at the well, there was no water, that's why I did not draw water'

(8.105)   *ddaáfwanyá óbá dh' oolúla, baddihígûla*   {semi-elic.}

      ddi-á-fwanyá   óbá   dha   olúla   **ba-ddi-hí-gûla**

      1SG-PST-meet   10a.fish   10.CON   15.spoil   SEQ-1SG-NEG-buy

      'I only met spoilt fish, then I did not buy'

8.2.6.2 Sequential Situative

When a verb form associates both the sequential *ba-* and the (reduced) situative prefix *-ga-*,[46] it expresses simultaneity in the past, and more precisely, it indicates that an event is in progress at the time another event expressed by the main verb occurs. Thus the verb in the sequential situative may be translated in English as 'while V-ing'. For instance, in (8.106), the protagonist stopped her sisters while they were leaving.

(8.106)   *ábálé baapwattélá máágádd' áawa. bagapwáttélá bagádhowá íyééne waawiméca* {maria.72}

       ábálé   ba-a-pwattélá   máágáddá=awa   **ba-ga-pwáttélá**   **ba-gá-dhowá**

       2.DEM.III   SEQ-2-carry.sp   6.dry.cassava=POSS.3PL   SEQ.2-SIT-carry.sp   SEQ.1-SIT-go

       íyééne   o-a-iméca

       3SG.PRO   NAR-OM2-rigidify

       'Those carried the dry cassava on top of the head. While they were loading and going, she made them stop'

Interestingly, sequential situative verb forms do not systematically depend on a main clause, especially when simultaneous events are inserted in an enumeration process, involving repetition of the actions, as shown in (8.107).

(8.107)   *áttw' áanóódha ókósá mádá márôndda, 'gányó-gányo':*   {maria.66}
       bagálábá bagádhôwa, bagálábá bagádhôwa

       áttú   a-ni-ódha   ókósá   mádá   márôndda

       2.people   2-IPFV.DJ-15.come   15.do   6.hand   6.business.sp

       gányó-gányo   **ba-gá-lábá**   **ba-gá-dhôwa**

       I.earn-RED   SEQ.2-SIT-work   SEQ.2-SIT-go

       'people come and do casual work: working, leaving, working, leaving'

In other cases, as in (8.108), it even seems that the second sequential situative verb form in the sequence acts as the main verb (at least from the point of view of an Indo-European

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[46] The reason why the situative morpheme *-gaa-* gets reduced to *-ga-* when used with the sequential prefix *ba-* is still unclear at this stage.

speaker), but a more precise translation such as 'then he was going, then he was singing' better proves the juxtaposition of two dependent verb forms.

(8.108) *bagávirávó: , bagééba*   {mbílri.20}

    ba-gá-virá=vó   **ba-gá-íba**

    SEQ.1-SIT-pass=16.LOC   SEQ.1-SIT-sing

    'as he was going, he was singing'

8.2.6.3 Sequential Perfective

The sequential perfective is made of the conjoint verb form of the perfective, to which the formative *ba-* is prefixed. Like the sequential situative, this verb form expresses simultaneity or coincidence of two events, but instead of describing an on-going action, the sequential perfective constitutes a temporal setting, rendered by means of the perfective marker *-ile*, which here involves a stative reading, as specified in the three following examples. The simultaneity may be rendered in English as 'while' 'whereas' or 'when'.

(8.109) a. *kóddó bivingilé: , ówézá mílimá: , yaálí muladdu*   {semi-elic.}

        kóddó **bi-ving-ilé**   ówézá   mílimá   e-á-lí   muladdu

        9.war   SEQ.9-oppress-PFV 15.protect   4.farming   9-IPFV-be   3.problem.PL

        'in war time (lit. 'when the war was being oppressive'), protecting one's farmhouse in a traditional way was difficult'

      b. *kaddińttáddá: máánjé bâgubuÌlé*   {semi-elic.}

        ka-ddi-ní-ttáddá   máánjé   **bâ-gubul-ilé**

        NEG-1SG-IPFV-fish   6.water   SEQ.6-rise-PFV

        'I do not fish at high tide (lit. 'while the water is high-levelled')'

      c. *ddirurumuwilé báddiruddilé vâkúgúlúní*   {semi-elic.}

        ddi-rurumuw-ilé   **bá-ddi-rudd-ilé**   vâ-kúgúlú=ní

        1SG-wake.up-PFV.CJ   SEQ-1SG-urinate-PFV   16-9a.bed=LOC

        'I woke up while I had already urinated in bed (lit. 'while I was in a state of having urinated')'

When the sequential perfective depends on a counterfactual clause, it may rather express a consequent state, temporally linked with the present, i.e. which would hold true at the present time. A grammatical translation for English needs the verb construction 'would have V-ed', but the most accurate one would be 'by now I am in a state of having V-ed'. Examples below propose sequential perfective cases depending on an overt counterfactual clause (8.110), or an implied one (8.111).

(8.110) a. *kohíkálagá káár' oógújúwa múdhídh' uúbu baddifiyilé*   {semi-elic.}

ka-o-hí-kál-ag-á	kááro	ógújúwa	múdhídhi	óbu	**ba-ddi-fiy-ilé**
CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-Fi	9a.car	15.be.broken	3.time	3.DEM.I	SEQ-1SG-arrive-PFV

'if the car had not broken down, at this time, I would have arrived'

b. *kuulogúwága ddáánlobél' aánáág' ootééne babatiziwé*   {semi-elic.}

ka-olog-úw-ág-a	ddí-á-ni-lob-él-a	ánáága
CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL	1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-plead-APPL-Fi	2.child.POSS.1SG

a-oté = éne	**ba-batiz-iw-é**
2-all = INT	SEQ.2-baptise-PASS-PFV

'If I were a prayer, all my children would be baptised (by now)'

(8.111) *banima̠llé mabás' íihu Mákááry' oónóvégíha vaddíddi*   {semi-elic.}

ba-ni-mal-ilé	mabásá = ehu	M.	ó-ni-óvég-íh-a	vaddíddi
SEQ-1PL-finish-PFV	6.work = POSS.2PL	M.	1-IPFV.DJ-15.play-CAUS-Fi	much

'I would have finished our work (by now)! But Macario is keeping me amused'

It should be noted that the sequential prefix *ba-* undergoes devoicing of the bilabial consonant when associated with the locative classes 16 *va-* and 18 *mu-*, resulting in *pava-* and *pamu-*, respectively. (8.112) provides an example with class 16. I will not attempt to account for this fact here.

(8.112) *másíkiní ddivény' óóváneéne ddinááfíyé pavaribilē*   {semi-elic.}

másíkiní	ddi-vény-é	óváno = éne	ddi-náá-fíy-é	**pa-va-rib-ilē**
even.if	1SG-leave-SBJ	17.now = INT	1SG-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR	SEQ-16-be.dark-PFV

'even if I leave now, I will arrive late'

In Sena, the formative *mba-* is found in the same counterfactual temporal context, but unlike Cuwabo, Sena does not distinguish a counterfactual reading (found in the subordinate clause, or protasis) from the hypothetical resultative reading (found in the main clause, or apodosis). Instead *mba-* is used for both counterfactual and hypothetical situations, as shown in (8.113).

(8.113) a. **mb**-u-da-dza na mabata dzulo, **mba**-ndi-da-gula   {Torrend 1900: 159}
'if you had brought ducks yesterday, I would have bought them'

b. **mb**-u-da-gua muti, **mb**-u-da-ku-finha   {Torrend 1900: 159}
'if the tree had fallen down, it would have crushed you'

In Makhuwa (at least Enahara), such counterfactual/hypothetical situations make use of different verb constructions. Example in (8.114) shows that counterfactual is expressed by

means of the TAM prefix *-á-*, plus the final perfective suffix *-ále*, the hypothetical is simply rendered by an imperfective form.

(8.114) káá-kush-álé   ntsúrúkhu   kaánáa-hímya   (Van der Wal 2009: 99)
        1SG.CF-carry-PFV   3.money   1SG.IPFV.DJ-speak
        'if I had taken the money, I would have said so'

Again, negative forms could not be found in narrative texts. Those provided below were created by Sérgio.

(8.115) a. *wééy' óońddísumulél' éebéwééne, mééyá baddihigûîle*   {semi-elic.}

        wéyó = yá   o-ní-ddí-sumuléla   ebéwééne   míyó = yá
        2SG.PRO = DEF   2SG-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-blame.APPL   freely.INT   1SG.PRO = DEF

        ba-ddi-hi-gúl-île
        SEQ-1SG-NEG-buy-PFV

        'you are blaming me for nothing, while I did not buy'

    b. *wáámpambíy' óoddikoséla áje, ókú baddihimutélîe*   {semi-elic.}

        ó-á-ni-pamb-íh-á   o-ddi-kos-él-a   áje   ókú
        2SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-worry-CAUS-Fi   15-OM1SG-do-APPL-Fi.PL   9a.jaleousy   1.DEM.I

        ba-ddi-hi-mu-tél-île
        SEQ-1SG-NEG-1-marry-PFV

        'you were preoccupied in making me jealous, when I am not engaged with you' (lit. 'you were preoccupied it is making me jealous')

8.3 Dependent uninflected tenses

8.3.1 Infinitive [INF]

The infinitive is formed by affixing the noun class prefix *o-* to the verb stem. Such a prefix allows categorising the infinitive verbs among nouns, under class 15 (see section 4.1.7). Infinitives have thus the particularity of exhibiting both nominal and verbal properties. In such a way that when an infinitive represents a sentence in itself, it may be interpreted as an infinitive clause (verbal sentence) or as a noun phrase (non-verbal sentence). For instance, in (8.116), *opánêla* may be considered as the verb 'be proud' or the noun 'pride'.

(8.116)   *opánêla. oṁpánélá: onóvítotóca*   {body.23}

    opánêla   [o-ni-pánélá]_{REL}   o-ni-ó-ví-totóca

    15.pride   1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud   1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy

    'Pride. Whoever is proud destroys himself'

In other examples, the infinitive verb clearly constitutes a purpose clause, as in (8.117), where the girls went to the well with the purpose of washing the clothes.

(8.117)   *aádhów' óóttólôni. ófúlā. ánófúlá, ánófúlá, ánófúlá.*   {ddoo.11}

    a-hí-dhówá   o-ttólô = ni   **ófúlā**   á-ni-ófúlá

    2-PFV.DJ-go   17-well = LOC   15.wash   2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash

    'they went to the well, to wash. They are washing.

In (8.118), the two infinitive verbs *óttaddá* and *osápa*, which are synonymous for 'to fish', are infinitive clauses, juxtaposed to the main clause. It is likely here that the speaker, after resorting to a Portuguese loan (*o-peskadoóri < pescador*), wanted to give further details on the activity of fishing by means of Cuwabo lexicon.

(8.118)   *mabása ááye aálí opeskadoóri, ótáddā, osápa*   {mbílri.8}

    mabása   ááye   a-á-lí   opeskadoóri   **óttáddá**   **osápa**

    6.work   6.POSS.3SG   6-PST.IPFV-be   14.fisherman.PL   15.fish.sp   15.fish[47]

    'He was a fisherman. To fish.'

    Beyond assuming a status of (non-)verbal sentence, the infinitive is used in several syntactic settings: i) in connective constructions as a qualificative as in (8.119) (see section 5.1.1); ii) in fixed expressions combined with relative clauses as in (8.120) (see section 10.1.6); iii) in complex constructions (see section 8.4 below).

(8.119)   *ńsáká: n' oótélíwa*   {mute.2}

    ńsáká   na   **ótél-íw-á**

    5.time   5.CON   15.marry-PASS-Fi

    'the age to get married'

(8.120)   *ōdháan' oodhíléena Ddóólríndo leńsó ńttíleé: [...]*   {ddoo.15}

    ōdhá = na   [o-dh-ílé = na   D.   leńsó   ńttíle]_{REL}

    15.come = COM   15-go-PFV.REL = COM   D.   5.tissue   5.DEM.III

    'hardly had Ddoolrinddo brought that tissue, [...]'

    Very often, infinitives appear as the complement of a certain number of modality verbs, such as *okála* 'be' (8.121), *ówodhá* 'be able' (8.122), *omála* 'finish' (8.123), *óromá* or

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[47] *óttádda* means 'fish with a net', whereas *osápa* means 'provide food, either by fishing, hunting or farming'.

ókómésáári (< Portuguese *começar*) 'start' (8.124), *ódhowá* 'go' (8.125), *ozíwa* 'know' (8.126), *wúúbúwéla* 'think' (8.127), and *ottábwa* 'get worth' (8.128).

(8.121)   *ddiinyákúwá ddìǹkál' óobulélávi*   {maria.41}

         ddi-hi-nyákúwá   **ddi-ni-kálá**   **obulélá = vi**

         1SG-PFV.DJ-be.dirty   1SG-IPFV.CJ-be   15.suffer.PL = RESTR

         'I am ugly and I keep falling sick'

(8.122)   *kawódhíle omútéyiha námwál' uúĺe*   {mute.8}

         ka-wódh-íle   **o-mú-téy-ih-a**   námwáli   óĺle

         NEG.2-be.able-PFV   15-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi   1a.girl   1.DEM.III

         'none succeeded in making that girl laugh'

(8.123)   *aamal' oójámǒ: , oǹmagyédhá namálába*   {mbílri.4}

         a-a-mala   **ójá = mó**   o-mu-magyédhá   namálába

         1-SIT-finish   15.eat = 18.LOC   NAR-OM1-slander   1a.working-man

         'after eating, she accused the employee'

(8.124)   a. *nyúwó karómáni wííméláani !*   {maria.72}

            nyúwó   **ka-rómá = ni**   **wíímélá = ni**

            2PL.PRO   IMP-start = PLA   15.stand = PLA

            'You, stand up first!'

          b. *ddabun' óósál' uúkómésáar' oodéba*   {mbílri.30}

            ddabunó   ósálu   **o-hí-kómésáari**   odéba

            then   14.thread   14-PFV.DJ-begin   15.weaken

            'then the thread began to weaken'

(8.125)   *oódhów' óókúcáwo bíríńku*   {mbílri.35}

         o-hí-dhówá   **ókúcá = wo**   bíríńku

         1-PFV.DJ-go   15.take.off = 17.LOC   10a.earring

          'she went and took off the earrings'

(8.126)   *mwáán' óóĺe kaálóga. kaaziwíl' óólogā*   {mute.2}

         mwááná   óĺle   ka-á-lóga   **ka-a-ziw-íĺe**   ologá

         1.child   1.DEM.III   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-speak   NEG.1-PST-know-PFV   15.speak.PL

         'that child did not speak. She was not able to speak.'

(8.127)   *owúúbúwéla ókósá mákága*   {mbílri.12}

         o-hí-úbúwéla   **ókósá**   mákága

         1-PFV.DJ-think   15.do   6.oracle

         'he thought of consulting an oracle'

(8.128)   *ddímfúná nyumba yíína, éjí eettábwa óyêva*   {elic.}

ddi-ní-fúná	nyumba	é-ína	éjí	e-hi-ttábwa	óyêva
1SG-IPFV-want.CJ	9a.house.PL	9-other	9.DEM.I	9-PFV.DJ-exceed	15.be.small

'I want another house, this one is too small'

Infinitives are suitable candidates to express endless sentences, with a pragmatic effect of continuity of the action, as in (8.129).

(8.129)   *okomesáár' oófwárá muúzík' oóbúl' óófwár' oófwâr' óófwár'*   {ddingí.14}
   óófwâr' óófwárá jíbw' éésíle

o-komesáári	ófwárá	muúzíka	óbûle	ófwárá	jíbó	ésíle
NAR-start	15.follow	3.music	3.DEM.III	15.follow	9a.song	9.DEM.III

'they started to follow and follow and follow that song'

Tonally, like several other tenses, distinction is made between Ø-toned verbs and H-toned verbs. Furthermore, a grammatical H is added on both types of verbs. As a verb, the infinitive may receive an object marker, which triggers tone alterations, as was already developed in section 3.4.2.1.

Finally, infinitive verbs can be inflected for negation by means of the post-initial marker -*hi-*. In this case, neutralisation between H- and Ø-toned verbs operates, and a substitutive grammatical H anchors onto the negative marker (and doubles onto the next mora) for every verb. Note that in (8.130), the H tone on the last mora of *ohíyóoná* is a boundary tone, which links related prosodic units. Further note the addition of an extra mora between -*hi*- and vowel-initial stems, indicated in bold italic below.

(8.130)   *ohíyóoná: makattamiyo mánddímúwa vaddíddi*   {semi-elic.}

o-hí-oná	makattamiyo	má-nddímúwa	vaddíddi
15-NEG-see	6.difficulty.PL	6-big	very

'to not see is a serious problem'

8.3.2   Narrative [NAR]

In stories, when a string of events occurs in sequence, the narrative tense is used. It looks like a bare infinitive form, neither marked for time, nor for subject. Still it is distinguished from the infinitive by its lowered tone pattern, i.e. Ø-toned verbs remain toneless in the narrative (e.g. in (8.131) *ottukula* 'he took'), while H-toned verbs preserve their lexical H on the penult mora (e.g. *obuddúwa* 'he went out'), or the ultimate mora in case of a disyllabic stem (e.g. *oromá* 'he started').

(8.131) *sagámpir' oobuddúwa, ottukula bolááye orom' óójúgáári*   {maria.151}

sagámpira	**o-buddúwa**	**o-ttukula**	bolá = áye	**o-romá**	ójúgáári
1a.artist	NAR-go.out	NAR-take	9a.ball = POSS.3SG	NAR-start	15.play

'the artist went out, took his ball, and started to play'

In a sequence of events, the narrative is in principle not used as the first verb. Instead it is common that the first verb form(s) be marked for past tense to establish the time frame. Only once the time is established may the successive events be presented via unmarked forms in the narrative. In this sense the narrative is a dependent verb form whose deictic center is determined by the tense of a verb form previously mentioned in the linguistic context.

(8.132) Explicit time frame: previous past-reference verb form

a. *múttú oovényá: , oómútelá mwáádhíyé: ,*   {mbílri.7}
   waabaál' áánááyé: , oṁvedá namálábááyé:

múttú	o-hi-vényá	o-hí-mú-telá	mwáádhí = yé
1.people	1-PFV.DJ-rise.up	1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry	1.wife = POSS.3SG

o-a-baála	ánááyé	**o-mu-vedá**	namálábá = áyé
NAR-OM2-give.birth	2.child.POSS.3SG	NAR-OM1-search	1a.worker = POSS.3SG

'A man grew up, married a woman, had his children, looked for an employee'

b. *aárómá: ocákácá: , ōcéyá ṁbúga eǹtǎwú fúmú Namárógolo*   {mute.13-14}
   ottukula ṁbúgá: , ozugunuca ókúlé oǹttúkúniwá:

a-hí-rómá	ocákácá	ócéyá	ṁbúga	entáwú	fúmú	N.
2-PFV.DJ-begin	15.cultivate.sp	15.sow	3.rice	then	1a.sir	H.

o-ttukula	ṁbúgá	**o-zugunuca**	ókúlé	o-ǹttúkú-ni = wá
NAR-hand	3.rice	NAR-turn	17.DEM.III	17-5.stump-LOC = 17.DEF

'they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice. then Mr.Hare took the rice and turned down the root'

As (8.133) shows, events in the narrative may follow directly the introductory formula *weérl(eg)é káay' ddo, weérlegé...* (pragmatically equivalent to the English 'once upon a time'), which indicates a past context, typical in narrative texts.

(8.133)   Explicit time frame: 'once upon a time'

a. *weéŕlé kááy' ddo, weéŕlé râpaasi. oṁtelá mwáâdhi, waabaál' aánááwá*   {ddoo.1-2}
   eel' áánááyanā

   [o-ér-ilé   kááye   oddo]_REL   [o-ér-ilé   râpaasi]_REL
   1-do-PFV.REL   NEG.COP   1.DEM.II.PL   1-do-PFV.REL   1a.boy.PL

   o-mu-telá   mwáâdhi   **o-a-baála**   áná=áwá   a-ilí
   NAR-OM1-marry   1.wife   NAR-OM2-give.birth   2.child=POSS.3PL   2-two

   'There once was a man. (lit. 'the one who did, it is not that one, the one who did, it is a
   boy') He married a woman. They got two children.'

b. *weéŕlegé kááy' ddo, weéŕlegé rápaás' ulima mundd' ááyé: ,*   {ddingí.2}
   omwaalámú naámbêdde.

   [o-ér-íl-eg-é]_REL   kááye   oddo   [o-ér-íl-eg-é]_REL
   1-say-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL   NEG.COP 1.DEM.II.PL   1-say-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL

   rápaási   **o-lima**   munddá=áye   **o-mu-alá=mó**   naámbêdde
   1a.boy.PL   NAR-cultivate   3.field=POSS.3SG   NAR-OM1-sow=18.LOC   1a.maize

   'There once was a man. (lit. 'the one who said, it is not that one, the one who said, it is a
   boy') He cultivated his fields and sowed maize.'

Rather than the typical introductory formula seen above, speakers may also resort to
alternative formulations, such as the one proposed in (8.134). Here again, the context makes
it clear that a story is being narrated, and that subsequent past events are going to occur.
Interestingly, in this story entitled *The cat and the dog*, about the first half of the text makes
use of the narrative tense (see the Appendix).

(8.134) Explicit time frame: story context

> *ddiɱfúná ìtágíy' óomáálro Pááká na Mwánâbwa. ddiǹtágíy' eéji :*   {pááká.1}
> *Pááká na Mwánábw' ookung' oomáálro. osasanya mátáánj' áawa sókóóraaw' oopiya*
> *dhoójádhawa*

ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-tágíy-é	omáálro	pááká	na	mwánâbwa
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-tell-SBJ	14.friendship	1a.cat	and	1.dog

ddi-ni-tágíya	éji	pááká	na	mwánábwa	**o-kunga**	omáálro
1SG-IPFV.CJ-tell	9.DEM.I	1a.cat	and	1.dog	NAR-build	14.friendship

o-sasanya	mátáánjé = awa	sokélá = awa
NAR-make	6.picnic = POSS.3PL	9a.contribution = POSS.3PL

o-piya	dhoójá = dhawa
NAR-cook	9.food = 10.POSS.3PL

'I want to tell about Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog's friendship. Here it is (lit. 'I am telling this') : Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog built a friendship. They made their picnics, their contribution, they cooked their own food.'

In a sequence of events expressed by the narrative tense, it may happen that the subject of the subsequent verbs is different from one clause to another. In this case, the change of subject is usually indicated by the addition of a pronoun (8.135), although this is not systematic (8.136).

(8.135) a. *namárógol' oottamága. ottawá. áwéén' óomutamelá omutamelá*   {ddingí.22-23}

N.	**o-ttamága**	**o-ttawá**	*áwééne*	**o-mu-tamelá**	**o-mu-tamelá**
H.	NAR-run	NAR-flee	3PL.PRO	NAR-OM1-look.for	NAR-OM1-look.for

'Mr.Hare ran and fled. They looked for him.'

   b. *Kurúmáanj' oóĺle: ofwanyá: múri, [...] omweerela vaǹttíyéelén' áápâle.*   {maria.33-34}
      íyéén' ówaapa, múyan' óóĺle waapa.

kurúmáanje	óĺle	**o-fwanyá**	múri	**o-mweerela**	va-ǹttíyeelé = ni
1a.bee.sp	1.DEM.III	NAR-meet	3.tree	NAR-land	16-5.fruit.sp = LOC

ápâle	*íyééné*	**o-apa**	múyaná	óĺle	**o-apa**
2.DEM.III	3SG.PRO	NAR-pluck	1.woman	1.DEM.III	NAR-pluck

'That bee met a tree [...] He landed on those fruits. She plucked, that woman plucked.'

(8.136) *oódhówávo múyaná: múyaná balogá : "nááda, (mí) ddikáló woomáríha."*   {mbílri.25-26}
        waakukuselá: ánáayé

o-hí-dhówá=vo	múyaná	múyaná	ba-logá	náda	ddi-kál-é
1-PFV.DJ-go=16.LOC	1.woman	1.woman	SEQ.1-say	no	1SG-be-SBJ

wa	omáríha	**o-a-kukus-el-á**	áná=ayé
1.CON	15.finish	NAR-OM2-gather-APPL-Fi	2.child=POSS.3SG

'The woman went there. She said : No, I will be the last one. He invited the children'

The habitual suffix *-ag-* may be added to narrative verb forms, as exemplified in (8.137).

(8.137) a. *okomesáár' uúkúl' ookíta. okitag' ookitag' ookitag' ookitaga.*   {ddingí.21}

o-komesáári	ókúle	okíta	o-kit-ag-a
NAR-start	17.DEM.III	15.go.down	NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi

'He started to go down. He went down, went down…'

b. *eǹtãŵú, odhagavo afúmu báalá, afúmú dówu, afúmú ttébo*   {mute.8}

eǹtáwú	**o-dh-ag-a=vo**	afúmu	báalá	afúmú	dówu ...
then	NAR-come-HAB-Fi=16.LOC	2.mister	1a.bushbuck	2.mister	9a.elephant

'then came mister Bushbuck, mister Elephant, etc'

The negative narrative is formed by adding the negative marker *-hi-*, while the tone pattern remains unchanged. Since such negative forms could not be found in narrative texts, the following example was proposed by Sérgio.

(8.138) *muddaákúlelííyé káḿbo, míyó ohimugulihédha*   {semi-elic.}

[mu-ddi-ákúl-el-é=íyé	káḿbo]_{REL}	míyó
18-OM1SG.answer-APPL-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO	9a.insult	1SG.PRO

o-hi-mu-gul-ih-édh-a
15-NEG-OM1-buy-CAUS-APPL-Fi

'when he replied (to me) by an insult, I did not sell (it) to him'

8.3.3 Resumptive [RES]

The resumptive infinitive is another verb form which does not make use of subject markers. Instead, it is built upon the infinitive verb preceded by the formative *na-* which probably derives from *na* in 'have' constructions (see section 9.1.3). Resumptive verb forms constitute a discourse device known as 'tail-head linkage', which consists in restating or resuming at the beginning of a new sentence the event described in the antecedent sentence. This

recapitulative form constitutes a subordinate clause, which invariably appears sentence-initially, assuming in such a position, a transitional function in the chronological course of a narrative. Resumptive may be translated in English as 'having V-ed' or 'after V-ing'. Several examples are provided below.

(8.139)   *[…] pa vénéw' óokosííyé masárápitt' ááyeén' áábo.*   {mbílri.18-19}
          ***noo**mál' oókósá wakweélá eetééné:*

pa	vénéwó	[va-á-kosá = íyé	masárápitto	ááye = éné	ábo]_{REL}
16.COP	16.EDEM.II	16-PST.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO	6.magic	6.POSS.3SG = INT	6.DEM.II

na-omála	ókósá	o-a-kweélá	a-eté = éné
RES-15.finish	15.do	NAR-OM2-call	2-all = INT

'It is there that he decided to make that magic of his. After doing it, he called them all.'

(8.140)   *olóóttúkúluwavo Ddóólrínddó: , olóódhówána vatákúlu.*   {ddoo.36}
          ***nuú**dhówána vatákúlu ovedíwé ñgangá:*

o-lé-óttúkúl-uw-a = vo	D.	o-lé-ódhówá = na	va-tákúlu
1-CE-15.take-PASS-Fi = 16.LOC	D.	1-CE-15.go = COM	16-house

na-ódhówá = na	va-tákúlu	o-ved-íw-é	ñgangá
RES-15.go = COM	16-9a.house	1-look.for-PASS-SBJ	1a.healer.PL

'They took Ddoolrinddo home. After taking her home, they looked for a traditional healer.' (lit. 'a trad. healer was looked for')

(8.141)   *mámúna Maríyá owúbúwa, **noó**dha **noo**wórúw' oókúl' oomabásáni*   {maria.126}
          oódhá vatákúlúváyé [...]

mámúna	M.	o-hí-búwa	**na-ódha**	**na-owórúwa**	ókúle
1.husband	M.	1-PFV.DJ-appear	RES-15.come	RES-15.stop.work	17.DEM.III

o-mabásá = ni	o-hí-dhá	va-tákúlú = váye
17-6.work = LOC	1-PFV.DJ-come	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

'Maria's husband showed up. After he finished working, he went back home'

(8.142)   *omwaalámó naámbêdde. **nuú**mwáalá naámbéddé: , [waavedágá: áttú ...]*   {ddingí.2-3}

o-mu-alá = mó	naámbêdde	**na-ó-mú-alá**	naámbéddé
NAR-OM1-sow = 18.LOC	1a.maize	RES-15-OM1-sow	1a.maize

'and he sowed maize. When he sowed maize, he looked for [people ...]'

As expected, coalescence between both vowels in contact (a + o) occurs and interestingly, the output varies between *noo-* and *nuu-*, as can be seen in the examples above. This suggests that the infinitive prefix is underlyingly high, as is common in the eastern Bantu languages. A constraint against high vowels in word-initial position operates on the surface

(as in Makhuwa-Enahara, see van der Wal 2009: 20), but their high feature is preserved whenever preceded by a proclitic. The variation between *noo-* and *nuu-* may be explained by the ambiguous status of the formative *na* in resumptive constructions. As a prefix, it becomes fully part of the verb form, and coalescence occurs on the lexical level, such as the a + u sequence triggers a long mid-vowel [oo] (see section 2.4.1.1). As a proclitic, it enjoys a little more (morphophonological) independence, and coalescence is then practised on the post-lexical level. Note that no previous case has been attested on the post-lexical level with the sequence a + u. The optional *nuu-*resumptive suggests that the output is a long high vowel.

8.3.4   Counterfactual [CF]

Counterfactual (CF) is found in speculative conditional sentences in the form of an *if*-clause, which is known to be false or contrary to fact. This dependent clause expressing a condition represents the protasis. In Cuwabo, the CF is formally composed of the infinitive verb preceded by the CF formative *ka-*. It is likely that this formative comes from the PB reconstruction *-ka-, already seen for the situative prefix *-a-* (see section 8.2.5 above), which expresses a condition, translated by an *if*-clause. Another possible source for *ka-* is the subordinate conjunction *akala* 'if'. It is indeed easy to imagine that *ka-* is a reduced form of *akala*.

(8.143)   *kookaana koóbílri ddigaádhów' óórínga óṁveddá bambáâya*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-okaana   koóbílri   ddi-gaa-hí-dhówá o-Rínga   ó-mú-veddá   bambáâya

    CF-15.have.PL   9a.money   1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-go 17-M.da.C. 15-OM1-search 1a.potato

    'if I had some money, I would go to Maganja da Costa to fetch sweet potatos'

(8.144)   *míyó kootelá: kaddigátáabuwa dhaayeenē*   {semi-elic.}

    míyó   **ka-otelá**   ka-ddi-gá-táabuwa   dhaayi=ene

    1SG.PRO CF-15.marry.PL NEG-1SG-FUT.IPFV-suffer like.this.I.PL=INT

    'if I were married, I would not suffer this way'

(8.145)   *kuwiibá vâddíddí ddigaálála vaṁmélo*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-wiibá   vaddíddí   ddi-gaa-hí-lála   va-ṁmélo

    CF-15.sing.PL   much   1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-weaken 16-3.throat

    'if I sang a lot, I would damage my voice'

(8.146) *kuukopeél' ógaáfúguleluwa íyó naálí ḿba*   {semi-elic.}

ka-okopeélá   o-gaa-hi-fúgúl-el-uw-a   íyó

CF-15.ask.allowance.PL   2SG- HYP-PFV.DJ -open-APPL-PASS-Fi   1PL.PRO

ni-á-lí   ḿba

1PL-PST.IPFV-be   18.at.home

'if you had asked for allowance, you would have been attended, we were at home'

Similarly to the resumptive, coalescence occurs with the same variation in the vowel height degree, resulting either as a long mid-vowel [oo] or as a long high vowel [uu]. This further confirms the underlying [+high] feature of noun class prefixes consisting of a single vowel (see section 8.3.3 on resumptive for a more detailed explanation). Also note that PL applies to the infinitive verb, which is not the case with the resumptive.

The counterfactual is optionally expressed as a compound verbal expression, in which one of two verbs, *wíílá* 'say' or *ólogá* 'tell, speak', is inflected for the counterfactual conditional, and then followed by the main semantic verb found in a past form, imperfective (8.147) or perfective (8.148).

(8.147) *kowiilúwága ddáńkosá ḿpinddúû ddigaágûlă ńddêbe*   {semi-elic.}

ka-wiil-úw-ág-a   **ddi-á-ní-kosá**   ḿpinddú   ddî-gaa-hí-gula

ńddêbe

CF-15.say-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL   1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-do   3.business   1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-buy   5.plot

'if I had a chance to make business, I would buy a piece of land'

(8.148) *kuulogúwága ddaábaála ddiíziw' wi káddigaataábúwile*   {semi-elic.}

ka-olog-úw-ág-a   **ddi-a-hí-baála**   ddi-hí-ziwa   wi

CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL   1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-give.birth   1SG-PFV.DJ-know   CMP

ká-ddi-gaa-taábúw-ile

NEG-1SG-HYP-suffer-PFV

'if I had children, I know I would not suffer (= they would sustain me)'

The main clause introduced by the counterfactual conditional (i.e. the apodosis) expresses the result of the condition and is most generally in a conditional tense (see section 8.1.7 above) as the preceding examples illustrate. Still, other tenses are attested in the apodosis clause, such as the sequential perfective (8.149), or the future imperfective (8.150), as already seen in section 8.1.6.

(8.149)   *kuulogíwága ddaahíkáana mááre baddisasanyedhé makáttámiyo ába*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-olog-íw-ág-a   ddi-a-hí-káana   mááre   **ba-ddi-sasany-edh-é**

    CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL   1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-have 6.idea   SEQ-1SG-fix-APPL-PFV

    makáttámiyo   ába

    6.problem   6.DEM.I

    'if I had an idea, I would already have fixed the problem'

(8.150)   *kuulogíwa waáli owánúwe oli minddá dhâyéː , agáńlima*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-olog-íw-a   o-á-li   owánúwe   o-li   minddá = dhâye

    CF-15.tell-PASS-Fi.PL 1-PST.IPFV-be 17.house.POSS.3SG 17-be 4.field.PL = 4.POSS.3SG

    a-gá-ní-lima

    1-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate

    'if he were in his birth land where his fields are, he would cultivate'

The negative CF is formed by adding the post-initial negative marker *-hi-*. In this case, the infinitive verb does not undergo PL, and the lexical contrast between H- and Ø-toned verbs is neutralised. Instead, the negative marker bears a H which then doubles onto the next mora, as shown in (8.151). As is typical in Cuwabo, PL occurs on the object following the negative CF verb form, as exemplified in (8.152).

(8.151)   *agaádhôwá nâ míyó koohínyónyagá*   {semi-elic.}

    a-gaa-hí-dhôwá   nâ   míyó   **ka-o-hí-nyóny-ag-á**

    1-HYP-PFV.DJ-go   with   1SG.PRO   CF-15-NEG-annoy-HAB-Fi

    'he would go with me if he was not annoying'

(8.152)   *koohígúl' ooba kavagaajúwe*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-o-hí-gúla   oba   ka-va-gaa-j-úw-e

    CF-15-NEG-buy   14.fish.PL NEG-16-HYP-eat-PASS-PFV

    'if I had not bought fish, there would be no meal at home'

8.4 Analytic tenses

Analytic tenses are built upon an infinitive lexical verb preceded by an auxiliary. In many Bantu languages, several verbs (such as go, come, do, be, etc) may assume the function of auxiliary. In Cuwabo, only the verbs *wíílá* 'say, do' and *ófuná* 'want' are regularly used as auxiliaries. Beside the disjoint future analysed in section 8.1.5, two more analytic tenses make use of the auxiliary *wíílá*: the past progressive (section 8.4.1), and the

counterexpectational (section 8.4.2). Constructions involving the verb *ófuná* 'want' are presented in section 8.4.3.

8.4.1 Past Progressive [PST.IPFV+'do']

The past continuous consists of the auxiliary *wíilá* 'do, say' inflected for the conjoint past imperfective, marked by the TAM prefix *-á-* (see section 8.1.4), then followed by the infinitive. This tense verb construction insists on the progressive aspect of an action, i.e. on the dynamic quality of a process in progress. The three-vocalic sequence triggered by the subsequent SM, the TAM prefix *-á-* and the vowel-initial stem *-ila* is reduced to a bimoraic vowel, in which the SM is amalgamated with -á-, as the surface H tone on the first verb mora of the three following examples makes clear. Note that *-ila* was not glossed according to its lexical meaning 'do, say', but rather according to its structural function among the whole verb form, namely 'AUX'.

(8.153) *óĺle ḿpóǹtááŕi wéélootóónya : "va Nikúrábedh' áápálě"*   {maria.146}

óĺle	ḿpóǹtáárí	**o-á-íla-otóónya**		va	N.	ápálé
1.DEM.III	1.tracker	1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.indicate		16.CON	D.	16.DEM.III

'that tracker was indicating : Mr.Dugong is over there!'

(8.154) *ánéénám' eetéén' [...] ééloóḿperesegíri ééloóḿfwará wiílél' aaḿpe*   {ddingí.10}

áná-énáma	a-eté = éne	**a-á-íla-ó-mú-peresegíri**
2.child-9.animal	2-all = INT	2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-chase

a-á-íla-ó-mú-fwará	wiíléla	a-mú-p-e
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-follow	CMP	2-OM1-kill-SBJ

'all the animals [...] were chasing him. they were following him to kill him'

As far as tones are concerned, no PL occurs on the infinitive verbs, which thus maintain the surface tone pattern found in the infinitive form, with a grammatical H assigned to the first mora of the (macro-)stem, plus the lexical contrast between Ø and H verbs, with some constraint with the latter (see section 3.4.2.1 on "Grammatical H assigned to MS1 + lexical tone contrast"). Now, in the negative verb constructions, the infinitive verb does undergo PL. This means that the verb stem remains toneless in Ø-toned verbs (8.155), but maintains the lexical H of H-toned verbs on the penult mora (8.156). Further note that the object *kálrúúnga* 'sickle' in (8.155) does not undergo PL.

(8.155) *kaddééloosakula kálrúúnga*   {elic.}

      ka-ddi-á-ila-osakula   kálrúúnga

      NEG-1SG-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.choose.PL   5a.sickle

      'I was not choosing a sickle'

(8.156) *íyééné kaál' uuttolon' úkó kééloofulá ?*   {ddoo.19}

      íyééné   ka-á-li   o-ttolo = ni   ókó

      3SG.PRO   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-be   17-well.PL = LOC   17.DEM.II

      ka-á-ila-ofulá

      NEG.1-PST-IPFV-AUX-15.wash.PL

      'wasn't she washing there at the well, wasn't she washing ?!'

8.4.2   Counterexpectational

Counterexpectational (CE) is built upon the marker *-lá-*, followed by the infinitive verb. It is likely that *-lá-* originates from the auxiliary *wíílá* 'say, do', whose form was truncated, as will be further mentioned below. CE, commonly attested in narrative texts, is used to express new and somewhat unexpected information, which was not planned. It is aspectually close to the perfective, since the event is seen as a whole, but unlike the perfective, the CE involves a surprising effect. For instance, in (8.157), an originally healthy body suddenly stopped working, because of an argument between its main constitutive parts. In (8.158), Maria, a black woman suddenly and unexpectedly becomes white.

(8.157) *eǹtáw' óórómáánâ labónéne ńttílé jaá ǹníngó neetééne*   {body.14}
      kaneéddíle víina, ǹlógúnáńtí.

      eǹtáwó   órómáá = nâ   labó = néne   ńttílé   ja   ǹníngó   ni-eté = êne

      then   15.start = COM   5.day = 5.INT   5.DEM.III   no.longer   5.body   5-all = INT

      ka-ni-édd-íle   víina   **ni-lá-ógúnáńtí**

      NEG-5-walk-PFV   too   5-CE-15.lie.down

      'Then, from that day on, the whole body no longer worked (walked), it kept on sleeping.'

(8.158) *"supeéyó supeéyo, míyó ddiḿfúná ddikálé w' oocéna."*   {maria.61}
         Maríy' óolóósáddúwa, ddabun' óókala muzugu, okala w' oocéna.

supeéyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-kál-é	wa	océna	M.
9a.mirror.PL	1SG-IPFV.CJ.want	1SG-be-SBJ	1.CON	15.be.white	M.

o-lá-ósáddúwa	ddabunó	o-kala	muzugu		o-kala	wa	océna
1-CE-15.change	now	NAR-be	1.European.PL		NAR-be	1.CON	15.be.white

'Maria : Yes, it's true! I have begun to receive (have). Mirror, mirror, I want to be white. Maria changed, she was now a white person, she was white.'

A first counterexpected situation may trigger a chain of subsequent unexpected events, as shown in (8.159). Thanks to the hare's smartness, the girl started to use her voice and speak, and was thus offered to the hare.

(8.159) *órómáná labónén' ńttíle par' oosongólro, mwánámwíyaná ólle*   {mute.19-20}
         olóórómá: ōsúúz' óloga. namárógolo olóómúttúkúla, olóóváhíwa múyan' óóĺle baamútêla.

órómá=ná	labó=néne	ńttíle	para	osongónlro	mwáná-mwíyaná
15.start=COM	5.day.PL=5.INT	5.DEM.III	to	17.future.PL	1.child-1.woman

ólle	**o-lá-órómá**	ōsúńzá	ologa	N.	**o-lá-ó-mú-ttúkúla**
1.DEM.III	1-CE-15.start	15-learn	15.speak.PL	H.	1-CE-15-OM1-take

o-lá-óváh-íw-a	múyaná	ólle	ba-a-mú-têla
1-CE-15.give-PASS.Fi	1.woman	1.DEM.III	SEQ-1-OM1-marry

'From that day on, that girl began to learn how to speak. Mr.Hare took her, he was offered that woman and married her.'

Morphologically, the CE is difficult to account for. If we compare the affirmative forms above with the negative forms in (8.160) and (8.161), we note that the auxiliary stem *-ila* is truncated in the affirmative forms. Furthermore, no TAM affix is involved in this verb construction. Instead, the SM is directly followed by the auxiliary.

(8.160) *dhikósíle Maáŕk' uusíkóóla, bábé kaddiílóomwaaddela, oziwilé dháaví peéno* {semi-elic.}

[dhi-kós-íle	M.	o-síkóóla]REL	bábé	**ka-ddi-ílá-o-mu-addela**
10-do-PFV.REL	M.	17-9a.school	1a.father	NEG-1SG-CE-15-OM1-inform.PL

o-ziw-ilé	dháaví	peéno
1-know-PFV.CJ	how	WOND

'what Marco did at school, I did not inform father, I do not know how he got to know it'

(8.161) *múkwáníya óyévíháwa dhaáwo ? kaddiílóogula , ddilóóváhíwa*   {semi-elic.}

múkwání = ya   óyévíhá = wa   dhaáwo   **ka-ddi-ílá-ogulá**

3.greenery = DEF   15.shorten = 15.DEF like.that.II   NEG-1SG-CE-15.buy.PL

ddi-lá-óváh-íw-a

1SG-CE-15.give-PASS-Fi

'(why) so little greenery? I did not buy it, I was given it'

Similarly to the past progressive, the object following the negative construction is not subject to PL since this tone process is in fact applied on the infinitive verb, as the second part of the analytic verb form.

(8.162) *kaddiílóogulíha nígágádda*   {elic.}

ka-ddi-ílá-ogul-íh-a   nígágádda

NEG-1SG-CE-15.buy-CAUS-Fi.PL   5.dry.cassava

'I did not sell dry cassava'

Regarding tones, the affirmative CE constructions are neutralised: a H anchors onto the last mora of the auxiliary, and then spreads to the penult mora of the following verb stem, whether it is underlyingly H or toneless. On the contrary, lexical contrast is preserved in the negative constructions: whereas a grammatical H anchors onto the first mora of the auxiliary stem (since it is disyllabic), the associated verb stem contains the lexical H (on the penult mora) with H-toned verbs, or remains entirely low with Ø-toned verbs. This tone pattern in the negative constructions may explain the lack of truncation of the auxiliary stem *-ila.*

8.4.3 *ófuná* 'want' + infinitive: near future

The verb *ófuná* 'want' in the CJ present tense followed by an infinitive forms an analytic construction which indicates a prospective future, translated as 'be about to'. Examples are provided below.

(8.163) a. *ddiṁfúná ofiya*   {elic.}   b. *nama eṁfuna wiitta*   {elic.}

  ddi-ní-fúná   ofiya   nama   **e-ní-funa**   wiitta

  1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   15.arrive.PL   9a.meat   9-IPFV.CJ-want   15.be.ripe.PL

  'I am about to arrive'   'the meat is almost cooked'

(8.164) *moónelííyé ddiḿfún' óógumana n' oóll' oonddífwará, olóólúpa*   {ddingí.22}

[mu-ón-el-é = íyé   **ddi-ní-fúná**   **ógum-an-a**   na

18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   15.shake-REC-Fi.PL   with

ólle   [o-ní-ddí-fwará]_REL]_REL   o-lé-ólúpa

1.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-follow   1-CE-15.jump

'When he realised "I am going to bump into the one who is following me", he jumped.'

Such constructions are common in relative clauses. Note that the object of the infinitive is not subjected to PL, as illustrated in (8.165)a with *ósalú* 'thread'.

(8.165) a. *ólééné oḿfún' óópatúla ósalú dd' iijíl' óobáága*   {mbílri.24}

óllé = éné   [o-ní-fúná   **ópátúla**   ósalú]_REL   ddi   [o-j-ílé

1.DEM.III = INT   1-IPFV.CJ-want   15.break   14.thread   1.COP   1-eat-PFV.REL

obá = ága]_REL

9a.fish = POSS.1SG

'the one who will break the thread is the one who ate my fish'

b. *oméyélél' oók' uuḿfúnéény' uúvírá: ,*   {maria.47}
kurúmáanj' ooneelóómwerela vañlúgúni

oméyélélo   óku   [o-ní-fúná = ínyu   óvírá]_REL

17.way.back   17.DEM.I   17-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO   15.go.by

kurúmáanje   o-naa-ilá-ómwerela   va-ñlúgú = ni

1a.bee.sp   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL   16-5.stone = LOC

'on the way back you will pass by, the bee.sp will land on a stone'

In exactly the same context, a similar interpretation is obtained with the verb *ódha* 'come' in the CJ present (8.166), although it is not as common as with the verb *ófuná* 'want'.

(8.166) *ddiḿdhág' ootaabúwá vatí váariba ddaahígúli vela*   {semi-elic.}

ddi-ní-dh-ág-a   otaabúwá   vatí   vá-a-riba

1SG-IPFV.CJ-go-HAB-Fi   15.suffer.PL   16.sunset   16-SIT-be.dark

ddi-a-hí-gúl-i   vela

1SG-SIT-NEG-buy-NEG   10a.candle.PL

'I am going to suffer at night if I do not buy candles'

8.5 Defective verbs

In Cuwabo, there are only four verbs which can be considered as defective: *-idhi* 'know', *-ga* 'go', *-ya* 'go', and *-li* 'be'. Defective verbs have the particularity of having an invariable stem. In no case do they take the different flectional final vowels, nor do they appear with any extension or with the infinitive prefix *o-* (except *olí* 'be'). They are restricted to the following marking: polarity (with the pre-initial negative prefix *ka-*), SM, tense (present or past), OM, and post-final locatives. Several examples are provided below. The first one in (8.167) shows that defective verbs may be employed as modals. A detailed account of the defective verb *olí* 'be' is given in section 9.2.3.1.

(8.167)   *wulrú:! namárógolo keédh' úceyá ḿbúga*   {mute.17}

       wulrú   namárógolo   **ka-ídhí**   óceyá   ḿbúga

       IDEO   1a.hare   NEG.1-know   15.sow.PL   3.rice

       '[laugh], Mr.Hare does not know how to sow rice!'

(8.168)   *"míyó kamuddíídhí: ?" belá: "kánuwíídhi."*   {maria.86}

       míyó   **ka-mu-ddí-ídhí**   ba-ilá   **ká-ni-ú-ídhi**

       1SG.PRO   NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know   SEQ.1-say   NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know

       'You do not know me? We don't know you.'

(8.169)   *'pa! ddaagél' óokúl' úwa cívéevé*   {páaká.21}

       epa   **ddi-a-g-él-e**   ókúle   wa   cívéevé

       INTER   1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ   17.DEM.III   17.CON   9a.swallow

       'I was there at Mr.Swallow's'

(8.170)   *sapáttó dhaamugúlelíímí: kayílêmo*   {semi-elic.}

       sapáttó   dhi-a-mu-gúl-el-é＝ímí   **ka-y-ílê＝mo**

       10a.shoe   10-PST-OM1-buy-APPL-PFV.REL＝1SG.PRO   NEG-go-PFV＝18.LOC

       'the shoes I bought him did not fit him'

9

Predicative constructions

This chapter is concerned with the internal structure of the simple clause, involving different predicative constructions. The most usual distinction is made between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Predicates are most commonly verbal. Verbal predicates may be sub-classified as transitive or intransitive depending on their argument structure. This will be dealt with in section 9.1. In section 9.2, the different cases of non-verbal predication, subsuming nominal, adjectival and locative predicates, will be presented, as well as the different strategies used in Cuwabo to express them, such as tone alteration on the predicate (Predicative Lowering) or the use of a copula.

9.1 Verbal predication

In this section, I propose an analysis of verbal predication. Each Cuwabo verb is characterised both semantically and syntactically and consequently assigns specific roles to the participants in the denoted action or state. The grammatical relations resulting from this

semantic/syntax interaction are addressed in section 9.1.1. Section 9.1.2 discusses verbal valency, and more particularly the different verb classes dealing with (in)transitivity, ambitransitivity and ditransitivity. Section 9.1.3 in turn is devoted to the expression of possession. I will show that Cuwabo has two forms meaning 'to have', which do not (or no longer) correspond to the expression 'be with', otherwise commonly attested in Bantu.

9.1.1   Grammatical relations

In this section I am concerned with the different semantic and syntactic relations displayed by the different lexical terms involved by the verbal construction. Distinction will be made between core and peripheral semantic and syntactic roles, and notions like arguments, adjuncts, subject and object will be recurrently used. My approach is mostly based on Creissels (2006) and Givón (2001).

9.1.1.1   Semantic roles

From a broad perspective, two types of semantic relations are traditionally distinguished: the participants, i.e. those which participate in the event, and the peripheral adjuncts (also called "satellites" (Creissels 2006)), which do not participate in the event but only set the frame. The participants can in turn be sub-divided into two categories: i) those whose presence is fundamental for the construction of the sentence. They are referred to as core arguments; ii) those whose presence is optional. Considering for instance the sentence in (9.1)a, both *mírí* 'trees' and *nyenyéle* 'ants' participate in the action expressed by the verb *ója* 'eat': *mírí* is the entity which undergoes the action of being eaten, it represents the *patient* of the verb; *nyenyéle* is the entity which performs the action of eating and thus represents the *agent* of the verb. However in many passive sentences, the agent introduced obliquely by the preposition *na* 'by' is not required, and constructions like (9.1)b are commonly attested in the language.

(9.1)   a. *mírí dhínójúwá na nyenyéle*   {elic.}

        mírí   dhí-ni-ó-j-úw-á   na   nyenyéle

        4.tree   4-IPFV.DJ-15-eat-PASS-Fi   by   10a.ant

        'the trees are being eaten by the ants'

b. *mírí dhínójúwá*   {elic.}

    mírí   dhí-ni-ó-j-úw-á

    4.tree   4-IPFV.DJ-15-eat-PASS-Fi

    'the trees are being eaten'

The semantics of a verb predicate defines its argument frame and implies that each argument is assigned a semantic role. More specifically, arguments cover an array of different semantic roles, such as the well-known "agent", "patient", "goal" and "benefactive", whose definitions can be found in Givón (2001: 107) and Creissels (2006a: 280-281). As will be discussed below, the core arguments are usually well coded in the verb morphology. In contrast, semantic roles linked with time, location and manner usually constitute adjuncts of the verb, since their occurrence is not constrained by the valency of the verb, and thus not represented in its morphological structure.

9.1.1.2   Syntactic roles

In addition to their semantic roles, the aforementioned participants and adjuncts also convey syntactic roles in the clause, among which two are central in the discourse information: the subject and the (direct) object. They constitute the nuclear syntactic roles present in basic transitive constructions. Beside these core constituents, the adjuncts constitute peripheral syntactic roles. Although they do not obey a strict order in the sentence, they generally occupy the final position of the sentence or are left-dislocated in sentence-initial position. For instance, in (9.2) the locative adjunct *vańlúgúni* 'on a stone' follows the objectless verb, and in (9.3) the prepositional (or oblique) phrase *na maámbéesí* 'in the morning' constitutes a temporal adjunct which sets the frame on the left-edge of the sentence.

(9.2)   *kurúmáanj' ooneelóómwerela vańlúgúni*   {maria.47}

     kurúmáanje   o-naa-ilá-ómwerela   **va-ńlúgú = ni**

     1a.bee.sp   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL   16-5.stone = LOC

     'the bee.sp will land on a stone'

(9.3)   *Maríyá na maámbéesí ʸ agaamala waábá:, odhow' óója*   {maria.102}

     M.   **na**   **maámbéesí**   a-gaa-mala   waábá   o-dhowá   o-ja

     M.   by   6.morning   1-SIT-finish   15.bathe   NAR-go   NAR-eat

     'In the morning, Maria, after bathing, went and ate'

In most cases, a formal distinction between objects and adjuncts is made by means of the locative classes, as seen in (9.2) with the class 16 NP *vańlúgúni*. Furthermore, objects and

adjuncts do not have the same semantic scope: in Dryer (2007: 250)'s words "objects complete the meaning of the verb in a way that adjuncts do not."

The nuclear syntactic roles are assumed to convey two main formal properties which constitute mechanisms coding their relations, and which therefore allow distinguishing one from another: overt coding properties and behaviour properties. Each is discussed in turn with regard to Cuwabo.

Overt coding properties

Encoding properties deal with both word order of the lexical constituents and morphosyntactic process of indexation of these constituents on the verb (by means of pronominal verb agreement). Note that there is no morphological case-marking on the noun phrases themselves, be they subject or object, as will be made clear throughout the examples in this section.

Word order represents a first hint toward the assignment of syntactic roles. The canonical word order of constituents in Cuwabo is SVO for transitives (9.4) and SV for intransitives (9.5).

(9.4)	SVO	*wéyó oneelóómutelá mwánâga*		{mute.21}
		wéyó	o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-telá	mwánâga
		2SG.PRO	2SG-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-marry.PL	1.child.POSS.1SG
		'you will marry my daughter'		

(9.5)	SV	*namárógol' oottamága. ottawá*		{ddingí.22}
		namárógolo	o-ttamága	o-ttawá
		1a.hare	NAR-run	NAR-flee
		'the hare ran and fled'		

Note however that SVO is not a rigid order, and that for discourse-pragmatic purposes or informational content, it may be subject to alteration (see chapter 11 on constituent order and information structure). Cases in which the verb selects two objects are discussed in section 9.1.2.3 below, on double-object constructions.

Now the question of co-indexation is crucial in determining grammatical relations. By co-indexation is meant the process of NP's control of pronominal affixes on the verb. This is particularly true with the lexical constituents functioning as subjects, which, at the clausal level, are invariably and obligatorily co-indexed on a specific slot of the verb, by means of class-marking prefixes, as shown in (9.6) and (9.7).

(9.6) *ósál' uúb' úupã̂tűwa ?*   {mbílri.23}

   ó$_i$-sálu   ó$_i$-bu   o$_i$-hi-pátúwa

   14-thread   14-DEM.I   14-PFV.DJ-break

   'did this thread break?'

(9.7) *jíbó dhińdá m̀bára*   {ddingí.14}

   jíbó$_j$ dhi$_j$-ní-dhá   mu-bára

   10a.song   10-IPFV.CJ-come   18-9a.sea

   'the songs come from the beach'

As a matter of fact, a system of double marking takes place, since most Cuwabo nouns are also marked for class. In (9.6), both subject and verb are identically marked for this syntactic relation by the class 14 prefix *o-*. This is not the case in (9.7) as *jíbó* 'song(s)' is part of the prefixless nouns found in class 9a/10a (see section 4.1.5 on noun morphology). However the agreeing verb is marked by the co-referential class 10 prefix *dhi-*. Co-indexation (or agreement) of SM on the verb is a relevant criterion to differentiate the subject from other syntactic roles.

On the other hand, all objects are not systematically marked on the verb. In fact, in Cuwabo, only the persons and classes 1 and 2 objects are co-indexed on the verb. It is likely that inherent lexical content originally played a role in that only animate arguments would be marked on the verb, hence a restriction to the [+ human] classes 1 and 2. However, as these classes have been hosting a certain number of animate but humanless entities as well as inanimate objects, object marking became obligatory for every class 1/2 noun regardless of their semantics (except perhaps in some particular configurations discussed in section 9.1.2.3), as can be seen in (9.8) with the animate entity *kurúmáanje* 'bee.sp', and in (9.9) with the inanimate object *naámbêdde* 'maize'.

(9.8) *ddim̀fwáré kurúmáanje*   {maria.31}

   ddi-**mú**-fwár-é   **kurúmáanje**

   1SG-OM1-follow-SBJ   1a.bee.sp

   'I must follow the bee.sp.'

(9.9) *olima munddááyé: , omwaalámó naámbêdde*   {ddingí.2}

   o-lima   munddá=áye   o-**mu**-alá=mó   **naámbêdde**

   NAR-cultivate   3.field=POSS.3SG   NAR-OM1-sow=18.LOC   1a.maize

   'He cultivated his fields and sowed maize.'

Importantly, verb indexing of both persons and class 1/2 nouns do not require to delete the lexical object, or to move it out from its argument position, i.e. to be left-dislocated or right-dislocated. In other words, object marking on the verb can co-occur with an overt object NP

and it thus not linked with a topical informational purpose, as is common in Bantu, but is better interpreted as a systematic grammatical agreement, which applies regardless of the informational status of the co-indexed object (see section 11.3.3 for more examples in focused constructions).

Note that SM and OM are assigned to specific verb slots. As a result, the SM always precedes the OM, and both are usually separated by TAM markers (see section 6.3 for a reminder of the verb template).

In addition to subject and object marking, Cuwabo has a third marking with a pronominal function: locative marking. It differs from subject and object marking in two respects: first it occupies the last position of the verb template; second, it is usually optional (but still very frequently attested in the language).

(9.10)   a. *m̀báv' óókúl' oonówííyávo dheetédhéne*   {maria.159}

        m̀bává   ókúle   o-ni-ó-íyá=**vo**   dhi-eté=dhéne

        1.thief   17.DEM.III   1-IPFV.DJ-15-steal=16.LOC   10-all=10.INT

        'The thief there was stealing everything'

    b. *ddinóḿdhoóláwo mwádhâga*   {maria.130}

        ddi-ni-ó-mú-dhoólá=**wo**   mwáádhâga

        1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch=17.LOC   1.wife.POSS.1SG

        'I will fetch my wife'

    c. *aamal' oójámố: , om̀magyédhá namálába*   {mbílri.4}

        a-a-mala   ójá=**mố**   o-mu-magyédhá   namálába

        1-SIT-finish   15.eat=18.LOC   NAR-OM1-slander   1a.working-man

        'After eating, she accused the employee.'

As already shown in section 6.3.9.2, the locative clitics cannot co-occur with an *in situ* (postverbal) locative phrase. For convenience, the illustrating example in (6.136) is repeated in (9.11).

(9.11)   **áléddo aádhámo m̀múrúddani   > áléddo aádha m̀múrúddani*   {elic.}

       áléddo   a-hí-dhá=**mo**   mu-múrúdda=ni

       2.guest   2-PFV.DJ-come=18.LOC 18-3.village=LOC

       'the guests arrived into the village'

The locative agreement system is therefore not symmetric with the object agreement system, which is automatically carried out regardless the position of the object NP.

Behaviour properties

By "behaviour properties" is meant the possibility for a lexical subject or object to undergo certain types of syntactic operations (or processes), such as reflexivisation, sequencing, *wh*-questions, focalisation, relativisation, or passivisation, etc. The most relevant for subject and object comparison are discussed in turn. Note that passivisation will be dealt with in double-object constructions, in section 9.1.2.3.

In Cuwabo, the reflexive pronoun has the invariable form *-vi-*, assigned to the verb in the slot for object marking (see section 6.3.5). It co-refers to the subject of the sentence, but is semantically interpreted as an object, or rather a non-subject, since no overt lexical object is possibly present in this type of construction. This object (or non-subject) interpretation is confirmed by the type of verbs involved in reflexive constructions, namely transitive verbs, as *ótótóca* 'destroy' in (9.12)a. In contrast, intransitive verbs are infelicitous in the same context, as illustrated in (9.12)b with *ótótówa* 'be detroyed'. This means that reflexivisation depends both on a 'subject' syntactic role and the 'transitive' syntactic property of the verb.

(9.12)   a. *oṁpánélá: onóvítotóca, onótótówa*   {body.23}

      [o-ni-pánélá]_{REL}   o-ni-ó-**ví**-totóca   o-ni-ótótówa

      1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud   1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy   1-IPFV.DJ-15.be.destroyed

      'whoever is proud destroys himself, is destroyed'

    b. **oṁpánélá: onóvítotówa*   {elic. from body.23}

      [o-ni-pánélá]_{REL}   o-ni-ó-**ví**-totówa

      1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud   1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-be.destroyed

      'whoever is proud is destroyed (by) himself'

Regarding *wh*-questions with *aani* 'who', it is interesting to note a subject/object asymmetry with respect to the position of the interrogative word. *aani* cannot question an agent (or subject) function in the 'Immediately After the Verb' (IAV) position (9.13)a. Nor can it fulfil the canonical subject position in the preverbal domain (9.13)b. Instead, it must be used with a copula in a cleft + relative construction (9.13)c. Inversely, an object can perfectly be questioned by means of the two constructions, involving object marking on the verb for class 1/2 noun references (9.14).

(9.13)   Question on the subject

    a. **vatákúlu vagonilé aaní ?*   {elic.}

      va-tákúlú   va-gon-ilé   **aani**

      16-9a.house   16-sleep-PFV.CJ   who

      Intd. 'who slept at home?'

b. *aaní ogonilé vatákúlu?   {elic.}

   aani   o-gon-ilé   va-tákúlú

   who   1-sleep-PFV.CJ   16-9a.house

   Intd. 'who slept at home?'

c. ogónílé vatákúlú ba aaní ?   {elic.}

   [o-gón-ílé   va-tákúlú]_REL   **ba**   **aani**

   1-sleep-PFV.REL   16-9a.house   2.COP   who

   lit. 'the one who slept at home, it is who?'

(9.14)   Question on the object

a. síkálétá oṁvahil' ááni ?   {elic.}

   síkálétá   o-**mu**-vah-ilé   **aani**

   9a.bicycle   1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ   who

   'whom did you give the bicycle to?'

b. ba aaní óṁváhilééwé síkáléta ?   {elic.}

   ba   **aani**   [o-**mu**-váh-ilé=éwé   síkáléta]_REL

   2.COP   who   1-OM1-give-PFV.REL=2SG.PRO 9a.bicycle

   'whom did you give the bicycle to?'

Another subject/object asymmetry closely connected with the one mentioned above deals with focalisation. The only focusing strategy allowed with subjects necessarily involves the use of a copular sentence combined with a relative clause (9.15)a. The same strategy may be observed with objects (9.16)a, but more commonly, a focused object directly follows the (conjoint) verb form and undergoes PL (9.16)b. (9.15)b shows this is ungrammatical with a subject.

(9.15)   a. ddi Ósáńzáyá ogónílé vatákûlu   {elic.}

   ddi   ósáńzáyá   [o-gón-ílé   va-tákûlu]_REL

   1.COP osanzaya   1-sleep-PFV.REL   16-9a.house

   'it is Osanzaya who slept at home'

b. *vatákúlu vagonilé Osanzáya   {elic.}

   va-tákúlu   va-gon-ilé   osanzáya

   16-9a.house   16-sleep-PFV.CJ   osanzaya.PL

   Intd. 'OSANZAYA slept at home'

(9.16)   a. ddi mwááná oṁváhilééhu síkélétádhá   {elic.}

   ddi   mwááná   [o-mu-váh-ilé=éhu   síkélétá=yá]_REL

   1.COP 1.child   1-OM1-give-PFV.REL=2PL.PRO 9a.bicycle=9.DEF

   'we gave the bicycle TO THE CHILD' (lit. 'it is to the child that we gave the bicycle')

b. *síkélétáyá nîm̀vahilé mwáana*   {elic.}

síkélétá = yá	nî-mu-vah-ilé	mwáana
9.bicycle = 9.DEF	1PL-OM1-give-PFV.CJ	1.child.PL

'we gave the bicycle TO THE CHILD'

In contrast, both subjects and objects may be relativised, with the same coding strategy involving (relative) agreement on the verb, as shown in (9.17) and (9.18). (see section 10.1 for an in-depth analysis of relative constructions).

(9.17)   subject relative

óĺlééne ojíl' éésáv' iíjíí [...]   {mbílri.14}

óĺlé = éne	[o-j-ílé	ésávi	éjí]REL
1.DEM.III = INT	1-eat-PFV.REL	9.relish	9.DEM.I

'The very one who ate the relish [...]'

(9.18)   non-subject relative

neetééne nikósén' éjíl' eekósíle míyo   {mbílri.23}

ni-eté = éne	ni-kós-é = ni	éjíle	[e-kós-íle	míyo]REL
1PL-all = INT	1PL-do-SBJ = PLA	9.DEM.III	9-do-PFV.REL	1SG.PRO

'Then, let's all do what I did.'

9.1.1.3   Syntax-semantics interface

In the different cases of simple clauses presented so far, a certain isomorphism can be observed between semantics and syntax. The semantic roles tend to be mapped onto the syntactic roles which build the clause. The arguments thus have central syntactic roles. In transitive constructions, for instance, the subject is usually linked with the agent semantic role, whereas the object is applied for the patient semantic role. Further note that in intransitive constructions, the single nuclear argument is encoded in a similar way than the agent of a transitive construction, and both are considered as grammatical subjects. In this respect, Cuwabo respects an accusative pattern.

The differences in properties depending on each syntactic role allow drawing their hierarchy in terms of their essential character to the construction. Core arguments with nuclear roles are thus distinguished from peripheral (or oblique) roles by their coding and behavioural properties. Note however that the distinction between core and peripheral constituents is not as binary as it seems, and in-between non-prototypical cases may arise. This is the case with locative inversion constructions, whose analysis is addressed in section 11.1.4.

9.1.2   Valency and verb classes

Verb valency refers to the ability of each verb to control a specific number of arguments. Valency is thus determined by the lexical meaning of the verb. From a syntactic point of view, valency is concerned with the number and the syntactic role of the nuclear or core constituents of the verb. In simple clauses, the arguments (semantic roles) usually pattern with the syntactic roles, and both semantic valency and syntactic valency are similar. Exceptions arise as will be demonstrated later with the locative inversion constructions. Importantly, a given verb may assume several valency patterns, as will be made clear in the following subsections.

Section 6.1, on verbal morphology, showed that a variety of derivational extensions are voice mechanisms which allow to increase or diminish the valency of a verb. Among these valency-changing markers, some can be added only to intransitive verbs to form transitive verbs, and vice versa. In other cases, differences in valency are observed between constructions which make use of the same verb. This variation in valency is mostly determined by lexical/semantic properties of verbs. Both derived and underived verbs will be considered in this section.

9.1.2.1   Intransitives

Intransitive verbs have a valency restricted to one argument; they are monovalent. Different semantic subtypes of verbs display intransitivity. Among them are the stative verbs, whose single argument is necessarily interpreted as a theme. Stative verbs can be either inherently stative (9.19) or made stative by adding the neuter extension *-ey-* to transitive verbs (9.20).

(9.19)   a. *Ddóólríndd' oókóddéla mas*   {ddoo.3}

         D.   **o-hí-kóddéla**   mas

         D.   1-PFV.DJ-be.beautiful   more

         'Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful'

      b. *mbílr' ij' aánúna vaddíddi*   {mbílri.17}

         mbílri   éjó   **e-a-hí-núna**   vaddíddi

         9a.fish.sp   9.DEM.I   9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat   much

         'That fish was very fat (i.e. healthy).'

(9.20)   a. *enótwêya*   {maria.49}   b. *koonéyîle*   {ddoo.22}

         e-ni-ótw-**êy**-a   ka-on-**éy**-île

         9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi   NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV

         'it is going to break'   'she was not visible'

With process verbs such as 'fall', 'die', 'grow', 'break', the subject is considered as a patient-of-change, i.e. it transits from one state to another. Two examples are provided below with the verbs *wúúnúwa* 'grow' (9.21) and *ókwa* 'die' (9.22).

(9.21) *áyím' aábá: awúúnúwa vañgónó vañgónó*   {maria.4}
        áyíma   ábá   **a-hí-únúwa**   vañgónó   vañgónó
        2.child 2.DEM.I 2-PFV.DJ-grow   16.little 16.little
        'These children grew up little by little'

(9.22) *eǹtǎwú mukwélíiyé: , akwilé eetééne. Mádá víín' óokwá: ,*   {body.17}
        Érúgul' uukwá: , Manyál' óokwa.

        eǹtáwú   [**mu-kw-él-e = iye**]REL   **a-kw-ilé**   a-eté = éne
        then   18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO   2-die-PFV.CJ   2-all = INT

        mádá   vííná   **o-kwa**   érúgulu   **o-kwá**   manyáló   **o-kwa**
        6.hand   too   NAR-die   9.belly   NAR-die   6.foot   NAR-die

        'Then when he died, all died. Mr. Hands died too, Mr. Belly died, Mr. Feet died.'

Motion verbs are also intransitive verbs, but unlike stative verbs, they are active, i.e. their single argument is an agent, as shown in (9.23) with *okíta* 'go down' and (9.24) with *ovénya* 'stand up' and *wéeddá* 'walk'.

(9.23) *okomesáár' uúkúl' ookíta. okitag' ookitag' ookitag' ookitaga*   {ddingí.21}
        o-komesáári   ókúle   okíta   **o-kit-ag-a**
        NAR-start   17.DEM.III 15.go.down   NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi
        'he started to go down. He went down, went down…'

(9.24) *baáh' óolóóvénya. weeddaga dhawééné burebúre*   {maria.21}
        baáhí   **o-lé-óvénya**   **o-edd-ag-a**   dhaawó = éné   burebúre
        enough! 1-CE-15.stand.up   NAR-walk-HAB-Fi   like.this.II = INT   at.random
        'Enough! She stood up. She walked like this at random'

There is no impersonal or avalent verb in Cuwabo, i.e. verbs with a dummy or indeterminate subject, such as the English expressions linked to weather 'it rains', 'it is cold', etc. Such weather verbs in Cuwabo require a concrete referent, as shown in (9.25), and thus constitute a third semantic subtype of intransitive verbs.

(9.25) a. *síku nibaatízíwe íyo, muzóg' óowaárúbwa vaddíddi*   {elic.}
        síku   [ni-baatíz-íw-e   íyo]REL   muzógwé   o-a-hí-rúbwa   vaddíddi
        5.day   5-baptise-PASS-PFV.REL   1PL.PRO   3.rain   3-PST-PFV.DJ-rain   much
        'the day we got baptised, it rained a lot'

b. *elábó: énóríídha*   {elic.}

    elábó   é-ni-óríídha

    9.territory   9-IPFV.DJ-15.be.cold

    'it is cold here'

This means that intransitive constructions represent the smallest type of valency in Cuwabo.

9.1.2.2 Transitives and ambitransitives

Transitive constructions involve *stricto sensu* two arguments: an agent and a patient. As already seen above, in simple clauses, semantic and syntactic transitivity tend to pattern together, i.e. the agent usually corresponds to the clause's subject, whereas the patient normally has an object status. This object represents the additional argument present in transitive but absent in intransitives. Examples in (9.26) and (9.27) present prototypical transitive constructions, in which these semantic and syntactic roles are respectively filled by respectively *nikúrábédha* 'dugong' and *namárógolo* 'hare' (both agents and subjects of the verb) and *maare* 'idea' and *m̀búgá* 'rice' (both patients and objects).

(9.26)   *Nikúrábedha woóóbuwela maare*   {maria.117}

       nikúrábedha   o-á-úbuwela   maare

       1a.dugong   1-PST.CJ-think   6.idea.PL

       'Mr.Dugong was thinking of an idea'

(9.27)   *namárógolo ottukula m̀búgá:*   {mute.14}

       namárógolo   o-ttukula   m̀búgá

       1a.hare   NAR-hand   3.rice

       'the hare took the rice'

Interestingly, among bivalent verbs, none is *obligatorily* transitive. In fact, any transitive verb may be ambitransitive, i.e. it may be realised both as transitive and intransitive. This variation is exemplified with *wíiba* 'sing' in (9.28) and *olíma* 'cultivate' in (9.29). Both these verbs are semantically transitive, but in appropriate discourse contexts, they may become objectless and be syntactically realised as intransitives.

(9.28)   a. *ddabunó wíibilé jíbweyé:*   {ddingí.9}

        ddabunó   **ó-ib-ilé**   [jíbo=ye]_{OBJ}

        then   1-sing-PFV.CJ   9a.song=POSS.3SG.PL

        'Then, he practiced his song.'

b. *oódhówávó émperegádo. oókós' áákakééne, owííba : [song]*   {mbílri.28}

    o-hí-dhówá = vó   émperegádo   o-hí-kósá   ya   aká = êne   **o-hí-íba**

    1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC   1a.employee   1-PFV.DJ-do   9.CON   same = INT   9-PFV.DJ-sing

    'Then went the working-man. He did the same and sang [song].'

(9.29)   a. *míyó ddinolímâ: bámbááya*   {body.4}

    míyó   **ddi-ni-olímâ**   [bámbááya]_OBJ

    1SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate   1a.sweet.potato

    'I cultivate sweet potatoes, coconuts'

    b. *baavahíwá ddimááwa éjíle baalimá*   {maria.70}

    ba-a-vah-íw-á   ddimá = áwa   éjíle   **ba-a-limá**

    SEQ-2-give-PASS-Fi   9a.plot = POSS.3PL   9.DEM.III   SEQ-2-cultivate

    'they were given their piece of land and they cultivated it.'

In ambitransitive constructions, the subject is semantically the same, and the object may be omitted for anaphoric purpose or in order to convey a meaning of non-specification (Creissels 2006b: 2-3). In (9.30), Ddoolrinddo asks the mirror who is the most beautiful. Displeased by the answer, she breaks it and throws it away. Here there is no need to repeat the object (the mirror) since it is clearly defined by the context. In (9.31), the transitive verb *ója* 'eat' is objectless. Here, the emphasis is given on the process of eating and not on what is eaten which is unimportant to be referred to in the discourse context.

(9.30)   *otwa. orayíla. odhow' óógulá íína, odhana*   {ddoo.7-8}

    o-twa   **o-rayíla**   o-dhówá   ó-gulá   é-ína   o-dha = na

    NAR-break   NAR-throw   NAR-go   NAR-buy   9-other   NAR-go = COM

    'She broke it. She threw it away, went and bought another one, and took it home.'

(9.31)   *ddinosápá: , wéy' óonoójá kuńddívahámo*   {body.8}

    ddi-ni-osápá   wéyó   **o-ni-ójá**   ku-ní-ddí-vahá = mo

    1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt   2SG.PRO   2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat   NEG.2SG-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

    'I bring food, you eat, and do not give me anything.'

A second type of ambitransitives exists, whereby the semantic role of the subject is modified, as well as the verb valency, but the verb remains the same. For instance, in English the verb 'break' can be used either transitively as in 'the boy broke the window' or intransitively as in 'the window broke'. In this case, the intransitive realisation has an anticausative (or passive) value. Creissels (2006b: 4) refers to these verbs as labile verbs. Whereas a language like English has many labile verbs, Cuwabo has none (at least not in my database). Instead, transitivity and intransitivity are distinguished by the two different

separative extensions *-ul-* (tr.) and *-uw-* (itr.) (see section 6.1 on verbal derivation). Compare *ópátúla* 'break (tr.)' in (9.32) with *ópátúwa* 'break (itr.)' in (9.33).

(9.32)   *óĺlééné oḿfún' óópatúla ósalú [dd' iijíl' óobáága]*   {mbílri.24}

    óĺlé=éné   [o-ní-fúná   ópátúla   ósalú]_{REL}

    1.DEM.III=INT   1-IPFV.CJ-want   15.break   14.thread

    'The one who will break the thread [is the one who ate my fish].'

(9.33)   *ósál' uúpátáwá:*   {mbílri.42}

    ósálu   o-hí-pátúwa

    14.thread   14-PFV.DJ-break

    'the thread broke'

Interestingly, certain intransitive verbs may occur in transitive constructions through the affixation of an OM on the verb or the addition of a following object NP. Several examples are provided below with the verbs *omála* 'stop, finish' (9.34), *ofíya* 'arrive' (9.35) and *otéya* 'laugh' (9.36), which are typically intransitive. In this process of transitivisation whereby an object is added, the subject (be it agent or patient) is not altered.

(9.34)   *waábulélá vaddíddí, musébweé: , pélé kadhaáḿmalá: …*   {maria.6}

    o-a-hí-bulélá   vaddíddí   musébwe   pélé   ka-dhi-á-**mú**-mala

    1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.sick   much   3.measles   10a.scabies   NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-stop

    'she always got sick : measles, scabies never stopped (with her).'

(9.35)   a. *dhińdéeyína dha déréétúdhá [...] mwáádhíye kaáḿvaha mwámúni,*   {mbílri.9}
      mwámúní kadhaáḿfiya.

      [dhi-ní-dhá=iyé=na   dha   déréétú=dhá]_{REL}   mwáádhí=ye

      10-IPFV.CJ-go=3SG.PRO=COM   10.CON   good=10.DEF   1.wife=POSS.3SG

      ka-á-mú-vaha   mwámúni   mwámúní   ka-dhi-a-**mú**-fiya

      NEG.1-PST.IPFV-OM1-give   1.husband   1.husband   NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-arrive

      'the good things he brings, […] his wife did not give them to her husband, they did not reach him.'

    b. *ató waáfíya yúúmó énddímúwéêne*   {mute.3}

      até   o-á-fíya   [yúúmó   é-nddímúwá=êne]_{OBJ}

      until   1-PST.IPFV.DJ-arrive   9.age   9-big=INT

      'she had eventually got older' (lit. 'until she had arrived an older age')

(9.36)   *baátéyá : "hééé! wulrú:! …namárógolo keédh' úceyá ḿbúga*   {mute.17}

    ba-**á**-téyá   hééé   wulrú   namárógolo   ka-ídhi   oceyá   ḿbúga

    SEQ.1-OM2-laugh   INTER   IDEO   1a.hare   NEG.1-know   15.sow.PL   3.rice

    'she laughed (at them): "[excl.＋laugh], Mr.Hare does not know how to sow rice!"

As already mentioned in section 6.1 on verbal derivation, verbal valency may be subject to syntactic operations which affect the number of arguments. Thus, any transitive verb can in principle be converted into an intransitive verb by means of the passive extension. More particularly, this operation implies that the object of the transitive construction becomes the subject of the passive clause, and preserves its semantic role. Thus in (9.37), the subject *naámbédde* 'maize' is also the patient of the verb.

(9.37)   *naámbédd' oónójúwáávi*   {ddingí.24}

      naámbédde   ó-ni-ój-úw-á=vi

      1a.maize   1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi=RESTR

      'maize keeps being eaten'

9.1.2.3   Double object constructions

Prototypical double object or ditransitive constructions contain three arguments whose syntactic roles are traditionally labelled as subject, *direct* object and *indirect* object. Many trivalent verbs semantically imply motion or physical transfer toward a goal, e.g. 'write sth. to s.o.', 'borrow sth. from s.o.', 'lend sth. to s.o.', 'send sth. to s.o.'. Morphologically, most of them are rendered possible by the addition of valency-increasing derivational extensions (causative and applicative). Still, the following example illustrates the verb *óvahá* 'give' which is probably one of the rare underived (or lexical) ditransitive verbs in Cuwabo.

(9.38)   *námásuǹzíha oóḿvahá niívúru námásuńza*   {elic.}

      námásuǹzíha   o-hí-mú$_i$-vahá   [niívúru]$_{PATIENT}$ [námásuńza$_i$]$_{RECIP}$

      1a.teacher   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   5.book   1a.student

      'the teacher gave the student a book'

In (9.38), the noun phrase *níivuru* 'book' assumes both a 'direct' object syntactic role and a patient-like semantic role, which undergoes a change in location, i.e. a physical transfer toward a goal (more precisely here, a recipient). The recipient, here human, is represented by the 'indirect' object *námásuńza* 'student'. Semantically the student receives the book and it therefore the new owner of the book. However, I deliberately avoid to label these objects 'direct' or 'indirect' since none is marked, neither for case, nor obliquely, i.e. by means of a preposition[48]. Instead, I refer to the notions of 'primary object' and 'secondary object', following Dryer's terminology (1986), also used by Creissels (2006a: 294). In ditransitive constructions, an object is considered either primary or secondary depending on both its

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[48] Such an inappropriate terminological use has also been pointed out in Hyman and Duranti (1982) for the whole Bantu family.

coding and behaviour properties. The object that shares most properties with the monotransitive patient is regarded as primary object. This position, which assumes that the two objects do *not* have a complete symmetric behaviour, questions the assumption that Bantu languages can be classified as either 'symmetrical' or 'asymmetrical' (Bresnan and Moshi 1990). A language is assumed to be symmetrical when the two objects in a ditransitive construction exhibit the same coding and behaviour properties (such as object marking or passivisation). If these properties are manifested by only one object, the language is asymmetrical. Importantly, it is claimed that symmetry or asymmetry similarly applies to the different properties tests, i.e. a language with asymmetrical object marking should also exhibit asymmetrical passivisation. By examining the objects' behaviour with respect to these properties, it will be demonstrated that such assumptions do not hold in Cuwabo, since the language exhibits both symmetrical and asymmetrical behaviour.

Word order and object marking on the verb

As seen in section 9.1.1.2, a first coding property deals with word order: can either object occur in immediate adjacency to the verb? In this respect, it is important to note that the postverbal objects illustrated in this section do not occupy a focus position. This means that the word order presented in this section is not dependent on the informational weigh of each object (see chapter 11 on word order and information structure). The second coding property deals with co-indexation on the verb. In this respect, recall that: i) object marking may only be contained in *one* slot; ii) only persons or class 1/2 objects can be formally marked on the verb. This means that when the verb has two 'eligible' objects for marking, only one will be marked on the verb. For both these properties, double-object constructions are very regular: as shown in (9.38), the patient immediately follows the verb and is then followed by the recipient. A reversal of the objects order would lead to infelicity (9.39), although the sentence is semantically understandable. This rigid word order is convenient to the attribution of the semantic role of each object. According to this word order, the two objects are not symmetrical and the patient *níívuru* 'book' behaves more as a patient than the recipient *námásuńza* 'student'.

(9.39) *#námásuǹzíha oóḿvahá námásuńza niívûru*   {elic.}

      námásuǹzíha   o-hí-mú$_i$-vaha   [námásuńza$_i$]$_{RECIP}$ [niívûru]$_{PATIENT}$

      1a.teacher   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   1a.student   5.book

      'the teacher gave the student a book'

Regarding object marking, the example in (9.38) shows that the agreement is controlled by the recipient rather than the patient. This is already illustrated in transitive constructions: in

(9.40)a, verbal co-indexation of the class 1a patient object *naámbêdde* 'maize' is not allowed, whereas it is necessary with the class 2 recipient object *álêddo* 'guests' in (9.40)b. This means that a sentence like in (9.40)a should be interpreted as 'the woman gave *him* maize', and that the OM should be deleted if no recipient is involved as in 'the woman gave maize'. The next two ditransitive constructions confirm the preference for the recipient co-indexation on the verb: when both patient and recipient arguments are controlled by the same verb, as in (9.40)c, the recipient object is chosen over the patient object for object marking on the verb. Marking the patient object in this case would be ungrammatical (9.40)d.

(9.40) a. #*múyáná oómvahá naámbêdde*   > *oóváhá*   {elic.}

  múyáná   o-hí-mú$_i$-vahá   [naámbédde$_i$]$_{PATIENT}$

  1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   1a.maize

  'the woman gave maize'

  b. *múyáná owáávahá álêddo*   {elic.}

  múyáná   o-hí-á$_i$-vahá   [álêddo$_i$]$_{RECIP}$

  1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give   2.guest

  'the woman gave to the guests'

  c. *múyáná owáávahá naámbédde álêddo*   {elic.}

  múyáná   o-hí-á$_i$-vahá   [naámbédde]$_{PATIENT}$ [álêddo$_i$]$_{RECIP}$

  1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give   1a.maize   2.guest

  'the woman gave maize to the guests'

  d. **múyáná oómvahá naámbédde álêddo*   {elic.}

  múyáná   o-hí-mú$_i$-vahá   [naámbédde$_i$]$_{PATIENT}$ [álêddo]$_{RECIP}$

  1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   1a.maize   2.guest

  'the woman gave maize to the guests'

Asymmetry in word order and object marking also occurs when double-object constructions are introduced by a verb marked for causative or applicative. Recall that the causative extension increases the valency of the verb, in introducing a new subject, namely the 'causer' of the action expressed in the predicate. In case of a transitive verb root, the causative form comes to have two objects, the causee and the patient object. The causee tends to occupy the first position (9.41)a. Still an initial patient as in (9.41)b is not considered ungrammatical, especially since the lexical context clearly indicates which semantic role is assigned to each object, hence a certain allowance for word order flexibility. However, causee-patient order in (9.41)a remains the preferred option. With regard to co-indexation, in the presence of both objects, only the causee *ápáaká* 'cats' (class 2) is marked on the verb, and not the (class 1a) patient object *naámbêdde* 'maize' (9.41)c.

(9.41)   a. *ddiyaájíha ápáaká naámbêdde*   {elic}

      ddi-hi-á$_i$-j-íh-a   [ápáaká$_i$]$_{CAUSEE}$ [naámbêdde]$_{PATIENT}$

      1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi   2.cat   1a.maize

      'I made the cats eat maize'

    b. #*ddiyaájíha naámbédde ápáakā*   {elic}

      ddi-hi-á$_i$-j-íh-a   [naámbêdde]$_{PATIENT}$ [ápáakā$_i$]$_{CAUSEE}$

      1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi   1a.maize   2.cat

      'I made the cats eat maize'

    c. **ddiimújíha naámbédde ápáakā*   {elic}

      ddi-hi-mú$_j$-j-íh-a   [ápáakā]$_{CAUSEE}$ [naámbêdde$_j$]$_{PATIENT}$

      1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-eat-CAUS-Fi   2.cat   1a.maize

      'I made the cats eat maize'

Similarly to the causative, when the valency-increasing applicative extension is suffixed to a transitive verb, the derived verb has two objects, one of which is a benefactive, as shown in (9.42)a. In this case, the applied object, here the benefactive *áléddo* 'guests' commonly follows the verb, and thus precedes the patient object, here *mwánâku* 'chicken'. Again, this established word order has the advantage of avoiding ambiguity of interpretation: we know that it is the chicken which is being cooked for the guests and not the other way around. Reversing the order of objects would lead to infelicity (compare (9.42)a and (9.42)b). Furthermore, it is the class 2 applied object, i.e. the benefactive, which triggers object marking on the verb, and not the class 1 patient object, as further confirmed by the ungrammatical sentence in (9.42)c, whose class 1 OM *-mú-* demands the singular benefactive object *múléddo* rather than *áléddo*.

(9.42)   a. *Ósánzáya ónówáápíyela áléddó mwánâku*   {elic.}

      Ósánzáya   ó-ni-o-á$_i$-píy-el-a   [áléddo$_i$]$_{BEN}$ [mwánâku]$_{PATIENT}$

      Osanzaya   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi   2.guest   1.chicken

      'Osanzaya is cooking chicken for the guests'

    b. #*Ósánzáya ónówáápíyela mwánáku álêddo*   {elic.}

      Ósánzáya   ó-ni-o-á$_i$-píy-el-a   [mwánáku]$_{PATIENT}$ [álêddo$_i$]$_{BEN}$

      Osanzaya   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi   1.chicken   2.guest

      #'Osanzaya is cooking chicken for the guests'

    c. **Ósánzáya ónómpíyela áléddo mwánâku*   {elic.}

      Ósánzáya   ó-ni-o-mú$_j$-píy-el-a   [áléddo]$_{BEN}$ [mwánâku$_j$]$_{PATIENT}$

      Osanzaya   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-cook-APPL-Fi   2.guest   1.chicken

      'Osanzaya is cooking chicken for the guests'

Deletion of either object

As bivalent verbs, trivalent verbs do not necessarily require the presence of two objects and may be realised transitively, in which case the benefactive (9.43)b as well as the patient (9.43)c can be omitted. (9.43)d shows that a lexical trivalent verb may also be used intransitively.

(9.43)   a. *Maríya oóḿvahá njáángara Koómûso*   {elic.}

        maríya   o-hí-mú-vahá   njáángara   koómûso

        maria   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   5.card   komuso

        'Maria gave a card to Komuso'

      b. *Maríya oóvahá njáángara*   {elic.}

         'Maria gave a card'

      c. *Maríya oóḿvahá Koómûso*   {elic.}

         'Maria gave to Komuso'

      d. *Maríya oóvahā*   {elic.}

         'Maria gave'

Co-occurrence of object deletion and object marking

Here, I am concerned with the correlation between object deletion and object marking: to which extent may an absent (lexical) object be co-indexed on the verb? Before proceeding, note that this type of constructions was elicited, since they do not normally occur in spontaneous discourse. In (9.44)a, in the absence of further specifications, the OM necessarily refers to a recipient, not a patient. The sentence should thus be interpreted as 'the woman gave *to* him', hence the unacceptability of 'the woman gave it'. Now, *if the recipient is overtly specified*, a class 1 patient object may be pronominalised on the verb in case of lexical deletion as shown in (9.44)c. Note however that this sentence is not unanimously approved among my consultants: whereas Sérgio accepts it, Agostinho does not. The acceptability of (9.44)c implies that the sentence in (9.44)d may be interpreted either as 'the woman gave *them* (cl.2) to the guests', where an aforementioned class 2 patient is reintroduced into discourse by means of the OM, or 'the woman gave to the guests', where the OM and the recipient are co-referential. The discourse context helps in determining the right interpretation. Inversely, (9.44)b and (9.44)e are completely felicitous, since the OM unambiguously refers to a deleted recipient.

(9.44)   a. *múyáná oómúvahā   {elic.}

múyáná   o-hí-mú-vahā

1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give

*'the woman gave it' (cl.1 patient)

b. múyáná owáávahā   {elic.}

múyáná   o-hí-á-vahā

1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give

'the woman gave *to* them' (recipient)

c. múyáná oómvahá álêddo   {elic.}

múyáná   o-hí-mú-vahá   [álêddo]_{RECIP}

1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   1.guest

'the woman gave *it* (cl.1) to the guests'

d. múyáná owáávahá álêddo   {elic.}

múyáná   o-hí-á$_{j/i}$-vahá   [álêddo$_i$]_{RECIP}

1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give   1.guest

Interpretation 1: 'the woman gave *them* (cl.2) to the guests'

Interpretation 2: 'the woman gave to the guests'

e. múyáná owáávahá naámbêdde   {elic.}

múyáná   o-hí-á-vahá   [naámbêdde]_{PATIENT}

1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give   1a.maize

'the woman gave them maize'

The same situation applies with causative and applicative constructions. An overt patient leaves the OM verb slot available for co-indexing the absent causee in (9.45)b or benefactive in (9.47)b. Inversely, a non-overtly specified patient will be uppermost co-indexed over the primary object, i.e. the causee in (9.45)a, or the benefactive in (9.47)a. As can be expected, a double interpretation arises from a sentence like (9.47)c, whereby the OM may either co-index an absent patient object of class 2 (interpretation 1), or co-refer to the benefactive object (interpretation 2). However, (9.45)c shows that the overt causee cannot be co-indexed on the verb if no patient is meant at all. This unexpected behaviour, confirmed by both Sérgio and Agostinho, is difficult to account for, all the more if we compare it with (9.41)a above. It may suggest that the OM slot is exclusively reserved for the reference to the absent lexical object, be it causee or patient. If no reference to it is made, then the OM remains empty as in (9.45)c. However such an assumption does not hold in (9.46)a, in which Sérgio now demands co-indexation of the postverbal object on the verb and refuses its absence. Interestingly, the opposite is observed with Agostinho in (9.46)b, in coherence with the result found in (9.45)c. Unfortunately, the number of available examples is too restricted to

account for such a variation. There seems to be no doubt that inter-speaker variation plays a role, but it remains to be seen whether certain causative constructions are more prone to object co-indexation than others. I leave this complex issue open for further investigation.

(9.45)   Causative constructions

a. *ddiímújíha ápáakā*   {elic}
ddi-hi-mú-j-íh-a   [ápáakā]_{CAUSEE}
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-eat-CAUS-Fi   2.cat
'I made the cats eat it (cl.1)'

b. *ddiyaájíha naámbêdde*   {elic}
ddi-hi-á-j-íh-a   [naámbêdde]_{PATIENT}
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi   1a.maize
'I made them eat maize'

c. **ddiyaájíha ápáakā*   ▸ *ddiíjíha ápáakā*   {elic}
ddi-hi-á_i-j-íh-a   [ápáakā_i]_{CAUSEE}
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi   2.cat
'I made the cats eat'

(9.46)   'he made the woman wash'   {elic.}

a. Sérgio   b. Agostinho
oomúsúwiha múyanā   *oosúwíha múyanā*
o-hi-mú_i-súw-ih-a   [múyanā_i]_{CAUSEE}   o-hi-súw-íh-a   [múyanā]_{CAUSEE}
1-PFV.DJ-OM1-wash-CAUS-Fi 1.woman   1-PFV.DJ-wash-CAUS-Fi 1.woman

**oosúwiha múyanā*   **oomúsúwiha múyanā*

(9.47)   Applicative constructions

a. *Ósáńzáya ónóḿpíyela álêddo*   {elic.}
Ósáńzáya   ó-ni-o-mú-píy-el-a   [álêddo]_{BEN}
Osanzaya   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-cook-APPL-Fi   2.guest
'Osanzaya is cooking it (cl.1) for the guests'

b. *Ósáńzáya ónówáápíyela mwánáku*   {elic.}
Ósáńzáya   ó-ni-o-á-píy-el-a   [mwánáku]_{PATIENT}
Osanzaya   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi   1.chicken
'Osanzaya is cooking chicken for them'

c. *Ósáńzáya ónówáápíyela álêddo*   {elic.}

Ósáńzáya	ó-ni-o-á-píy-el-a	[álêddo]BEN
Osanzaya	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi	2.guest

Interpretation 1: 'Osanzaya is cooking *them* (class 2) for the guests'

Interpretation 2: 'Osanzaya is cooking for the guests'

Passivisation

The passive extension can attach to ditransitive verbs, which select both a primary and secondary object as internal arguments. Now, in contrast to the aforementioned properties discussed above, passivisation involves perfect symmetry in that each object may be promoted as the subject of the passivised clause, as first shown with the lexical ditransitive verb *óvahá* 'give' in (9.48)a and (9.48)b.

(9.48)   *múyáná owáávahá mbúzí akálába*   {elic}

múyáná	o-hí-á-vahá	[mbúzí]PATIENT	[akálába]RECIP
1.woman	1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give	9a.goat	2.older

'the woman gave a goat to the old people'

a. *mbúzí eéváhíwa akálába na múyânā*   {elic}

[mbúzí]PATIENT	e-hí-váh-íw-á	[akálába]RECIP	na	múyanā
9a.goat	9-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi	2.older	by	1.woman

'a goat was given to the old people by the woman'

b. *akálába aáváhíwa mbúzí na múyanā*   {elic}

[akálába]RECIP	a-hí-váh-íw-a	[mbúzí]PATIENT	na	múyanā
2.older	1-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi	9a.goat	by	1.woman

'the old people were given a goat by the woman'

Interestingly, the recipient object in (9.48)a cannot be co-indexed on the verb. Both my main consultants refused to substitute *eéváhíwa* by *eyááváhíwa* which contains the class 2 OM *-a-*.

The sentence in (9.49) provides an example extracted from a narrative, whereby the benefactive object *Maríya* is passivised.

(9.49)   *Maríya [...] ddabunó ónólábúwa*   {maria.65}

maríya	ddabunó	ó-ni-oláb-úw-a
maria	today	1-IPFV.DJ-work-PASS-Fi

'Maria today is a boss.' (lit. 'she is being worked' = people work for her)

The same operation of passivisation occurs with causative and applicative verbs: both the causee object and the patient object are able to be converted into the subject of a passive

construction. Such a symmetric behaviour goes against the tendency of many Bantu languages, in which the patient object is usually banned of performing this operation.

(9.50) a. *ápáaká aájíhiwa naámbêdde*   (*aamújíhiwa)   {elic}

        [ápáaká]$_{CAUSEE}$ a-hi-j-íh-iw-a   [naámbêdde]$_{PATIENT}$

        2.cat   2-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi   1a.maize

        'Cats were made to eat maize'

    b. *naámbéddé oójíhiwa na ápáaká*   {elic.}

        [naámbêdde]$_{PATIENT}$ o-hi-j-íh-iw-a   [ápáaká]$_{CAUSEE}$

        1a.maize   1-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi   2.cat

        'Maize was made to be eaten by the cats'

(9.51) a. *áléddó ánópíyeliwa mwánaku na Osáńzáya*   (*ánóḿpíyeliwa)   {elic.}

        [áléddó]$_{BEN}$ á-ni-o-píy-el-iw-a   [mwánaku]$_{PATIENT}$ na   osáńzáya

        2.guest   2-IPFV.DJ-15-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi   1.chicken   by   osanzaya

        'the guests are being cooked a chicken by Osanzaya'

    b. *mwánaku ónópíyeliwa áléddó na Osáńzáya*   (*ónówáápíyeliwa)   {elic.}

        [mwánaku]$_{PATIENT}$ ó-ni-o-á-píy-el-iw-a   [áléddó]$_{BEN}$ na   O.

        1.chicken   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi   2.guest   by   O.

        'the chicken is being cooked for the guests by Osanzaya'

Again, there is no possibility to object-mark the postverbal element, be it patient (the forms *aamújíhiwa* in (9.50)a and *ánóḿpíyeliwa* in (9.51)a are considered ungrammatical) or benefactive (*ónówáápíyeliwa in (9.51)b).

Co-occurrence of passivisation and object marking

In fact, it seems that passivisation excludes all possibility of object-marking on the verb, even when the postverbal object is meant but not overly expressed, as shown in every following example. Instead an independent co-referential pronoun (represented in bold below) must follow the verb. But again, inter-speaker variation exists regarding the acceptance in using an independent pronoun when referring to non-human entities. Thus, in contrast with Sérgio, Agostinho does not fully acknowledges sentences like *akálába aáváhíwa* **íyééne** in (9.52)b, *ápáaká aájíhiwa* **íyééne** in (9.53)b, and *áléddó ánópíyeliwa* **íyééne** in (9.54)b.

(9.52)   a. **naámbédde owáávahíwa*   {elic.}

         naámbédde   o-hí-á-vah-íw-a

         1a.maize   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give-PASS-Fi

         'maize was given to them'

         ▸ *naámbédde oóváhíwa **áwééne***

     b. **akálába aámúvahíwa*   {elic.}

         akálába   a-hí-mú-vah-íw-a

         2.older   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give-PASS-Fi

         'the old people were given it (the maize)'

         ▸ *akálába aáváhíwa **íyééne***

(9.53)   a. **naámbéddé owaájíhiwa*   {elic.}

         naámbêdde   o-hi-á-j-íh-iw-a

         1a.maize   1-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi

         'Maize was made to be eaten by them'

         ▸ *naámbéddé oójíhiwa (na) **áwééne***

     b. **ápáaká aamújíhiwa*   {elic.}

         ápáaká   a-hi-mú-j-íh-iw-a

         2.cat   2-PFV.DJ-OM1-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi

         'Cats were made to eat it (the maize)'

         ▸ *ápáaká aájíhiwa **íyééne***

(9.54)   a. **mwánaku ónówáápíyeliwa*   {elic.}

         mwánaku   ó-ni-o-á-píy-el-iw-a

         1.chicken   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi

         'the chicken is being cooked for them (the guests)'

         ▸ *mwánaku ónópíyeliwa **áwééne***

     b. **áléddó ánómpíyeliwa*   {elic.}

         áléddó   á-ni-o-mú-píy-el-iw-a

         2.guest   2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi

         'the guests are being cooked it (a chicken)'

         ▸ *áléddó ánópíyeliwa **íyééne***

Co-occurrence of passivisation and object deletion

Note though that the examples above whereby the referred postverbal objects are referred to by independent pronouns is not much attested in the language. Instead, preference is given

on intransitive passive constructions, whereby any reference to a syntactic object is omitted, as illustrated in the following examples.

(9.55)   a. *naámbédde oóváhíwa*   {elic}

      naámbédde   o-hí-váh-íw-á

      1a.maize   1-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi

      'maize was given'

    b. *akálába aáváhíwa*   {elic}

      akálába   a-hí-váh-íw-a

      2.older   1-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi

      'the old people were given'

(9.56)   a. *naámbéddé oójíhiwa*   {elic}

      naámbédde   o-hi-j-íh-iw-a

      1a.maize   1-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi

      'maize was made to be eaten'

    b. *ápáaká aajíhiwa*   {elic}

      ápáaká   a-hi-j-íh-iw-a

      2.cat   2-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi

      'cats were made to eat'

(9.57)   a. *mwánaku ónópíyéliwa*   {elic.}

      mwánaku   ó-ni-o-píy-él-iw-a

      1.chicken   1-IPFV.DJ-15-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi

      'the chicken is being cooked'

    b. *áléddó ánópíyéliwa*   {elic.}

      áléddó   á-ni-o-píy-él-iw-a

      2.guest   2-IPFV.DJ-15-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi

      'the guests are being cooked for'

Summary

The following table summarises the different symmetry tests mostly developed by Bresnan and Moshi (1990), and applied to Cuwabo along this section.

Table 49   Symmetry tests in double object constructions

Property	Attested ?
Word order: either object immediately adjacent to V?	No
Object-marking of either object (in presence of two objects)?	No
Deletion of either object?	Yes
Co-occurrence of object deletion and object-marking?	Yes
Passivisation of either object?	Yes
Co-occurrence of passivisation and object-marking?	No
Co-occurrence of passivisation and object deletion?	Yes

I conclude that Cuwabo double object constructions have both symmetrical and asymmetrical properties, which suggests that co-variation is not systematic and cannot be reduced to "a single parameter of variation" (Bresnan and Moshi 1990: 147).

9.1.3   Expressing 'to have'

The most common way of expressing 'to have' in Bantu is by means of the verb(s) for 'be' followed by the preposition *na* 'and, with', which introduces the possessed noun phrase. The literal meaning of this construction is 'be with'. The possessor has the subject status and the possessee is considered as an "associative indirect object" (Givón 2001a: 135). Interestingly, the rare attestations of this 'be with' construction in Cuwabo indicate that it is restricted to a locative or stative meaning. Never does it involve a meaning of possession, in which case the (more or less defective) verbs *okáána* and *-na* 'have' are used. Thus Cuwabo speakers clearly distinguish between (9.58)a and (9.58)b. In the first case, I am accompanied by two children, but they are not necessarily my children. In the second case, I am referring to my children.

(9.58)   a. *míyó ddilí: na ááná éeli*   {elic.}

míyó   **ddi-lí**   **na**   ááná   á-ili

1SG.PRO   1SG-be   with   2.child   2-two

'I am with two children'

b. *míyó ddiikááná: ááná éeli   /   ddiná:*   {elic.}

míyó   **ddi-hi-kááná**   ááná   á-ili   /   **ddi-ná**

1SG.PRO   1SG-PFV.DJ-have   2.child   2-two   1SG-have

'I have two children'

More examples of the constructions 'be with', involving both *oli* and *okála* are provided below. As is made clear, the meanings conveyed by these constructions are either locative (9.59) or stative (9.60).

(9.59)   a. *mwáádhag' oolí ná nikúrábedha mwaári*   {maria.140}

       mwáádhaga   mwáádhaga   **o-lí**   **ná**   N.   mwaári

       1.wife.POSS.1SG   1.wife.POSS.1SG   1-be   with   D.   18.inside

       'my wife is with Mr.Dugong in the sea'

     b. *[Maríyá olóówíyéléla vatákúl'] úúlóókálá na mwámúné:*   {maria.176}

       ó-lé-ókála   **na**   mwámúné

       1-CE-15.stay   with   1.husband.POSS.3SG

       '[Mary went back home,] she remained with her husband'

(9.60)   *Maríy' óosadduwá okala na pēlé [...]*   {maria.92}

       maríyá o-sadduwá   **o-kala**   **na**   pēlé

       maria   NAR-change NAR-stay   with   10.scabies

       'Maria changed, she remained with scabies […]'

It is likely that the two verbs expressing 'have' *okáâna* and *-na* , discussed in turn below, are derived from the expressions *okála na* and *oli na*, respectively, which have then been reduced to avoid any ambiguity between the two semantic interpretations 'have' and 'be with'.

9.1.3.1   okáâna

The verb *okáâna* 'have' is the most commonly used to express possession in Cuwabo, in independent as well as dependent clauses, as the following examples make clear. Note that expressing possession in the present implies the perfective form of the verb, with the TAM marker *-hi-*, as illustrated in (9.61).

(9.61)   Perfective

     wéy' óokáána gárí vaddíddi   {maria.45}

     wéyó   **o-hi-káána**   gárí   vaddíddi

     2SG.PRO 2SG-PFV-have 9a.luck   much

     'you are very lucky'

(9.62)   Past perfective

omóónúwél' oóku m̀modha waákáanáávó' ǹtówa   {maria.5}

omóónúwélo   óku   mu-modha   o-a-hí-káaná=vó   ǹtówa

17.growing.fase   17.DEM.I   1-one   1-PST-PFV.DJ-have=16.LOC   5.curse

'in the growing process, one of them got cursed'

(9.63)   Past imperfective

Maríyá baáhi waákáana m̀páddó dháaye   {maria.99}

maríyá   baáhi   o-á-káana   m̀páddó   dháaye

maria   only   1-PST.IPFV-have   4.chair   4.POSS.3SG

'Maria only had her confortable chairs'

(9.64)   Future

ddávéde ddoón' áakala ǹneelóókaana mikállo [dhiíná dh'oóttíyán' eési]   {maria.18}

ddi-á-véd-e   ddi-ón-é   akala   ni-naa-ilá-ókaana   mikálélo   dhi-íná

1SG-IT-look.for-SBJ   1SG-see-SBJ   if   1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.have.PL   4.way.of.life 4-other

'I will go and investigate to see if I can have another way of life, [different from this one]'

(9.65)   Subjunctive

míyô maásíkiní ddíkaánê dálá dhaaví, ójâ múkucé: ? néé:!   {semi-elic.}

míyo   maásíkiní   ddí-kaán-ê   dálá   dhaaví   ójâ   múkucé   néé

3SG.PRO even.if   1-have-SBJ   9.hunger   how   15.eat 3.leftover no

'I am very hungry, but to eat the leftovers? No way!'

(9.66)   Counterfactual

kuukaan' oókwírí múyân' óólle kaddigaamucéélelle   {semi-elic.}

ka-okaana   ókwírí   múyâná   ólle   ka-ddi-gaa-mu-céélel-ile

CF-15.have.PL   14.witchcraft 1.woman   1.DEM.III   NEG-1SG-HYP-OM1-give.up-PFV

'if I had malefic powers, that woman I would not give her up (=she would not escape)'

Negating *okáâna* is rarely attested in Cuwabo. The only negative form available in my database is provided in (9.67) in the counterexpectational tense.

(9.67)   *muhinákáan' éébaribarí munáávahe koóbílridha*   {semi-elic.}

mu-hi-ná-káana   ebaribarí   mu-náá-váh-e   koóbílri=dha

2PL-NEG-CE-have   9.truth.PL   2PL-FUT-give-PROH   10a.money=10.DEF

'as long as you are not sure, do not give the money'

In (9.68), with the post-final locative marker =*mo* (class 18), *okáâna* is interpreted as a strong wish, which comes from inside. The character feels inside of him that he needs to know who keeps eating that relish.

(9.68)   *agaasilidhúwá: , okaanámwí ya: wíílá anónê ba aaní [oǹjésá:mw' iísáv' iíjíle]* {mbílri.5}

a-gaa-silidh-úw-á   **o-hi-kaaná = mó**   ya   wíílá a-nón-ê   ba   aaní

1-SIT-annoy-PASS-Fi   1-PFV.DJ-have = 18.LOC 9.CON CMP   1-know-SBJ   2.COP who

'when he gets angry, he wants to know who [keeps eating that relish]' (lit. 'he has inside')

9.1.3.2   -na

The defective verb *-na* 'have' has a more restricted use than *okáâna*, in that it can only be inflected for present and past tense markers.

(9.69)   *waaddikúwélle oná mwánayé: , [bel' óódh' óómwáhe ńzína]*   {páaká.10}

o-a-ddi-kúwél-el-e   **o-ná**   mwánayé

1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ   1-have   1.child.POSS.3SG

'he called me because he has a son, [he asked me to come and give him a name]'

(9.70)   *ábále arééli aáná koóbílridhawa dhiínjí dhéené, [...]*   {mute.25}

ábále   arééli   [a-á-ná   koóbílri = dhawa   dhi-ínjí dhéené]

2.DEM.III   2.rich   2-PST.IPFV-have   10a.money = 10.POSS.3PL 10-many   10.INT

'those rich people who had money, [...]'

   -na may be attached the pre-final habitual suffix *-ag-*, as shown in (9.71).

(9.71)   *kaázîwá ddí ḿbáaláwa óllé waánága péle*   {maria.76}

ka-á-zîwá   ddi   ḿbáaláwa   óllé   [o-á-nága   péle]REL

NEG.2-PST.IPFV-know   1.COP 1.sister.POSS.3PL 1.DEM.III 1-PST.IPFV-have.HAB 1a.scabies

'They did not know she was their sister, the one who had scabies.'

   Interestingly, the comitative post-final enclitic = *na* can be added to *-na* when it is used in a non-subject relative clause. In this case, it always follows a first enclitic corresponding to the pronominalised semantic subject. Two illustrating examples are provided below.

(9.72)   *ottukúle éjí yaapíléew' éénééwúna ḿmádaní: [...]*   {maria.48}

o-ttukúl-e   éjí   [e-ap-ílé = ewe]REL

2SG-take-SBJ   9.DEM.I   9-pluck-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO

[e-ná = éwé = na   mu-máda = ní]REL

9-have = 2SG.PRO = COM   18-6.hand = LOC

'take what (the fruit) you plucked and now have in your hands'

(9.73)   *vaánéemíína yiítêlé:, ddááṅgulíhága soókîri*   {semi-elic.}

      [**va-á-ná = imí = na**   yiítelé]_{REL}   ddí-á-ni-gulíh-ág-a   soókîri

      16-PST.IPFV.CJ-have = 1SG.PRO = COM   9.bar   1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-sell-HAB-Fi   9a.sugar

      'when I had a bar, I used to sell sugar'

The negation of *-na*, formed by adding the pre-initial negative marker *ka-*, is the preferred way of expressing 'not have' in Cuwabo. Examples are provided below in both present (9.74) and past (9.75) tensed forms.

(9.74)   a. *míyó kaddiná mwáha*   {maria.97}

      míyó   **ka-ddi-ná**   mwáha

      1SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-have   3.reason.PL

      'I have no problem'

      b. *[...] olí vátákúlu va ábáabe. kaná y'oókósa*   {maria.15}

      o-lí   vá-tákúlu   va   ábáabe   **ka-ná**   ya   ókósa

      1-be   16-9a.house   16.CON   2.parent   NEG.1-have   9.CON   15.do

      '[...] she remains in the parents' house; she has nothing to do'

(9.75)   *íyééne kaáná maare mééna oókósa*   {maria.125}

      íyééne   **ka-á-ná**   maare   má-ína   a   ókósa

      3SG.PRO   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-have   6.idea.PL   6-other   6.CON   15.do

      'she had nothing else to do'

9.2   Non-verbal predication

Predication is also possible in the absence of verbs. Dryer (2007) identifies three types of predicates that typically occur in clauses with non-verbal predication: adjectival predicates ('my dog is black'[49]), nominal predicate ('my dog is a cocker spaniel'), and locative predicate ('my dog is in the house'). These three examples show that non-verbal predication in English makes use of the copula verb *be*. However, it is common that a language uses different strategies to express each of these non-verbal clauses. This is the case in Cuwabo, which counts three strategies: the first one involves a tonal modification of the predicate known as Predicative Lowering (section 9.2.1). The second one makes use of the inflecting non-verbal copula (section 9.2.2), whereas verbal copulas expressing 'be' constitute the third strategy (section 9.2.3). Section 9.2.4 is devoted to negative existential forms. Against what

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[49] The three quoted example are extracted from Dryer (2007).

might be expected, a given predicate may be expressed by more than one strategy, and a given strategy is not exclusively assigned to one predicate only.

Non-verbal predication has an identificational value, relating to equational relations, such as permanent or inherent qualities/conditions or temporary states. Most often, the subject assumes the semantic role of patient.

9.2.1 "Predicative Lowering"

Recall that the process of PL consists in deleting the first primary H tone together with the doubled H resulting from HTD (Stucky 1979, Katupha 1983, Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000, van der Wal 2006). The different environments (already described in section 3.5.3) in which PL applies include non-verbal predication. For instance, changing the tonal pattern of a noun in its citation form results in a predicative reading of this noun, as shown in (9.76). Note that for each lowered predicate found in the following examples, the corresponding citation form (with the original tone pattern) is further provided.

(9.76) a. *namárógoló namapuja*   < *namápûja* (LHFL)   {ddingí.10}
            'the hare is a joker'

        b. *ńttó nikokomezo*   < *nikókómezo*   (LHHLL)   {body.24}
            'this is an advice'

In (9.76), both *namápûja* 'joker' and *nikókómezo* 'advice' lose their primary H and become completely toneless.

PL is effective on nouns as seen above in (9.76), and lexical adjectives (3.91). Note that infinitives, which are considered as nouns, may also be used predicatively (9.78).

(9.77)   PL on lexical adjectives
         Mosambíkí munddimúwá, Portugal muñgoóno   {elic.}
         Mosamb<u>í</u>kí   **mu-nddimúwá**   Portugal   **mu-ñgoóno**
         Mozambique   1-big.PL   Portugal   1-small.PL
         'Mozambique is big, Portugal is small'

(9.78)   PL on infinitives
         a. *eńkósíimí wiibá*   < *wíibá*   b. *ddíma yááhe osapa*   < *osápa*
            [e-ní-kósá꞊imí]ᴿᴱᴸ   **wiibá**   ddíma   yááhe   **osapa**
            9-IPFV.CJ-do꞊1SG.PRO   15.sing.PL   9a.task   9.POSS.3SG 15.hunt.PL
            'what I am doing is singing' {elic}   'his task is to hunt' {elic}

c. *kattíyânu wuuluvála óku ddááǹlimaga*   {semi-elic.}

ka-ttíyâ＝ni   **wuuluvála**   óku   ddí-á-ni-lim-ag-a

IMP-stop＝PLA   15.be.old.PL   14.DEM.I   1SG-PST.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate-HAB-Fi

'Stop it, this is oldness, I used to cultivate before'

It is to note that when the predicate is composed of several constituents, usually a noun and a modifier, only the first one is submitted to PL, as illustrated in (9.79) with a noun and its adjective and in (9.80) with a noun followed by a connective construction.

(9.79)   a. *ohíyóoná: makattamiyo mánddímúwa vaddíddi*   {semi-elic.}

o-hí-oná   **makattamiyo**   má-nddímúwa   vaddíddi

15-NEG-see   6.difficulty.PL   6-big   very

'to not see is a very big problem'

b. *ábá k' aabaaláága !?*   {maria.70}

ábá   ki   **abaaláága**

2.DEM.I   EMPH   2.sister.POSS.1SG.PL

'are these not my sisters'

(9.80)   a. *ddabunó maríya vatákúlú váaye muttu w'ookálá vaddíddí:*   {maria.65}

ddabunó   maríya va-tákúlú   váaye   **muttu**   wa   okálá   vaddíddí

today   maria   16-9a.house   16.POSS.3SG   1.person.PL   1.CON   15.be   much

'today maria, in her house, is a self-made person'

b. *poddógóma wééloddíttámagíha akala kadd(i)ttíddîlé: gaari ya nábûya*   {semi-elic.}

poddógóma   o-á-íla-o-ddí-ttámag-íh-a   akala   ka-ddi-ttídd-îlé

1a.lion   1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi   if   NEG.1-OM1SG-grab-PFV

gaari   ya   nábûya

9a.benediction.PL   9.CON   1a.lord

'the lion made me run, if he did not grab me, it is thanks to the lord's benediction'

Tone-lowered predicates may be used as (pseudo)cleft constructions, which function with relatives clauses.

(9.81)   *Nikúrábedha mwaneenám' óoǹkála m̀bára [mucíddô vatí va máánje]*   {maria.107}

N.   **mwana-enámá**   [o-ni-kála   mu-bára   ...]_REL

D.   1.child-9.animal.PL   1-IPFV.CJ-be   18-9a.sea   …

'Mr.Dugong is an animal which lives [in the bottom of the sea]'

Interestingly, the first and second persons cannot be directly followed by lowered nominal or adjectival predicates. Instead, some agreement markers which are formally identical to the verbal prefixes are obligatorily inserted between the subject pronoun and the

predicate. This is not the case when the subject is in class 1 or 2. Compare adjectival predication involving first and second persons in (9.82) with adjectival predication with class 1 and 2 pronominal subject (9.83).

(9.82)   míyó dda munddimúwa   'I am big/tall'
         wéyo wa munddimúwa   'you (2SG) are big/tall'
         íyó na anddimúwa   'we are big/tall'
         nyúwó mwa anddimúwa   'you (2PL) are big/tall'

(9.83)   íyééné   mu-nddimúwa   áwééne   a-nddimúwa
         3SG.PRO   1-big.PL   3PL.PRO   2-big.PL
         'he is big/tall'   'they are big/tall'

By comparing (9.84) and (9.85), the same parallelism occurs with nominal predication, but in this case, the connective relator is added to the intervening agreement markers, transforming *ddi* for instance into *dda*.

(9.84)   míyó dda muyaná   * míyó muyaná
         wéyo wa muyaná   * wéyó muyaná
         íyó na ayaná   * íyó ayaná
         nyúwó mwa ayaná   * nyúwó ayaná

(9.85)   íyééné   muyaná   áwééne   ayaná
         3SG.PRO   1.woman.PL   3PL.PRO   2.woman.PL
         'she is a woman'   'they are women'

Note that in similar environment, verbal predication is made possible by the insertion of the verb copular *olí* 'to be' (discussed below in section 9.2.3.1), as shown in (9.86).

(9.86)   *míyó (ddili) m̀mosambikááno / íyó (nili) amosambikááno*   {elic.}
         míyó   ddi-li   mu-mosambikááno   /   íyó   ni-li   a-mosambikááno
         1SG.PRO   1SG-be   1-mozambican.PL   1PL.PRO   1PL-be   2-mozambican.PL
         'I am Mozambican / we are Mozambican'

For prosodic purposes, a boundary H tone can be added on surface to the ultimate mora.

(9.87)   *óllé ki namarogoló*   *< namárógolo* (LHHLL)   {ddingí.19}
         óllé   ki   namarogolo
         1.DEM.III   EMPH   1a.hare.PL
         'that one there is the hare'

Qualities or attributes may be specified by degree, through the traditional distinctions comparative and superlative (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 14). In Cuwabo, both these

semantic categories are expressed by means of non-verbal predicates in combination with an infinitive clause constituted of the verb *opítta* 'surpass' followed by the compared entity. For instance, to express comparison, a biclausal construction of the type 'João is big, surpassing Maria' is applied. The quality or content with respect to which a comparison is drawn can be expressed predicatively by an adjective (9.88) or a noun (9.89)[50].

(9.88)   *pááká* **mu-ñgonó-ñgónó**   *opítta*   *mwánâbwa*   {semi-elic.}

        1a.cat 1-small-RED.PL   15.surpass   1a.dog

        'the cat is smaller than the dog'

(9.89)   *Lúka* **m̀palí:** *opíttá*   *Maríya*   {elic.}

        Lucas 1.boy.PL 15.surpass   Maria

        'Lucas is younger than Maria'

The first participant can also be followed merely by *opítta* inserted into a connective construction in order to say that he is 'better' than another participant, as shown in (9.90).

(9.90)   *kaāvó m̀bava w' oopítta míyo*   {maria.203}

        kaá=vó   **m̀bava**   wa   opítta   míyo

        NEG.COP=16.LOC   1.thief.PL   1.CON   15.surpass   1SG.PRO

        'there is no thief more clever than me'

When comparing two entities of equal status, the preposition *nínga* 'like' is used before the second participant to be compared.

(9.91)   *íyééne munddimúwá nínga míyo*   {elic.}

        íyééne   **mu-nddimúwá**   nínga   míyo

        3SG.PRO   1-big.PL   like   1SG.PRO

        'he is as tall as me'

PL is also used to express the equivalent to a superlative construction ('the more' or 'the most'). In order to depart an entity from a whole group, two possible non-verbal predicative constructions are possible. In the first, the quality upon which the comparison is drawn is first uttered, and then followed by the differentiated participant in predicative position by

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[50] In addition to adjectival and nominal predicates, comparison can also be expressed by a verb predicate as illustrated below:

    nikúrúkumwa   *ni-hi-káána*   *malágó*   *opítta*   *wéyo*   {elic}

    5.wild.cat.sp   5-PFV.DJ-have   6-sagacity   15.surpass   2SG.PRO

    'the wild cat is wiser than you'

means of PL. Such a configuration is illustrated in (9.92)a (uttered by Guilherme), which can be literally translated as 'the big one is the elephant'. In the second construction, the differentiated participant is first mentioned and it is the following adjective which is subject to PL, as in (9.92)b (uttered by Fransisco), giving literally 'the elephant is big'.

(9.92)   a. *námá dheetédhéné: , énddímúwa-yá: ttebo*   {elic.gmr}

        námá   dhi-eté = dhéne   é-nddímúwa = ya   **ttebo**

        10a.animal   10-all = 10.INT   9-big = DEF   9a.elephant.PL

      b. *mwa vinámá dheetédhéné: , dówú enddimúwa*   {elic.fd}

        mwa   vinámá   dhi-eté = dhéne   **dówú** [51]   e-nddimúwa

        18.CON   10.animal   10-all = 10.INT   9a.elephant   9.big.PL

      'of all animals, the elephant is the biggest'

9.2.2   Copula

Non-verbal predication is also rendered by the use of a copula. Copulas are overt particles which function as a link between a subject and its predicative complement. In many languages, the copulas constitute grammaticalised forms derived from a subset of verbs. Such copulative verbs exist in Cuwabo and will be discussed in section 9.2.3. In other languages, copulas are clearly not verb-derived. This section is concerned with non-verbal copulas, which are also attested in Cuwabo, and more particularly discusses their morphological and syntagmatic properties, as well as their distribution in discourse.

Although (non-verbal) copulas are widespread all over the Bantu area, variation among languages exits with respect to the inflectional status of the copula. For instance, whereas Makhuwa (Enahara) only has the invariant copular *ti* [52] (van der Wal 2009), Cuwabo has class-inflected forms of copulas, listed in Table 50. Note that these copular particles are non-segmentable.

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[51] Note that two class 9a/10a words exist in Cuwabo to express 'elephant': *ttébo* and *dówu*.

[52] Note that classes 4 and 10 can also have the form *pi*.

Table 50   Agreement on copulas

cl.1, 1sg, 2sg, 1pl, 2pl	ddi
cl. 2, 6	ba
cl. 3, 14	bu
cl. 4, 10	si
cl. 5	tti
cl. 9	ji
cl. 15, 17	ku
cl.16	pa
cl.18	pu

In copular constructions, the element following the copula is to be considered as the predicate, whereas the copula represents a "function word" (Dryer 2007: 225), whose function is mainly presentative. Copula in Cuwabo combines with different parts of speech, subsuming:

- nouns and noun phrases (including locative NP)

- personal and demonstrative pronouns

- cleft-questions

- relative initiator

- constructions headed by a connective (includes adjectival use)

Each sequence is discussed in turn. On the other hand, the copula cannot be used with true adjectives, which require the PL strategy.

(9.93)   a. *Maríyá ddi mú-nddímúwa   b. Maríyá mu-nddimúwa

   maríyá   ddi   mú-nddímúwa   maríyá   mu-nddimúwa

   maria   1.COP   1-tall   maria   1-tall.PL

   'Maria is tall'

   In most cases, the copula is phonologically bound to the following predicate. Furthermore, it does not alter the tone pattern of the following predicate, which therefore appears as in citation form. Unlike verbal copulas (section 9.2.3), the non-verbal copula in Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, is not marked for tense-aspect-mood.

9.2.2.1   Nouns and noun phrases

With nominal predicates, in addition to PL, the insertion of the copula is very commonly attested in Cuwabo, as the examples below show. In this respect, Cuwabo differs from

Makhuwa, in which PL is the only strategy of non-verbal predication allowed with nominal predicates.

(9.94)   *érúgulu na máda orómíle onyóónyeyá: ddi máda*   {body.2}

érúgulu   na   máda   [o-róm-île   onyóóny-ey-á]_{REL}   **ddi**   **máda**

9.belly   and   6.hand   1-start-PFV.REL   15.annoy-NTR-Fi   1.COP   6.hand

'between Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, the one who got first annoyed is Mr.Hands'

(9.95)   *ji gáhál' ééḿfúnééh' úutágíha íyó ddabuno vénêva*   {mbílri.6}

ji   **gáhálá**   [e-ní-fúná = íhu   otágíha   íyó   ddabuno   vénêva]_{REL}

9.COP   9a.story   9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1PL.PRO   15.tell   1PL.PRO   today   16.EDEM.I

'This is the story we want to tell here today.'

A copula is necessarily required with locative predicates, as shown in (9.96) and (9.97). PL in this context would be ungrammatical.

(9.96)   *k' uudhúlú oǹkála nénéerí*   {elic.}

ku   **odhúlú**   [o-ni-kála   nénéerí]_{REL}

17.COP   17.sky   17-IPFV.CJ-be   10a.star

'it is in the sky that the stars are'

(9.97)   *pu m̀múríní m̀móttíle mwáâna*   {elic.}

pu   **mu-múrí = ni**   [mu-mótt-íle   mwáâna]_{REL}

18.COP   18-3.tree = LOC   18-fall-PFV.REL   1.child

'it is from the tree that the child has fallen'

Interestingly, in case of coordinated NP, the copula agrees only with the first constituent in the sequence. This means that two singular coordinated nouns (9.98) or a singular followed by a plural noun (9.99)a are introduced by a singular copula, here class 1 *ddi*. The introduction of class 2 *ba* in these contexts is considered ungrammatical (9.99)b. It is however required if the first noun appears as a plural (9.99)c.

(9.98)   *ókúle oḿfún' óolábáawó: ddi sagáḿpirá na m̀báva*   {maria.149}

ókúle   [o-ní-fúná[53]   olábâ = wó]_{REL}   **ddi**   **sagáḿpira   na   m̀báva**

17.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-want   15.work = 17.LOC   1.COP   1a.artist   and   1.thief

'There the one who is going to work is (are) the artist and the thief.'

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[53] In "ókúle oḿfúná…", the subject marker on the relativised verb can refer either to the class 17 preverbal grammatical subject or class 1 logical subject (see section 10.1.3 on non-subject relatives)

(9.99)   (un)grammatical examples elicited from {maria.149}

    a. ókúle   [o-ní-fúná   olábâ = wó]_{REL}   **ddi**   sagámpira   na   ámbâva

       17.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-want   15.work = 17.LOC   1.COP   1a.artist   and   2.thief

       'There the one who is going to work is (are) the artist and the thieves.'

    b. *ókúle   [a-ní-fúná   olábâ = wó]_{REL}   **ba**   ságámpira   na   ámbâva

       17.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-want   15.work = 17.LOC   2.COP   1a.artist   and   2.thief

       'There the one who is going to work are the artist and the thieves.'

    c. ókúle   [a-ní-fúná   olábâ = wó]_{REL}   **ba**   aságámpira   na   mbáva

       17.DEM.III   1-IPFV.CJ-want   15.work = 17.LOC   2.COP   2.artist   and   1.thief

       'There the one who is going to work are the artists and the thief.'

9.2.2.2 Personal and demonstrative pronouns

Personal and demonstrative pronouns used predicatively are necessarily introduced by the (agreeing) copula. Examples with demonstratives are first provided below.

(9.100) *wéyó akala mukálélo wááwo b' uúbúwéne kunáátéle*   {semi-elic.}

    wéyó   akala   mukálélo   wááwo   **bu**   **óbú** = éne   ku-náá-tél-e

    2SG.PRO if   3.behaviour 3.POSS.2SG 3.COP   3.DEM.I = INT   NEG.2SG-FUT-marry-IRR

    'if you behaved that way, you will not marry'

(9.101) *agórá akala j' iíjú wééné: [...] kaddinuúttébaani víîna*   {body.9}

    agórá   akala   **ji**   **éjó**   wééne   ka-ddi-ni-ú-ttéba = ni   víîna

    then   if   9.COP 9.DEM.II INT   NEG-1SG-IPFV-OM2SG-carry = PLA também

    'ok, if it is like that, [...] I am not carrying you anymore'

(9.102) *va Nikúrábedha pa ápa*   {maria.147}

    va   nikúrábedha   **pa**   **ápa**

    16.CON   5.dugong   16.COP   16.DEM.I

    'Here is Mr.Dugong's'

(9.103) *sísi! k' uúlle, óllé ki namarogoló*   {ddingí.19}

    sísi   **ku**   **ólle**   ólle   ki   namarogolo

    INTER 17.COP   1.DEM.III   1.DEM.III   EMPH   1a.hare.PL

    'Hey! Here it is, that one there is the hare'

    Class 1 copula *ddi* is invariably used for all the persons, except the 3PL which makes use of *ba*. As can be seen from the examples (9.104) and (9.105), the class 1 copula controls the agreement of the relativised verb.

(9.104) *ońlógá ddi míyo Férnáânda*   {ddingí.1}

      [o-ní-lógá]_{REL}   **ddi**   **míyo**   Férnáânda

      1-IPFV.CJ-speak   1.COP 1SG.PRO Fernanda

      'it is me, Fernanda, who is speaking'

(9.105) *dhiǹlába míyó dheetḗdhêne, ońjá ddi wéyo*   {body.3}

      [dhi-ni-lába   míyó   dhi-eté = dhêne]_{REL} [o-ní-já]_{REL}   **ddi**   **wéyo**

      10-IPFV.CJ-work 1SG.PRO 10-all = 10.INT   1-IPFV.CJ-eat 1.COP 2SG.PRO

      'everything I produce, the one who enjoys is you'

(9.106) *"hãã, ddi nyúwó muufíya ?" "niifíyá see."*   {maria.80}

      hãã   **ddi**   **nyúwó**   mu-hi-fíya   ni-hi-fíyá   see

      INTER 1.COP 2PL.PRO 2PL-PFV.DJ-arrive 1PL-PFV.DJ-arrive yes

      'Humm, here you are, you came? Yes, we did.'

Finally, (9.107) shows an example of a possessive pronoun introduced by the class 9 copula *ji*. Grouped together, *ji* and *yááwa* surface as *jwááwa*, which has the meaning of 'their belongings'. Instead of *aakáána jwááwá*, another possible construction could be *aakáána dhááwa*, without the intervention of the copula, and where *dhááwa* refers to '10.POSS.3PL'.

(9.107) *aádhówá m̀mátákulu mwááwá: [...] aakáána jwááwá:*   {maria.12}

      a-hí-dhówá   mu-mátákulu mwááwá   a-hi-kááná   **ji**   **yááwa**

      2-PFV.DJ-go   18-6.home   18.POSS.3PL 2-PFV.DJ-have 9.COP 9.POSS.3PL

      'They lived in their houses [...] and they have their properties.'

9.2.2.3 Cleft questions

One way of expressing content *wh*-questions is to use cleft sentences, which constitute focus constructions in Cuwabo. Three examples are provided below, with *aani* 'who' (9.108), *uuvi* 'where' (9.109) and *-vi* 'which one' (9.110). The reader is referred to section 10.2 for an in-depth analysis of *wh*-question formation.

(9.108) *k' úúnimúja naámbédde ba aani ?*   {ddingí.26}

      kí   [o-ni-mú-ja   naámbédde]_{REL} **ba**   **aani**

      EMPH 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-eat 1a.maize   2.COP who

      'who is eating my maize?"

(9.109)   *k' uuví ońdhówá áyím' aábó araarú ?*   {elic.}

  ki   uuví   [o-ní-dhówá   áyíma   ábó   araarú]REL
  17.COP   where   17-IPFV.CJ-go   2.child   2.DEM.II   2.three
  'where are these three kids going?'

(9.110)   *ńzáyina nigûĺééwe ttiiví ?*   {elic.}

  ńzáyi = na   [ni-gúl-ilé = éwe]REL   ttiiví
  5.egg = 5.DEF   5-buy-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO   5.COP.which
  'the egg you bought, which one is it?'

9.2.2.4 Relative initiator

Copulas commonly serve to introduce relative clauses as shown below.

(9.111)   *namárógol' oóddú ddi oní múttamagíhéenyú !?*   {ddingí.26}

  namárógolo   óddú   ddi   [o-ní-mú-ttamag-íh-á = inyú]REL
  1a.hare   1.DEM.I   1.COP   1-PRS.CJ-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi = 2PL.PRO
  'the hare is the one you are making run!?'

(9.112)   *óĺééné ońfún' óópatúla ósalú dd' iijíl' óobáága*   {mbílri.24}

  óĺé = éné   [o-ní-fúná   ópátúla   ósalú]REL   ddi   [o-j-ílé
  1.DEM.III = INT 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.break   14.thread   1.COP   1-eat-PFV.REL

  obá = ága]REL
  9a.fish = POSS.1SG

  'The one who will break the thread is the one who ate my fish.'

In a few cases, it seems that the copula is linked to the relativised verb in such a way that it triggers on surface the deletion of the SM on the verb. In the interlinear gloss, I indicate the underlying (expected) agreement markers, but on surface such expressions seem frozen.

(9.113)   *tutútú s' éŕlégáani*   {body.19}

  tutútú   si   [dhi-ér-ílégé = ani]REL
  IDEO   10.COP   10-do-PFV.HAB.Fi = 3PL.PRO
  'this is how it happened' (lit. 'these are what they did')

(9.114)   *nigaagumanihá: , entá̃wú, p' aa̋nkáláaní p' aam̀váháaní égûmi*   {body.20}

ni-gaa-guman-ih-á   entáwú   **pa**   [**va-ni-kálá = ani**]_{REL}
1PL-SIT-assemble-CAUS-Fi   then   16.COP   16-IPFV.CJ-stay = 3PL.PRO

pa   [**va-ni-váhá = ani**]_{REL}   égûmi
16.COP   16-IPFV.CJ-give = 3PL.PRO   9.health

'when unified, it works, it brings health.' (lit. 'when unified, it is there that they stay, it is there that they give health')

9.2.2.5 Connective constructions

As already seen in section 5.1.1, the most productive way of creating adjective-associated meanings is by inserting intransitive infinitive verbs into connective constructions. These constructions can be used predicatively if they are preceded by the copula, as shown in the following examples.

(9.115)   *munddííddêla míy' óokálá dda mwaaná*   {ddingí.7}
mu-ni-ddí-ídd-êl-a   míyô   okálá   **ddi-a**   **mwaaná**
2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL-Fi   1SG.PRO   15.be   1.COP-CON   1.child.PL
'you hate me because I am a child'

(9.116)   *ñttó nikokomézo, ninaákókoméza íyó, alí b' óopánêla*   {body.24}
ñttó   nikokomézo   [ni-ni-á-kókoméza   íyó   [a-lí **ba-a**   **opánêla**]_{REL}]_{REL}
5.DEM.II   5.advice.PL   5-IPFV.DJ-OM2-advise   1PL.PRO   2-be 2.COP-CON   15.be.proud
'this is the advice we want to give to the proud people.'

(9.117)   a. *músólro wa mwááná óddu b' oolápa*   {elic.}
músólro   wa   mwááná   óddu   **bu-a**   **olápa**
3.body   3.CON   2.woman   2.DEM.I   3.COP-CON   15.be.big
'the head of this child is big'

b. *níínó na mwáán' óóddu tt' oocéna*   {elic.}
níínó   na   mwááná óddu   **tti-a**   **océna**
5.tooth   5.CON   1.child   1.DEM.I   5.COP-CON   15.be.white
'the tooth of this child is white'

Copular connective constructions can be inserted into comparative or superlative constructions ('the more' or 'the most'), again in combination with the verb *opítta* 'surpass, exceed'. The example in (9.118)a, uttered by Fransisco, literally means 'Maria is very beautiful, surpassing the others'. Note that an equivalent expression for *Maríya dd'oókóddéla* is rendered by the perfective form of the stative verb *ókóddéla* 'be beautiful',

which results in a stative interpretation (see section 8.1.1.2). This alternative is proposed in sentence (9.118)b, pronounced by Guilherme.

(9.118) a. *Maríyá dd' oókóddélá vaddíddí opítta ééna*   {elic.fd}

      Maríyá   **ddi-a**   **ókóddélá**   vaddíddí opítta   á-ina

      Maria   1.COP-CON 15.be.beautiful   much   15.surpass 2-other

      'Maria is the most beautiful'

     b. *Maríyá oókóddélá opíttá eetéene*   {elic.gmr}

      Maríyá   o-hí-kóddélá   opíttá   a-eté=ene

      Maria   1-PFV.DJ-be.beautiful 15.surpass 2-all=INT

      'Maria is the most beautiful'

The invariable adjective *paáma* 'good, well' may be introduced by the copular-connective particle as illustrated in (9.119).

(9.119) *níbíla ńtti nińja míyo tta paáma*   {elic.}

      níbíla   ńtti   [ni-ní-ja   míyo]_{REL}   **tti-a**   **paáma**

      5.lamb   5.DEM.I 5-IPFV.CJ-eat 1SG.PRO 5.COP-CON good

      'the goat I am eating is good'

9.2.3   (copular) verbs 'to be'

Two verbs 'to be' exist in Cuwabo: *oli* and *okála*. The first is irregular in that it never occurs with the final vowels *-a* or *-e*. There does not appear to be significant semantic differences between the non-verbal copula discussed above and the copular verbs, although the latter incorporate a locative dimension that the non-verbal copula does not inherently bear. Furthermore, unlike the non-verbal copula, which cannot host temporal markers and is thus restricted to a general present time reference, copular verbs may be marked for TAM, still with different allowance degrees, as will discussed below.

9.2.3.1   Copular verb *oli* 'be'

Whereas both aforementioned strategies of non-verbal predication trigger non-verbal clauses, the use of the copula verb *oli* implies verbal clauses, in the same way as the copula verb 'be' in English. This means that the resulting clause involves non-verbal predicates, but is not non-verbal in itself, since *oli* is a verb, or at least a copular verb, acting in most cases

as a dummy verb. This means that it functions as the head of the phrase but carries a minor semantic load (instead carried by the following non-verbal predicate).

The copular verb *oli* is much attested with nominal predicates as examples (9.120)-(9.123) illustrate. This includes infinitives as in (9.125) with the class 15 verb *otteéga* 'sin'. Note that PL tone process systematically applies to the predicate, as the following examples show.

(9.120) *míyó ddili m̀bava*   {maria.178}

  míyó   **ddi-li**   **m̀bava**

  1SG.PRO   1SG-be   1.thief.PL

  'I am a thief'

(9.121) *naáli ǹsaká n' oócéyá m̀búga*   {mute.11}

  ni-á-li   **ǹsaká**   na   ócéyá   m̀búga

  5-PST.IPFV-be   5.time.PL   5.CON   15.sow   3.rice

  'it was the season to sow rice'

(9.122) *mabása ááye aálí opeskadoóri, ótáddā, osápa*   {mbílri.8}

  mabása   ááye   **a-á-lí**   **opeskadoóri**   óttáddá   osápa

  6.work   6.POSS.3SG   6-PST.IPFV-be   14.fisherman.PL   15.fish   15.fish

  'He was a fisherman. To fish'

(9.123) *díla yíína: yaálí dila y' oonyákúwa viína*   {maria.30}

  díla   é-ína   **e-á-lí**   **dila**   ya   onyákúwa   viína

  9a.way   9-other   9-PST.IPFV-be   9a.way.PL   9.CON   15.be.dirty   too

  'The other path was a dirty path.'

Interestingly, *oli* appears in complementary distribution with the PL non-verbal strategy discussed above. In (9.120), the copula verb is necessarily required with the 1st and 2nd persons (here *míyó* '1SG.PRO'), but not with the 3rd persons, as the corresponding sentence in (9.124) shows. In the three following examples (9.121)-(9.123), the past reference involves the intervention of the copula verb which receives the past imperfective TAM marker *-á-*. In contrast, *oli* becomes optional when not specified for tense, as shown in (9.125).

(9.124) *íyééné m̀bava*   {elic. from maria.178}

  íyééné   **m̀bava**

  3SG.PRO   1.thief.PL

  'he is a thief'

(9.125)   *ótélá (olí) gari, orárúw' (olí) otteéga*   {elic.}

      ótélá   **o-lí**   gari   orárúwa   **o-lí**   otteéga

      15.marry   15-be   9a.luck.PL 15.betray   15-be 15.sin.PL

      'getting married is a chance, betraying is a sin'

However, note that PL does not apply on strongly modified nouns (e.g. with an encliticised possessive), nor on proper names:

(9.126)   *míyó ddili mwánînyu, míyó ddili ḿbáalíínyu, míyó ddili Maríya*   {maria.87}

      míyó   **ddi-li**   **mwánînyu**   míyó   **ddi-li**   **ḿbáalíínyu**

      1SG.PRO 1SG-be   1.child.POSS.2PL   1SG.PRO 1SG-be   1.sister.POSS.2PL

      míyó   **ddi-li**   maríya

      1SG.PRO 1SG-be   maria

      'I am your daugther, I am your sister, I am Maria.'

oli may also be used with adjectival predicates as in (9.127), but one should note that PL on the adjective (see section 9.2.1) is in this case the preferred predicative strategy.

(9.127)   *oóyév' óólí múkíttíkittíkittíkíttíkítt' oṁmála wóódda*   {ddoo.35}

      o-hí-yévá   **o-lí**   **mú-kíttí-kítti-kíttí-kítti**   o-hi-mála   wóódda

      1-PFV.DJ-be.small 1-be   3-unripe-RED   1-PFV.DJ-finish 15.be.thin

      'She was small, very thin, she has turned thin'

oli also serves to link a theme expression to an expression denoting a location as in (9.128)-(9.131). In this case, *oli* incorporates a locative meaning and implies the presence of a given entity in a given place. A non-verbal copula cannot be used in such cases.

(9.128)   *alí vatákúluvawa*   {mbílri.7}

      a-lí   va-tákúlu꞊vawa

      2-be   16-9a.house꞊16.POSS.3PL

      '(all) are in their house'

(9.129)   *mwámúna Maríya, ol' úumabásâni*   {maria.121}

      mwámúna maríya   **o-lí**   o-mabásâ꞊ni

      1.husband   maria   1-be   17-6.work꞊LOC

      'Maria's husband is at work'

(9.130)   *odhoólé leńsó ǹlí mb' óodhéna*   {ddoo.13}

      o-dhoól-é   leńsó   [**ni-lí** **mbá**]_{REL} o-dh-é꞊na

      2SG-fetch-SBJ 5.tissue 5-be   18.into   2SG-go-SBJ꞊COM

      'Fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it'

(9.131) *Maríyá míímw' ool' úúvi ?*   {ddoo.18}

M.   mííma   **o-lí**   uuvi

M.   1.child   1-be   where

'Maria, where is that child?'

The locative meaning of *oli* is also clearly expressed when it is prefixed by a locative SM as in (9.132).

(9.132) *íyéén' áagadha kaḿfíyedha vali Maríya*   {maria.114}

íyééné   a-gaa-dha   ka-ní-fíy-edh-a   **va-li**   maríya

3SG.PRO   1-SIT-come   NEG.1-IPFV-arrive-APPL-Fi   16-be   maria

'When he reached the bank, he did not go where Maria was'

Beside a locative meaning, *oli* can also be described as existential in that it is used to state the existence of something, as shown in (9.133). However existential clauses are more commonly attested with *okála*, as will be discussed below.

(9.133) *[weeŕlégé keeŕlége dhaweene,] waáli Mádá: Ērúgúlú: na Manyálo.*   {body.1}

o-á-li   mádá   érúgúlú   na   manyálo

1-PST-be   6.hand   9.belly   and   6.foot

'[Once upon a time,] there were Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.'

As can be seen from the above examples, *oli* is a highly defective verb. The most common form is unmarked for TAM and solely consists of the stem *-li* preceded by a verb SM. In complex sentences, the sequential pre-prefix may be added as illustrated in (9.134).

(9.134) *eyíb' ééjó ddivahiwé báddilí músuńzi*   {elic.}

eyíbá   éjó   ddi-vah-iw-é   **bá-ddi-lí**   músuńzi

9.hoe   9.DEM.II   1SG-give-PASS-PFV.CJ   SEQ-1SG-be   3.apprentice.PL

'I was given this hoe when I was an apprentice'

The other attested form of *oli* bears in addition the past imperfective TAM marker *-á-* as illustrated in several examples above. We conclude that *oli* constitutes a true copula verb, in that it has most restricted verbal properties (in contrast with the verb *okála* discussed below).

oli can be employed with the pre-initial negative marker *ka-*. Examples referring to a location (9.135), to an equational nominal predicate (9.136), and to the existence of something (9.137) are provided in turn.

(9.135) *íyééné kaál' úuttolon' úkó*   {ddoo.19}

íyééné   **ka-á-lí**   o-ttolo=ni   ókó

3SG.PRO   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-be   17-well.PL=LOC   17.DEM.II

"Wasn't she there at the well? Wasn't she washing?!"

(9.136) *wéyó kulí máriya, kúzívale, Maríyá káhí' wéyo*   {maria.88}

wéyó	ku-lí	máriya	kú-zíval-e	M.	kahíye	wéyo
2SG.PRO	NEG.2SG-be	maria.PL	NEG.2SG-lie-PROH	M.	NEG.COP	2SG.PRO

'you cannot be Maria, do not lie, Maria is not you.'

(9.137) *néeé, apa kávalí mwáha*   {maria.96}

née	apa	ká-va-lí	mwáha
no	16.DEM.I	NEG-16-be	3.reason.PL

'No, here there is no problem.'

9.2.3.2 Verb *okála* 'be, stay, live'

As already seen in section 8.3.1 on TAM, *okála* 'be' can be used as a modality verb, in which case it indicates a durative or persistent event, best translated as 'keep V-ing', as illustrated in (9.138).

(9.138) *míyó ddinolímâ: bámbááya, ddinolímâ: kókô: , dinolíma máfúgí: ,*   {body.4}
         mazhi wéyó oǹkálél' oójá wééne, kuńddívahámo.

míyó	ddi-ni-olímâ	bámbááya	...	kókô	...	máfúgi
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate	1a.sweet.potato	...	9.coconut	...	6.banana

mazhi	wéyó	o-ni-kál-él-a	ójá	wééne	ku-ní-ddí-vahá = mo
but	2SG.PRO	2-IPFV.CJ-be-APPL-Fi	15.eat	15.INT	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

'I cultivate sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas. But you keep eating, you do not give me anything.'

okála may be followed by a noun, an adjective or a connective construction, as the following examples show. Note again the PL tone process applied on the nominal predicates *múzûgu* 'European' (9.139), and *mbílri* 'fish.sp' (9.140), as well as the adjectival predicate *múreddá* 'sick' (9.142).

(9.139) *Maríy' óolóósáddúwa, ddabun' óókala muzugu, okala w' oocéna*   {maria.61}

M.	o-lé-ósáddúwa	ddabunó	o-kala	muzugu	o-kala	wa	océna
M.	1-CE-15.change	now	NAR-be	1.European.PL	NAR-be	1.CON	15.be.white

'Maria changed, she was now a white person, she was white.'

(9.140) *osadduw' ookala mbilri viínagúwa*   {mbílri.43}

o-sadduwa	o-kala	mbilri	viína-gúwa
NAR-change	NAR-be	9a.fish.sp.PL	too-again

'she got transformed, she became a 'mbilri' fish too.'

(9.141)   *nááda, ddikáló w' oomáríha*   {mbílri.27}

      nááda   **ddi-kál-é**   wa   omáríha

      no   1SG-be-SBJ   1SG.CON   15.finish

      'No, may I be the last one.'

(9.142)   *kaávódh' oott(i)dda mabas' aápále vatákúlú: sabw' eelá waákála mureddáví:*   {maria.7}

      ka-á-vódha   ottidda   mabasa   ápále   va-tákúlu   sabwa   wiilá

      NEG.1-PST.IPFV-be.able   15.hold.PL   6.work.PL   6.DEM.III   16-9a.house   because   CMP

      o-á-kála   mu-reddá = ví]$_{REL}$

      1-PST.IPFV-be   1-doente.PL = RESTR

      'she was not able to clean the house because she was always sick'

In the same way as *oli*, *okála* can link a theme expression to an expression denoting a location, i.e. a locative predicate (9.143). In this case, it is best translated as 'live' or 'stay'.

(9.143)   Nikúrábedha mwanenám' óoǹkála m̀bára mucíddô vatí va máánje   {maria.107}

      N.   mwanenámá   [**o-ni-kála**   mu-bára   mucíddô   vatí   va   máánje]$_{REL}$

      D.   1.animal.PL   1-IPFV.CJ-be   18-9a.sea   18.bottom   16.ground   16.CON   6.water

      'Mr.Dugong is an animal which lives in the bottom of the sea.'

Finally, *okála* may have an existential interpretation, as in English 'there is/are'. A locative meaning can be further added by means of a locative post-final enclitic (9.144) or by a locative adjunct (9.145) and (9.146). But preliminarily, the existence of something is stated through *okála*.[54]

(9.144)   *ñsáká nimodhá waákálawo mwánámwíyaná*   {mute.1}

      ñsáká   ni-modhá   **o-á-kála = wo** [55]   mwáná-mwíyaná

      5.time   5.one   1-PST.IPFV.CJ-be = 17.LOC   1.child-1.woman

      'one day (intd. 'once upon a time'), there was a girl'

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[54] Remember that the expression *óḷleeká* 'there is' represents another existential expression in Cuwabo (see section 5.5.5).

    óḷleeká Nikúrábedha, olí vatákúlú váaye   {maria.148}

    óḷle = eká   N.   o-lí   va-tákúlú = vaye

    1.DEM.III = alone   D.   1-be   16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

    'there is Mr.Dugong, he is in his house'

[55] Note here that the SM *o-* is not interpreted as a class 17 prefix, since substituting the singular inverted subject *mwánámwíyaná* 'girl' (class 1) by its plural form (*ánámwíyaná*, class 2) would trigger a class 2 agreement on the verb.

(9.145) *ottólón' uúkúl' ookálá fúlóór' iinííbá vacélâni*   {ddoo.25}

o-ttóló = ni   ókúlé   **o-hi-kálá**   fúlóóri   [e-ní-íbá   va-célâ = ni]_{REL}

17-well = LOC   17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ -be   9a.flower   9-IPFV.CJ-sing 16-well = LOC

"There at the well there is a flower which sings at the well.'

(9.146) *ḿpúle m̀bara, muukálá mwánéenámá ońkúwélíwa Nikúrábedha*   {maria.104}

ḿpúle   mu-bárá   **mu-hi-kálá**   mwáná-enámá   [o-ní-kúwél-íw-a   N.]_{REL}

18.DEM.III   18-9a.sea 18-PFV.DJ-be   1.animal   1-IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi D.

'There in the sea, there is an animal called Mr.Dugong.'

As can be seen in the three examples above, *okála* is much used in locative inversion, also called "existential-presentative" clauses (Givón 2001a: 191).

Unlike *olí*, which has a strong defective paradigm, *okála* admits a wider range of forms inflected for TAM. For instance, whenever the nominal or adjectival predicates refer to a future time reference, *okála* is required, as shown in (9.147).

(9.147) *kí dhaáyí ǹnáákálé dhaavi ?*   {maria.18}

kí   dhaáyí   **ni-náá-kál-é**   dhaavi

EMPH   like.this.I 1PL-FUT.CJ-be-IRR   how

'How will I be then?'

The next examples illustrate the use of *okála* in different TAM constructions: a subjunctive (9.148), a sequential (7.110), a counterexpectational (9.150). This means that unlike *oli*, *okála* displays a wider array of verbal properties, although I could not find any negative form of *okála* in my database. It seems that *oli* is preferred in this environment.

(9.148) *"akále Ddoolríndo, peénóto!" "sií, nááda nyúwó múnózívâla"*   {ddoo.27}

a-kál-e   D.   peénó = to   sií   náda   nyúwó   mú-ni-ózívâla

1-be-SBJ   D.PL   maybe = then INTER   no   2RESP.PRO   2RESP-IPFV.DJ-15.lie

"Is it Ddoolrinddo?!" "I don't know!" "Sii, no! You are lying."

(9.149) *[kurúmáanj' oódha wolololooo] bagákála ńnga múttú w' oóḿvuuzédha*   {maria.24}

ba-gá-kála   nínga   múttú   wa   ó-mú-vuuz-édh-a

SEQ.1-SIT-be   like   1.people 1.CON   15-OM1-ask-APPL-Fi

'[The bee.sp came 'bzzbzzbzzzz'], he looked like he was giving her a greeting'

(9.150) *olóómúsasanyedha Ddóólríndd' óólé: , Ddóólríndd' óolóókálá muttu*   {ddoo.37}

o-lé-ó-mú-sasany-edh-a   D.   óllé   D.   **o-lé-ókálá**   muttu

1-CE-15-OM1-fix-APPL-Fi   D.   1.DEM.III D.   1-CE-15.be   1.person.PL

'he cured that Ddoolrinddo, she became a person (again).'

9.2.4 Negative copulas

Cuwabo has two distinct negative copulas. The first type is invariable and has an existential meaning, translated in English as 'there/it is not'. Two forms are freely attested in Cuwabo, *kahíyo* and *kahíye*, which can also appear on surface as *kaáyo* and *kaáye*, respectively, where the middle vowel assimilates with the preceding vowel[56]. It seems difficult to extract the underlying morphological structure from these forms. If the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* is formally and semantically transparent (it is used to negate the existence of something), the following segment *-hi-*, as well as the two final suffixes *-o* and *-e* cannot be accounted for synchronically. Hence the choice of the (somewhat vague but functional enough) gloss 'NEG.COP' in the following illustrating examples.

(9.151) *bíríŋkw' iísí dhiddigúléÌle wóó: , kaa' dha wóóru ?*   {mbílri.33}

bíríŋku	ésí	[dhi-ddi-gúl-él-ile	wéyo]REL
10.earring	10.DEM.I	10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL	2SG.PRO

kaaye	dha	wóóru
NEG.COP	10.CON	14.gold

'these earrings you bought me, aren't they made of gold?'

(9.152) *kahíyó mwáha!*   {maria.111}

kahíyó	mwáha
NEG.COP	3.problem

'No problem!'

(9.153) *s' eetédhéne dhikósiléényu, kahíy' éélóbwéene*   {maria.97}

ésó	dhi-oté = dhéne	[dhi-kós-ilé = ényu]REL	**kahíyo**	élóbó = ene
10.DEM.II	10-all = 10.INT	10-do-PFV.REL = 2PL.PRO	NEG.COP	9.thing = INT

'all you did, it is nothing really'

Unexpectedly, and in contrast with the affirmative (verbal and non-verbal) copulas, this negative copula does not trigger PL on the following predicate as can be seen in (9.152) with *mwáha* 'problem' and (9.153) *élóbwéene* 'thing.INT', uttered as in citation form.

The negative existential form is often used by story-tellers in the introductory formula *weéŕlé kááye óddo*, literally translated as 'the one who did, it is not that one'. For instance, both stories entitled 'ddingí' and 'ddoolrinddo' told by Fernanda from Macuze start with this formula. An example is given in (9.154).

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[56] Remember that an equivalent assimilation process is (almost systematically) attested with the perfective marker *-hi-* (*aája* 'they ate' is morphologically segmented as *a-hí-ja*, see section 2.4.1.4).

(9.154) *weéŕlé kááy' ddo, weéŕlé râpaási*   {ddoo.1}

    [o-ér-íl-é]ᵣₑₗ   **kááye**   óddo   [o-ér-íl-é]ᵣₑₗ   râpaasi

    1-do-PFV.REL   NEG.COP   1.DEM.II   1-do-PFV.REL   1a.boy.PL

    'There once was a man' (lit. 'the one who did, it is not that one, the one who did, it is a boy')

The negative existential form also functions as a rhetorical interrogative device, which consists in asking for confirmation, and thus normally implies a positive answer. Such an interro-negative construction is commonly known under the label 'question tag'. Two examples are provided below.

(9.155) *Aíssa oottúkúla m̀píka, kaáyo ?*   {elic.}

    aíssa   o-hi-ttúkúla   m̀píka   **kaáyo**

    aissa   1-PFV.DJ-take   3.bucket   NEG.COP

    'Aissa took the bucket, didn't she?'

(9.156) *cíí ! wéyo kahíye wa Maríya ?*   {maria.38}

    cíí   wéyo   **kahíye**   wa   maríya

    INTER   2SG.PRO   NEG.COP   2SG.CON   maria

    '[excl.], are you not Maria?'

Unexpectedly, when *kahíyo* is followed by an infinitive verb, it is understood as an affirmation. It thus can be considered as a pragmatically-linked linguistic device which consists in postulating affirmation through negation, in the same way as the English expression 'is it not that ...' or the French 'n'est-ce pas ... que/de'. In this context, it could be replaced by a perfective (*ahídhowá*) or a narrative (*odhowá*) form. Such expressions in Cuwabo are usually confined to narrative texts.

(9.157) *áttú kahíy' oódhów' óottólon' uúkúle kahíy' óópítáála*   {ddoo.28}

    áttú   **kahíyo**   ódhówá   o-ttóló=ni   ókúle   **kahíyo**   ópítáála

    2.people   NEG.COP   15.go   17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III   NEG.COP   15.hide

    'people went to the well and hid themselves around'

(9.158) *rapáríga ddabunó kahíy' óokálá dhiidho:*   {mbílri.37}

    rapáríga   ddabunó   **kahíyó**   okálá   dhiidho

    1a.girl   then   NEG.COP   15.be   naked

    'then the mistress remained naked'

The second type negative existential form derives from *kahíyo*/*kahíye*, but inflects for subject marking and also contains one of the three locative clitics. Class 16 =*vo* is used to express 'is not here', class 17 =*wo* means 'is not there, does not exist', and class 18 =*mo* refers to 'is not inside'. The full paradigms are given in Table 51.

Table 51   Inflected negative copulas

Person/class	ka-SM-hí = 16.LOC 'is not here'	ka-SM-hí = 17.LOC 'is not there'	ka-SM-hí = 18.LOC 'is not inside'
1SG	kaddiívo	kaddiíwo	kaddiímo
2SG	kawiívo	kawiíwo	kawiímo
1PL	kaniívo	kaniíwo	kaniímo
2PL	kamwiívo	kamwiíwo	kamwiímo
1	kaávo	kaáwo	kaámo
2	kaávo	kaáwo	kaámo
3	kawiívo	kawiíwo	kawiímo
4	kadhiívo	kadhiíwo	kadhiímo
5	kaniívo	kaniíwo	kaniímo
6	kaávo	kaáwo	kaámo
9	kayiívo	kayiíwo	kayiímo
10	kadhiívo	kadhiíwo	kadhiímo
16	kaviívo		
17		kawiíwo	
18			kamwiímo

Following are a few examples in context.

(9.159) *naámbédd' oónójúwáávi, ma namárógolo kaawó!*   {ddingí.24}

naámbédde   ó-ni-ój-úw-á = vi   mas   namárógolo   **kaa = wó**
1a.maize   1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi = RESTR   but   1a.hare   NEG.COP.1 = 17.LOC

'maize keeps being eaten, but the hare is not here!'

(9.160) *mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóbódhaye kadhívo*   {maria.168}

mwáádhí = ye   **kaá = vo**   ánááye   **kaá = vo**
1.wife = POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC   2.child.POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.2 = 16.LOC

dhoóbó = dhaye   **kadhí = vo**
10.furniture = 10.POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC

'his wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here'

   Interestingly, and in contrast with the invariable negative copula *kahíyo/kahíye*, the element that follows an inflected negative copula is affected by PL, be it a noun (9.161) or a tensed verb (5.156).

(9.161) *[elábw' ééjí y' ooténe] kaāvó m̀bava w' oopítta míyo*   {maria.178}

kaā = vó   m̀bava   wa   opítta   míyo]REL
NEG.1 = 16.LOC   1.thief.PL   1.CON   15.surpass   1SG.PRO

'[in this whole place], there is no thief better than me.'

(9.162) *kaáwó odhileewó:*   {elic.}

      kaá = wó   **o-dh-ile = wo**

      NEG.COP.1 = 17.LOC   1-come-PFV.PL = 17.LOC

      'nobody came'

10

Relative clauses, clefts, and question formation

This chapter has two main focuses: first it gives a detailed description of the relative clause contructions in Cuwabo, and second, it describes the strategies used to form *wh*-questions. The first topic about relatives has much relevance to the second on question formation, since one way of questioning things is by means of cleft constructions, thus involving relative clauses.

Note that yes-no questions, in virtue of their prosodic behaviour, are not treated here, but in section 3.6.2.

10.1 Relative clauses

According to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 16), "the expression of adjectival meanings through verbs in languages with closed adjective classes typically involves relativization to express the equivalent of a modifying adjective". Cuwabo, as many Bantu languages,

conforms to that assertion, in that it has a very restricted class of lexical adjectives (see section 5.4), and necessarily relies on relative constructions to modify noun heads.

I present in this section the structure and the morphology of subject and (section 10.1.2) non-subject (section 10.1.3) relatives in Cuwabo. For both, different relative clause types – restrictive, non-restrictive, free, and cleft – will be exemplified. In section 10.1.4, instrumental and comitative relatives will be treated. Section 10.1.5 will briefly overview the negative relatives, and finally in section 10.1.6, I will discuss specific relative issues.

10.1.1   Formal properties

Whereas most Bantu languages make use of some relative markers, usually derived from demonstrative or possessive pronouns, on first sight, Cuwabo does not have any morphological markers to indicate relativeness. Rather, the language uses specific verb forms that are formally identical to the conjoint forms (see section 11.3). In Cuwabo, seven tenses display the conjoint/disjoint alternation: present (imperfective), past imperfective, perfective, past perfective, future, future imperfective and hypothetical. Table 52 below confronts both conjoint and relative verb forms.

Table 52   Conjoint versus Relative verb forms

	CJ	REL
PRS IPFV	ońgúlíhá[57] nigagádda	ońgúlíha (nígágádda)
	'he is selling dry cassava'	'who is selling (dry cassava)'
PST IPFV	waágúla nyumba	waágúla (nyúmba)
	'he was buying a house'	'who was buying (a house)'
PFV	ofuꞁlé mútede	ofúꞁlé (mutéde)
	'he washed the dress'	'who washed (the dress)'
PST PFV	waaveéttíle mbuga	waaveéttíle (mbúga)
	'he had winnowed the rice'	'who had winnowed (the rice)'
FUT	onáábúddúgélé guluwe	onáábúddúgélé (gulúwe)
	'he will attack the pig'	'who will attack (the pig)'
FUT IPFV	ogásákula kalruúnga	ddigásákula (kálrúúnga)
	'he will be choosing the hoe'	'who will be choosing (the hoe)'
HYP	ogaattukúꞁle nyangaséra	ogaattukúꞁle (nyángáséra)
	'he would carry the fishing basket'	'who would carry (the fishing basket)

---

[57] Note that the tone difference between the CJ and the REL forms is not relevant here and is explained by constraints on High Tone Doubling (see section 3.5.1 for a detailed analysis of HTD).

Table 52 shows that Cuwabo relatives have no specific morphology, nor do they exhibit a specific tone pattern, except for the perfective tense, in which an additional H tone stands on S2, or S1 in case of bisyllabic stems (see the conjoint form *ofullé* versus the relative form *ofúllè*). The reason why a tone difference between conjoint and relative forms exists only for the perfective is still unclear at this moment.

An interesting question arises: how to distinguish between relative and conjoint verbs if their forms are strictly identical (except for the perfective)? One first important thing to have in mind is that conjoint forms can in principle not appear in the final position of a sentence (this will be demonstrated in section 11.3.2). This explains why we always have a following object in the Table 52 above. It therefore means that in sentence-final position, there is never ambiguity: we always have a relative form. In the case of transitive verbs, we can distinguish relative and non-relative forms thanks to the tone pattern of the object following the verb: after a conjoint form, the Predicative Lowering (PL) process occurs, i.e. the augment, which is purely tonal in Cuwabo, does not appear on the object, as illustrated in (10.1)a (see section 3.5.3 for more details on PL). Inversely, after a relative verb the object appears in citation form, without tone alteration (10.1)b.

(10.1)   a.   CJ   *múyaná ońgúlíhá nigagádda*

                  múyaná   o-ní-gúlíhá   **nigagádda**

                  1.woman   1-IPFV.CJ-sell   5.dry.cassava.PL

                  'the woman is selling dry cassava'

     b.   REL   *múyaná ońgúlíha nígágádda [...]*

                  múyaná   [o-ní-gúlíha   **nígágádda**]_{REL}

                  1.woman   1-IPFV.CJ-sell   5.dry.cassava

                  'the woman who is selling dry cassava [...]'

Still, note that no all elements following a CJ form are affected by PL (see section 11.3.2). This means that under certain circumstances, both CJ and relative readings can be obtained, and that only the context will help in determining which reading prevails. For instance, the story context from which the sentence in (10.2) was extracted makes it clear that the CJ form *dhińdha* is to be interpreted as a CJ verb (implying a focus reading on the postverbal element). But, taken out-of-the-blue, the same sequence could be considered as a noun phrase, made of a head noun modified by a relative clause.

(10.2)   *jíbó dhińdá m̀bára*   {ddingí.14}

     a. jíbó   dhi-ní-dá   mu-bára

        10a.song   10-IPFV.CJ-come   18-9a.sea

        'the songs come from the beach'

b. jíbó   [dhi-ní-dá   mu-bára]_{REL}

10a.song   10-IPFV.CJ-come   18-9a.sea

'the songs which come from the beach ...'

10.1.2 Subject relative clauses

As previously said, there is at first sight no segmental relative marker in Cuwabo. Instead, the agreement on the conjoint verb form is triggered by the relativised noun phrase (NP). The different subject relatives below confirm it: in the restrictive one in (10.3), the subject marker in *ni-ńlógélá* agrees with the class 5 noun *ǹjáángara* 'card', and *o-ntóónyá* agrees with class 1 *muttú* 'man'.

(10.3)   *oddíváhe viína ǹjáángara nińlógélá kaāvó muttú: oǹtóónyá: baaddípíttá míyo*   {maria.180}

o-ddí-váh-e   viína   ǹjáángara   [ni-ní-lóg-él-á   kaā=vó

2SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ   too   5.card   5-IPFV.CJ-say-APPL-Fi   NEG.COP.1=16.LOC

muttu   [o-ni-tóónyá   ba-a-ddí-píttá   míyo]_{REL}

1.people.PL   1-IPFV.CJ-show   SEQ-1-OM1SG-surpass   1SG.PRO

'give me too a card that says there is no one who is better at tracking the way than I.'

This example is interesting in that it shows in the same sentence the tone difference between the two verbal forms *nińlógéla* (from H verb *ólogá* 'say, talk') and *oǹtóónyá* (from toneless verb *otóônya* 'show, indicate').

In the free relative one in (10.4), *e-ńfúná* agrees with the implied class 9 *élóbo* 'thing'.

(10.4)   *eńfún' óóbúddúwaamó mwaárí mwa m̄púlḗ*   {maria.49}
          wóy' óoddódd' eejú wééne

[e-ní-fúna   óbúddúwa=mó   mwaárí   mwa   m̄púlḗ]_{REL}

9-IPFV.CJ-want   15.go.out-18.LOC   18.into   18.in   18.DEM.III

wéyó   o-ddódd-e   ejó   wééne

2SG.PRO   2SG-snatch-SBJ   9.DEM.II   INT

'what will go out from inside, snatch it'

Free relatives, which have no referent in the clause, are syntactically singular or plural, depending on what they refer to. When one refers to a human entity, the subject marker on the relativised verb is necessarily class 1 *-o* for a singular or class 2 *-a* for a plural. When one refers to a non-human entity, class 9 prefix *e-* for singular (as in (10.4)) and class 10 prefix *dhi-* for plural, are used. This can probably be explained by the fact that the class 9/10

word *élôbo* 'thing' is implied at the head of this type of construction. Thus in (10.4), 'what will go out' could be paraphrased 'the thing which will go out'.

And in the cleft relative in (10.5), *wóonávó* agrees with class 1 personal pronoun *íyééne* 'he'.

(10.5)   *ddi íyééne woóónaávó baáhi. woóónaávó ddi íyééné baáhi*   {maria.146}
       ddi   íyééne   [o-á-oná=vó]_{REL}   baáhi
       1.COP 3SG.PRO   1-PST.IPFV.CJ-see=16.LOC   only
       'he was the only one to see'

Both cleft relatives contained in (10.5) are semantically identical. It means that the constituent order in this sentence does not matter: the copula (which is inflected for class in Cuwabo) and the cleft constituent can precede the cleft clause or follow it. Nonetheless, more occurrences of the second order are attested in my data.

Another interesting observation regarding cleft relatives is the possibility of omitting the copula, thanks to the Predicative Lowering process. In the sentence in (10.6), *kurumaanje*, whose tone pattern in citation form is ØHHØØ (*kurúmáanje*), is in a predicative position and has the same meaning as the copular expression *ddi kurúmáanje* 'it is a bee.sp'.

(10.6)   *odhíl' óoṁpádduwel' oosogóró waayé kurumaanje*   {maria.23}
       [o-dh-ílé   o-mú-pádduw-el-a   osogólró   waaye]_{REL}   **kurumaanje**
       1-come-PFV.REL 15-OM1-show up-APPL-Fi 17.front   17.POSS.3SG   1a.bee.sp.PL
       'a bee.sp came and showed up in front of her' (lit. 'who came and … it is a bee.sp')

The agreement pattern in relatives is presented in Table 53, which compares the different non-relative subject prefixes on the verb with the agreement markers on the relativised verb (in the present tense), according to the noun class (NC).

Table 53   Relative agreement pattern with classes

NC		Subject pfx	Rel. present	
1	mwááná	o-	o-ńlóga	'the child who says'
2	ááná	a-	a-ńlóga	'the children who say'
3	múrí	o-	o-ńlóga	'the tree which says'
4	mírí	dhi-	dhi-ńlóga	'the trees which say'
5	ńzayí	ni-	ni-ńlóga	'the egg which says'
6	mázayí	a-	a-ńlóga	'the eggs which say'
9	ehíba	e-	e-ńlóga	'the hoe which says'
10	dhihíba	dhi-	dhi-ńlóga	'the hoes which say'
14	olíbo	o-	o-ńlóga	'the glue which says'
15	ópa	o-	o-ńlóga	'the pain which says'
16	ápa	va-	va-ńlóga	'where it says'
17	óku	o-	o-ńlóga	'where it says'
18	ḿpu	mu-	mu-ńlóga	'when it says'

Now, if we look at the non-restrictive relative in (6.139), we see that the agreement marker on *o-ḿvívéérí* does not match with the expected subject marker of the 1PL person *ni-*. Instead we have the subject marker corresponding to cl.1 *o-*.

(6.139) *nootééne íy' óoḿvívéérí vatákûl' aápa, (nivíré voósálún' aápá)*   {mbílri.13}

  ni-oté=éne   íyó   [**o-ní-vívéérí**   va-tákûlu   ápa]ᴿᴱᴸ

  1PL-all=INT   1PL.PRO   1-IPFV.CJ-live   16-9a.house   16.DEM.I

  'all of us, who live in this house, (let's go on this thread)'

It actually turns out that the four persons 1SG, 2SG, 1PL and 2SG have the same agreement marker in the subject relatives, as shown in Table 54.

Table 54   Relative agreement pattern with persons

Persons		Subject Pfx.	Rel. present	
1sg	míyo	ddi-	o-ńlóga	'I who say'
2sg	wéyo	o-	o-ńlóga	'you who say'
3sg (cl.1)	íyééne	o-	o-ńlóga	'he who says'
1pl	íyo	ni-	o-ńlóga	'us who say'
2pl	nyúwo	mu-	o-ńlóga	'you who say'
3pl (cl.2)	áwééne	a-	a-ńlóga	'they who say'

The fact that verbs in the subject relatives agree with the noun classes but not the persons is not easy to account for. The persons refer to human beings and this semantic detail may explain why a single subject marker, corresponding to class 1, has been chosen. Whenever a

human reference is being made, in a singular or plural form, the *o-* subject marker is used on the verb, probably on account of the subject marker *o-* of the human-referent noun class 1. However as soon as the plural reference deals with the 3PL, i.e. class 2, the subject marker on the verb gets back to the noun class agreement system.

On the other hand, although these agreement markers on the verb seem to be subject markers, it is not proven whether they actually are the subject markers. The fact that there is no agreement with persons, as shown above in Table 54 may also suggest that these represent in some way another sort of marker. They may rather be considered as relative markers, occupying the subject marker slot. Note that the nature of this agreement with the head noun and the absence of regular subject agreement are properties found in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2010).

Last, an interesting point deals with relativisation and possession. Typologically, languages do not like to relativise formally a possessor (Creissels, p.c.), and usually make use of circumvented strategies, such as alteration of the verbal valency. The relative in (10.7)a establishes a relation of possession between the head constituent *mírí* 'trees', the possessor, and the possessee *matábayá* 'the leaves'. What may look like a non-subject relative is in fact a subject relative with a specific incorporation structure, confronting 'whole' and 'part' of a given entity: the possessor, i.e. the tree, is considered as the subject, while the leaves assume an oblique interpretation (known as "chômeur"). If we accept such an interplay between a change of valency on surface and the whole/part relationship, the sentence could thus be interpreted as 'the trees which have been affected by the fall of their leaves'. This whole/part relation is commonly observed in French with sentences such as *j'ai mal à la tête / ma tête me fait mal*, or *j'ai la peau noire / je suis noir de peau*. Further note that in a construction like (10.7)a, no possessive marker is attested after the possessed logical subject, and (10.7)b shows it would be ungrammatical to introduce one.

(10.7)   a. *mírí, dhikokówíle matábayá, dhínójúwá na nyenyéle*   {elic.}

   mírí   [**dhi-koków-íle**   matába＝yá]_{REL}   dhí-ni-ój-úw-á   na   nyenyéle
   4.tree   4-fall-PFV.REL   6.leaf＝DEF   4-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi   by   10a.ant
   'the trees, whose leaves have already fallen, are being eaten by the ants'

   b. **mírí dhikokówîle matábayá **ááwa** (POSS), dhínójúwá na nyenyéle*

10.1.3 Non-subject relative clauses

By non-subject relatives is meant relatives in which the head noun corresponds to a constituent other than the logical subject. Instead the head can be an object, a locative, or some other adjunct.

Similarly to the subject relatives, the non-subject relatives have no overt relative morphology (except the agreement marker on the verb if we consider it to be relative), and when the subject is lexical, they look identical to the subject relatives. In this case, the subject always appears in postverbal position, and is not allowed to precede it. Furthermore, the relative verb always agrees in noun class with the head noun, and not with the postverbal logical or semantic subject. This means that in non-subject relatives, the object or adjunct found in front becomes the grammatical subject of the relativised clause, and the logical subject is left stranded after the verb, as illustrated in (10.8).

(10.8)   a. *bíríńkw' iísí dhiddigúlélle wéyo*   {mbílri.33}

        bíríńku   ésí   [**dhi-ddi-gúl-él-ile**   wéyo]_{REL}

        10.earing   10.DEM.I   10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL   2SG.PRO

        'these earings you bought me, ...'

    b. *j' iíjílé eńkósa mwánábwá ni pááká*   {pááká.35}

        ji   éjílé   [**e-nī-kósa**   mwánábwa ni   pááká]_{REL}

        9.COP 9.DEM.III 9-IPFV.CJ-do   1.dog   and 1a.cat

        'this is what the dog and the cat are doing'

In the restrictive object relative in (10.8)a, the agreement marker on the verb respects the noun class of the head noun *bíríńku* 'earings'. This example also shows that the object marking of 1SG *ddi-* on the verb holds for the object in the relative clause, here with the use of the applicative extension. In the cleft object relative in (10.8)b, the verb agrees in noun class with the cleft constituent which is a demonstrative pronoun of class 9.

Both these examples confirm the postverbal position of the logical subject, *wéyo* in (10.8)a and *mwánábwá ni pááká* in (10.8)b. This subject-verb inversion in non-subject relatives is apparently something common in many languages of the world (Demuth and Hardford 1999). But this inversion does not prevent the postverbal subject to give its agreement mark to the verb, as shown in Shona in (10.9). In this example, the relative marker *dza-* agrees with the relativised NP *mbatya* 'clothes', while the verb agrees with the subject NP of the relative *vakadzi* 'woman'.

(10.9)   Shona (S10)

mbatya   dza-va-kason-era   vakadzi   mwenga   (Demuth & Harford 1999)

10.clothes   10REL-2SM-sewed-APPL1 2.woman   2.bride

'clothes which the women sewed for the bride'

In Cuwabo, there is no specific slot on the left-side of the verb to express relativisation, as in Shona. Instead, the slot for subject marking assumes this function, which is conceivable, since it also assumes other functions such as the infinitive marking. The subject marker being occupied by the "relative marker", it can no longer be filled with an agreement with the postverbal logical subject. This typological characteristic, exceptional in Eastern Bantu, is also found in Makhuwa and Sena relatives, respectively illustrated in (10.10) and (10.11), where the agreement markers on the verbs correspond to the noun class of the head nouns *enúpá* 'house' in Makhuwa and *chuma* 'farmhouse' in Sena, while the pronominal logical subjects remain postverbal.

(10.10) Makhuwa   (Van der Wal 2009)

enúpá   [e-tek-ale   Hasáání]REL

9.house   9-build-PFV.CJ   Hasan

'the house that Hasan has built'

(10.11) Sena   (Torrend 1900: 107, my gloss)

ndi-pas-e   chuma   changa   [chi-da-kuata   iwe]REL

OM1SG-give-SBJ   7.farmhouse   7.POSS.1SG 7-PFV-take   2.SG.PRO

'give me my farmhouse that you took'

Now, when there is no lexical subject in a non-subject relative, the pronominal form can appear separately as a free morpheme always behind the relativised verb, as already seen in (10.8)a, or it can become a dependent form cliticised to the right-edge of the verb, as illustrated in (10.12) with a present tense form, and in (10.13) with a perfective tense form.

(10.12) V + Pronoun   Enclitics

oṁvírá *míyo*   ▶   oṁvíréémi   /oṁvírá = *imi*/   'where I am passing by'

oṁvírá *wéyo*   ▶   oṁvírééwe   /oṁvírá = *iwe*/   'where you are passing by'

oṁvírá *íyééne*   ▶   oṁvírééye   /oṁvírá = *iye*/   'where he is passing by'

oṁvírá *íyo*   ▶   oṁvírééhu   /oṁvírá = *ihu*/   'where we are passing by'

oṁvírá *nyúwo*   ▶   oṁvíréényu   /oṁvírá = *inyu*/   'where you are passing by'

oṁvírá *áwééne*   ▶   oṁvírááni   /oṁvírá = *ani*/   'where they are passing by'

(10.13) V + Pronoun   Enclitics

mukwéle míyo	▸	mukwélíimí	/mukwéle = *imi*/	'when I died'
mukwéle wéyo	▸	mukwélíiwé	/mukwéle = *iwe*/	'when you died'
mukwéle íyééne	▸	mukwélíiyé	/mukwéle = *iye*/	'when he died'
mukwéle íyo	▸	mukwélíihú	/mukwéle = *ihu*/	'when we died'
mukwéle nyúwo	▸	mukwélíinyú	/mukwéle = *inyu*/	'when you died'
mukwéle áwééne	▸	mukwéláaní	/mukwéle = *ani*/	'when they died'

The encliticisation of the personal pronoun modifies on surface the nature of the verb final vowel, which suggests that the bound pronoun is vowel-initial. Both outputs [ee] and [ii] respectively observed in (10.12) and (10.13) suggest that the enclitic pronouns begin with the vowel [i]. Indeed, the vowel sequence a + i in (10.12) gives a long [ee], and in (10.13), e + i gives [ee]. However it is common to find outputs such as a + i = ii and e + i = ee, as shown in (10.14).

(10.14) a + i   *enlíméemí*   'what I cultivate'   vs   *eńlógíími*   'what I say'
         a + i   *yahíliméémi*   'what I cultivated'   vs   *yaálogíími*   'what I said' (IPFV)
         a + i   *enáálíméemí*   'what I will cultivate' vs *enáálógíimí* 'what I will say'

         e + i   *elibéléĺíími*   'what I've sworn to'   vs   *elógiléémi*   'what I have said'
         e + i   *yaalibéléĺíími*   'what I had sworn to' vs   *yaalimíléemí* 'what I had cultivated'
         e + i   *egaalibéléĺíími* 'what I'd swear to'   vs   *egaalogíléemí* 'what I would say'

Despite the fact that both outputs seem acceptable in these contexts, it seems that some verbs prefer certain outputs. It is also interesting to note that the outputs found in (10.12) and (10.13) correspond to a coalescence process practiced at the lexical level (see section 2.4.1.1). This might suggest that the different outputs found in the second column of (10.14) may be the result of phonological processes (elision for a + i = ii, and coalescence for e + i = ee) practiced on the post-lexical level. Furthermore, the fact that we have no other attested cases of vowel sequence between e + i and a + i on the post-lexical level, and that those on the lexical level are not common in the language, may allow a certain flexibility in the output.

Regarding tones, it seems that the enclitic does not bear any H tone. Instead it adapts to the nature of the preceding verb. On the first line of (10.14), in *eńlógíími* 'what I say', from the H-toned verb *ólogá* 'say', the grammatical H tone on the present tense marker doubles onto the next mora, and the lexical H on the final vowel also doubles onto the next mora which gives the long high -íí- (as the result of coalescence). On the same line, in *enlíméemí* 'what I cultivate', from the Ø-toned verb *olíma* 'cultivate', the grammatical H doubles, but there is no lexical H on the final vowel. It is then likely that the final H on the cliticised

form is a prosodic tone at the boundary of related clauses, and which then signals the sentence is not finished.

The sentences below show more examples of the encliticisation of the personal pronoun in non-subject relatives, mostly extracted from narratives.

(10.15)   1SG relative enclitics

mwádhâga waámúlogíímí dd' úúddu   {maria.122}

mwádhâga   [o-á-mú-logá=ímí]_{REL}   ddi   óddu

1.wife.POSS.1SG   1-PST.CJ-OM1-speak=1SG.PRO   1.COP   1.DEM.I

'this is the wife I talked about'

(10.16)   2SG relative enclitics

ésó dhińddívuúzéewé: , kaddinásúǹza   {semi-elic.}

ésó   [dhi-ní-ddí-vuúzá=iwe]_{REL}   ka-ddi-ná-súǹza

10.DEM.II   10-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-ask=2SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-CE-learn

'I have not studied yet what you are asking me'

(10.17)   3SG relative enclitics

m̀mottélíiyé m̀máánjéní osadduwa   {mbílri.43}

[mu-mott-él-é=iye   mu-máánjé=ní]_{REL}   o-sadduwa

18-fall-APPL-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO   18-6.water=LOC   NAR-change

'when she fell in the water, she got transformed'

(10.18)   1PL relative enclitics

Maríy' óódd' úním̀vedííhu dd' uúĺlé   {maria.148}

Maríyá   óddú   [o-ní-mú-vedá=íhu]_{REL}   ddi   ólle

Maria   1.DEM.I   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look.for=1PL.PRO   1.COP   1.DEM.III

'Maria, the one we are looking for, it is that one'

(10.19)   2PL relative enclitics

em̀fúnéényu kalógáni   {maria.141}

[e-ní-fúná=ínyu]_{REL}   ka-lógá=ni

9-IPFV.CJ-want=2PL.PRO   IMP-say=PLA

'tell whatever you want'

(10.20)   3PL relative enclitics

adhówe ájáǹtaari komídádha dhittíyílááni m̀ba   {páaká.22}

a-dhów-e a-á-jáǹtaari   komíídá=dha   [dhi-ttíy-ílé=áni]_{REL}   m̀ba

2-go-SBJ 2-IT-have.dinner.SBJ 10a.food=10.DEF   10-leave-PFV.REL=3PL.PRO 18.inside

'so that they go and eat the food that they left inside'

A question concerning the morphological status of these enclitics arises: are they derived from personal pronouns or from possessives? It appears that all the persons do not work the same way. Table 55 lists the relative enclitics pronouns and compares them with the free personal pronouns (column 3) and the possessive pronouns (column 4). All the formal similarities appear in bold.

Table 55   Comparison between bound and free personal pronouns, and possessives

person	bound pers. pronouns	free pers. pronouns	possessive
1sg	=**imi**	**mí**yo	-aga
2sg	=**iwe**	**wé**yo	-awo
3sg	=**iye**	**íyé**éne	-aye
1pl	=**ihu**	íyo	-**ihu**
2pl	=**inyu**	nyúwo	-**inyu**
3pl	=**ani**	**á**wééne	-awa

The comparison of the enclitics relative pronouns with the two other paradigms reveals a significant syncretism: on the one hand, the three singular persons (including class 1) look like a short version of the respective free personal pronoun, and more precisely correspond to their first syllable. On the other hand, the 1PL and 2PL are more likely to derive from the corresponding possessive pronouns. In this case, the system works exactly the same way as in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009, 2010), in which the postverbal subjects in their pronominal forms are formally equal to the possessive pronouns, as illustrated in examples (10.21) and (10.22).

(10.21) a. ehópá ts-**áka**   'my fish'   (van der Wal 2009: 131)

b. ki-m-phéélá   ekamisá   [e-pasar-aly-á**aka**]_{REL}
   1SP-PRS.CJ-want   9.shirt   9-iron-PFV.REL-POSS.1SG
   'I want the shirt that I ironed'

(10.22) a. ekofíyó ts-**áwe**   'his hats'   (van der Wal 2009: 131)

b. ki-m-phéélá   ekanetá   [tsi-ki-vah-aly-á**áwé**]_{REL}
   1SG-PRS.CJ-want   10.pens   10.1SG-give-PFV.REL-POSS.3SG
   'I want the pens that he gave me'

Among the Bantu languages, the possessive pronoun may be found in relative constructions, but in its whole form, and as an equivalent of the relative pronoun (Nsuka Nkutsi 1977). In Cuwabo and Makhuwa, its use is different in that it fills the function of the logical subject of the relative clause. Considering Nsuka Nkutsi (1977)'s comparative analysis on relatives, this function has been attested only in certain North-Western Bantu languages, and in these

languages the possessive pronoun is not an enclitic as in the P30 languages but a preverbal element, as shown in the examples (10.23) and (10.24) extracted from Nsuka Nkutsi (1977: 71), and presenting non-subject relatives in the A30 languages Noho and Benga, respectively.

(10.23) Noho   a.   kalati **yami** ematilanɔ (cl.7)   'the letter I am writing'
                 b.   mwibi **monyu** mwabweanɔ (cl.3)   'the thief you will catch'

(10.24) Benga   a.   bato **bamɛ** bamayɛnɛ (cl.2)   'the men I saw'
                 b.   bepokolo bi**ahu** behambakɛ (cl.8) 'the hats we bought'

Finally, if we come back to Table 55, we note that the class 2 form =*ani* is the only relative bound pronoun which is distinct from both the free personal pronoun *áwééne* and the possessive pronoun -*awa*. Even if we recognise the class 2 prefix *a*-, this form is hard to decompose. It is also of interest to point that this form is used for all other classes. This is illustrated in (10.25) with the class 5 word *ńzu* 'voice', but after checking with my main consultant, the same happens with the other classes.

(10.25) *ñzú ńttíl' oońdháaní íyééne keédhûwo*   {maria.26}

   ñzú   ńttíle   [o-ní-dhá = aní]REL   íyééne   ka-ídhî = wo
   5.voice   5.DEM.III   17-IPFV.CJ-come = 3PL.PRO   3SG.PRO   NEG.1-know = 17.LOC
   'that voice, where it comes from, she does not know'

To conclude on the status of the relative enclitic pronouns, we can say that it is difficult to postulate hypotheses on the process of emergence of such a paradigm. It is thus wise to think that, from a synchronic point of view, they represent as a whole an independent paradigm and not a mix of personal pronouns on the one hand and possessive pronouns on the other hand.

Adjunct relatives such as manner relatives or locative relatives function as an adverbial clause and are most commonly headless. The headless manner relatives are introduced by the complementiser *nínga* 'as', and the subject marker on the verb is usually in classes 9 (10.26) and 10. With regard to locative relatives, the subject agreement on the verb is made with the three locative classes, 16, 17 and 18, as shown in (10.27).

(10.26) *ddimfúná ddikálé ńng' aáligíímí vatákúlúvênyu*   {maria.90}

   ddi-ní-fúná   ddi-kál-é   nínga   [e-á-ligí = ímí
   1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   1SG-be-SBJ   as   9-PST.IPFV-be.HAB = 1SG.PRO

   va-tákúlú = vênyu]REL
   16-9a.house = 16.POSS.2PL
   'I want to be the way I used to be in your house'

(10.27) a. Class16

ddidhówe ddéédde. vańgómédhíimí ddiiígóma.   {maria.17}

ddi-dhów-e   ddi-á-edd-e   [**va-ní-góm-édh-á＝imí**]_{REL}   ddi-hí-góma

1SG-go-SBJ   1SG-IT-walk-SBJ   16-IPFV.CJ-stop-APPL-Fi＝1SG.PRO   1SG-PFV.DJ-stop

'I will go and walk. Where I stop, I stop!'

b. Class 17

waádhówííyé: kańzíwaawo   {maria.21}

[**o-á-dhówá＝íye**]_{REL}   ka-ní-zíwa＝wo

17-PST.IPFV.CJ-go＝3SG.PRO   NEG.1-IPFV-know＝17.LOC

'she did not know where she was going'

c. Class 18

muḿvírá míyó múnóddááganyedha   {ddingí.12}

[**mu-ní-vírá**   míyó]_{REL}   mú-ni-ó-ddí-áganyedha

18-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-suspect

'wherever I go by, you suspect me'

Manner and locative relatives can also be constructed with an antecedent head noun such as the noun *mukálêlo* 'way' in (10.28)a, or the Portuguese loan *mánééra* 'way' (from *maneira*) in (10.28)b, for the manner relatives. Regarding the locatives relatives, they may be preceded by locative noun phrases as in (10.29)a or simply by the locative demonstrative pronouns, as in (10.29)b.

(10.28) a. *mikálélo dhaálíiyé:*   {maria.89}

mikálélo [**dhi-á-lí＝iye**]_{REL}

4.way   4-PST.IPFV-be＝3SG.PRO

'the way she was'

b. *moonélíiyé: mánééra aácéya namárógolo m̀búga*   {mute.16}

[**mu-on-él-é＝íye**]_{REL}   mánééra [**a-á-céya**   N.   m̀búga]_{REL}

18-see-APPL-PFV.REL＝3SG.PRO   6.way   6-PST.IPFV.CJ-sow   H.   3.rice

'when she noticed the way the hare was sowing rice'

(10.29) a. *odhowá vátákúlu apálé vattíyíláaní kómííd' eésîle*   {páaká.7}

o-dhowá vá-tákúlu   apálé   [**va-ttíy-ílé＝ani**   kómíída ésîle]_{REL}

NAR-go   16-9a.house 16.DEM.III 16-leave-PFV.REL＝3PL.PRO 9a.food 9.DEM.III

'He went back to that house where they left that food.'

b. *ók' óodhíle wéyo na kurúmáanj' oóddú, [...]*   {maria.44}

ókó   [**o-dh-íle**   wéyo   na   kurúmáanje   óddú]_{REL}

17.DEM.II   17-come-PFV.REL   2SG.PRO with 1a.bee.sp   1.DEM.I

'There where you came from with this bee.sp, [...]'

Beyond spatial meaning, locative relatives are also a very productive way to express temporal meaning, especially in class 18, as exemplified in (10.30). The context allows deciding between a locative or temporal reading.

(10.30)   *m̀mwerélelévó kurúmáánjé:, [...]*   {maria.53}
        [**mu-mwerél-el-é = vó**   kurúmáánjé]_{REL}
        18-land-APPL-PFV.REL = 16.LOC   1a.bee.sp
        'when the bee.sp landed, [...]'

It also happens, although more rarely, that temporal meaning is expressed on the relativised verb by the concordial prefix of class 5 *ni-*, presumably in reference to the word *ǹsaká* 'time, moment' which belongs to class 5 and is implied in such sentences.

(10.31)   *ǹvádelííyína vańlúgúní: eétwéha*   {maria.54}
        [**ni-vád-el-é = íyé = na**   va-ńlúgú = ní]_{REL}   e-hí-tw-éy-a
        5-hit-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO = INSTR   16-5.stone = LOC   9-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi
        'when she hit the stone, it broke'

10.1.4   *=na* 'COM' or 'INSTR'

na is one of the few reported prepositions in Bantu languages. As already seen in section 6.3.9.1, between a verb and its object, it has an instrumental (10.32)a, or a comitative reading (10.32)b.

(10.32)   a. *ootóróla múkwáátte na mwáálâgo*   {elic.}
          o-hi-tóróla   múkwáátte na   mwáálâgo
          1-PFV.DJ-pierce   3.pot   with   3.spear
          'he has pierced a hole in the pot with a spear'

        b. *Mádá baalogá na Érûgulu*   {body.3}
          mádá   ba-a-logá   na   érûgulu
          6.hand   SEQ-1-speak   with   9.belly
          'Mr.Hands spoke to Mr.Belly'

In the case of instrumental and comitative relatives, it looks like this conjunction *na* becomes a clitic postponed to the relativised verb, as illustrated in (10.33) for the instrumental relatives (with (10.33)a as a cleft version of (10.32)a), and in (10.34) for the comitative ones.

(10.33)   Instrumental relatives

    a. *bu mwáálág' ootorólíhííyína mūkwáátte*   {elic.}

       bu   mwáálágo   [o-toról-íh-é = íye = na   mūkwáátte]$_{REL}$

       3.COP   3.spear   3-pierce-CAUS-PFV.REL = INSTR   3.pot

       'it is with a spear that he has pierced the pot'

    b. *etélo éjó eḿvégíwúúna*   {semi-elic.}

       etélo   éjó   [e-ní-véga = íwé = na]$_{REL}$

       9.winnowing.tray 9.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-play = 2SG.PRO = INSTR

       'this winnowing tray which you are playing with'

    c. *óbú bu m̄béní osuvéyîlééná mwáána*   {elic.}

       óbú   bu   m̄béní   [o-suv-éy-îlé = ná   mwáána]$_{REL}$

       3.DEM.I 3.COP 3.knife   3-cut-NTR-PFV.REL = INSTR   1.child

       'this is the knife that the child cut himself with'

(10.34)   Comitative relatives

    a. *dhińdéeyíná dha déréétúdh' áágamal' oopíya*   {mbílri.9}

       [dhi-ní-dhá = iyé = ná   dha   déréétú = dhá]$_{REL}$ a-gaa-mala   opíya

       10-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO = COM 10.CON good = 10.DEF   1-SIT-finish 15.cook

       'the good things he brings, after she cooks them'

    b. *ōdháán' oodhíléena Ddóólrínddo leńsó ńttíleé*   {ddoo.15}

       ōdhá = na   [o-dh-ílé = na   Ddóólrínddo leńsó   ńttíle]$_{REL}$

       15.come = COM   15-come-PFV.REL = COM   Ddóólrínddo 5.tissue 5.DEM.III

       'Hardly had Ddoolrinddo brought (came with) that tissue'

    c. *ǹzayí: nińdhána íyo*   {elic.}

       ǹzayí   [ni-ní-dhá = na   íyo]$_{REL}$

       5.egg.PL   5-IPFV.CJ-come = COM   1pl.PRO

       'it is an egg we brought (came with)'

    Instrumental and comitative marking in Cuwabo relatives is very similar to English relatives, where the preposition *with* appears at the right-edge of the relative clause ('the knife I cut myself with'). But unlike in English where *with* is a preposition standing as a separate word, *na* in Cuwabo gets cliticised to the verb. Two arguments support this assertion. First in (10.33)a, a full conjunction would cause a misreading of the sentence's meaning, with the following interpretation: '*it is a spear that he has pierced with the pot.' Second, in (10.33)a, (10.33)b, and (10.34)a, the nature of the underlying vowel which precedes the clitics =*na* changes. In the three examples, it appears as a high vowel (a front [i] or a back [u] according to the preceding consonant), whereas in all cases the mid-vowel

[e] is expected, as the short version -*e* of the perfective suffix -*ile* in (10.33)a and as final vowel of the relative personal pronouns clitics in (10.33)b and (10.34)a. If we can postulate a case of vocalic harmony in (10.33)a, the systematic occurrence of the two other examples with the cliticised short pronouns is nonetheless more difficult to account for. But this vocalic alteration supports the idea that *na* must be considered as an enclitic, since such a sound change is more likely to occur between two clitics than between a clitic and a free morpheme.

10.1.5 Negative relatives

Negative relatives are rarely used in Cuwabo. The examples below were elicited. As previously said, the negation in relatives is formally marked by the post-initial negative morpheme -*hi*-, added to the affirmative conjoint verb forms. Contrary to affirmative relatives, these negative forms no longer compete with the negative conjoint verb forms, which are no longer used in Cuwabo.

(10.35) *ońkósáaní: ḿbên' uúbú ohiǹgwádda ?*   {elic.}

  o-ní-kósá＝ní   ḿbêni   óbú   [o-hi-ni-gwádda]_{REL}

  3-IPFV.CJ-do＝what   3.knife   3.DEM.I 3-NEG-IPFV-cut

  'what good is a knife which won't cut ?'

  b. *ahikálâw' aáttú: ahilívîle*   {elic.}

    a-hi-kálâ＝wo   áttú   [a-hi-lív-île]_{REL}

    2-PFV.DJ-be＝16.LOC   2.people   2-NEG-pay-PFV

    'there are men who do not pay'

(10.36) *kavényíhávo mízíyó dhihináájélîwe síyáari*   {elic.}

  ka-vény-íh-á＝vo   mízíyó   [dhi-hi-náá-j-él-îw-e   síyáari]_{REL}

  IMP-leave-CAUS-Fi＝16.LOC 4.plate   4-NEG-FUT-eat-APPL-PASS-IRR   9a.dinner

  'remove the plates which are not required for the evening meal'

In (10.37), an easier strategy to express negation is possible through the verb *ókóódda* 'refuse' followed by the main verb in its infinitive form.

(10.37) *káddívahedhé sábáá eekoóddíl' oosígíhiwá*   {elic.}

  ká-ddí-vah-edh-é   sábáá   [e-a-koódd-íle   osígíh-iw-á]_{REL}

  IMP-OM1SG-give-APPL-Fi   9a.soap   9-PST.CJ-refuse-PFV   15.apply-PASS-Fi

  'give me the soap which has not been used'

10.1.6 Set phrases

The expressions below are interesting in that they present a particular construction in Cuwabo, build from a verb in the infinitive, i.e. in class 15, followed by a relative form of the same verb, in the perfective tense, as illustrated in (10.38). In these expressions, the first infinitive verb presents the action and the relativised following form indicates the consummation of that action. The whole construction expresses a temporal situation, which could be translated in English as 'as soon as …', 'hardly …', or 'once …'.

(10.38) a. *ōrúméél' óorumééĺl' oóĺ' oókúle odhúlú [...] amottélá m̀baárúkuní:*   {maria.163}

   ōrúméélá   [o-r—uméél-íle   óĺle   ókúle   odhúlú]_{REL}
   15.disappear   15-disappear-PFV.REL 1.DEM.III   17.DEM.III 17.top

   a-mott-él-á   mu-baárúku = ní
   2-fall-APPL-Fi.SEQ   18-1a.boat = LOC

   'Once that one above disappeared (lit. the disappearing which that one disappeared) from the place above [...], he fell in the boat'

   b. *ofíy' óofí[yi]láání: , alóóttúkúlamo [dhootédhén' eési ...]*   {maria.172}

   ofíyá   [o-fíy-ilé = áni]_{REL}   a-lé-óttúkúla = mo
   15.arrive   15-arrive-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO   2-CE-15.take = 18.LOC

   'hardly had they arrived (lit. 'the arriving that they arrived'), they took [everything ...]'

It is interesting to note that the equivalent semantic expressions are found in Makwe by a connective between two infinitives, as illustrated in (10.39), taken from Devos (2008 : 136).

(10.39) mámááye| kúmmóona| kwákúmmóona| kufúláái|
   (mama-i-e   **ku-mu-on-a   ku-a-ku-mu-on-a**   ku-fulai)
   9.mother_9.POSS1   15.1.see.INF   15.CON_15.1.see.INF   15.be:happy.INF
   'his mother became happy the very minute she saw him'

   This relative construction is also attested in the present tense (10.40). But in this case, and unlike the perfective, no temporal reading is obtained. According to my main consultant Sérgio, such expressions rather represent an elegant way of insisting on the truth value of things.

(10.40) *áp' óoddííd' oók' úṅddíídda nyúwó, munddííddêla míy' óokálá dda mwaaná*   {ddingí.7}

ápó	**o-ddí-ída**	ókú	[o-ni-ddí-ídda]REL	nyúwó
16.DEM.II	15-OM1SG-hate	15.DEM.I	15-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate	2PL.PRO

mu-ni-ddí-ídd-êl-a	míyô	okálá	ddi-a	mwaaná
2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL-Fi	1SG.PRO	15.be	1.COP-CON	1.child.PL

'you hate me, (lit. 'this hating me that you hate me') you hate me because I am a child'

Now that relative clauses have been explored in detail, let us examine how they interact with the *wh*-question formation.

10.2 Content (*Wh*-)questions

Content questions, also called constituent questions or *wh*-questions, are formed with interrogative pronouns. These *wh*-words provide a clear indication on the sentence-type of the utterance (rather than prosody, which is more effective with polar questions, see section 3.6.2).

The interrogative pronouns comprise a small class of seven members, given in Table 56, divided in turn into independent and modifying. Both independent and modifying interrogatives are inherently focused, i.e. they always require a focused constituent, and then necessarily appear within cleft sentences or immediately after conjoint verb forms[58], which constitute the two possible focus constructions in Cuwabo (see section 11.3.3 for an analysis of the conjoint/focus relationship). What differentiates independent and modifying interrogatives is that while the first ones function on their own, the latter are dependent on a noun they modify, and with which they form a unit.

As far as I know, no specific restrictions apply on the use of either cleft or conjoint form of *wh*-questions, and as will be shown below, some interrogatives seem to prefer the first focusing method while others prefer the second.

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[58] except for subject question words, only attested in (pseudo)cleft constructions, see section 10.2.1.1 below

Table 56   Interrogatives

Independent		Modifying	
áani	'who'	gaani (inv.)	'sort/which'
=(e)ni	'what'	-vi (var.)	'which one'
uuvi	'where'	-ngaasi (var.)	'how many'
dhaavi	'how'		

Two important precisions are in order here. First, the order of the constituents is ruled by the specificities of each focusing construction. In conjoint constructions, the *wh*-element necessarily follows the conjoint verb form, without anything intervening between both. Such an IAV (Immediatley After the Verb) position is typical of the conjoint constructions. On the other hand, cleft *wh*-questions are more flexible and can either precede or follow their modifying relative clauses, allowing a preverbal focused constituent in the first case. This is observed in constructions like 'it is who that is arriving?' (i.e. 'who is arriving?').

Second, in every example below, the final element of the sentence, be it the interrogative or another word, is optionally uttered with an interrogative intonation pattern. This means that a high tone might be marked or not on the final syllable of the sentence.

10.2.1   Independent interrogatives

10.2.1.1   *aani* 'who'

The interrogative *aani* 'who' can appear as a plain interrogative after a conjoint verb form (10.41), or it can occur in a (pseudo)cleft construction, in which it always follows a copula with a class 2 agreement (10.42).

(10.41)   CJ form + *aani*

    b. *omooní aaní okápééla membees' ábâno ?*   {elic.}

          o-**mu**-on-ilé   aaní   o-kápééla   membeesi   ábâ=no

          2SG-OM1-see-PFV.CJ   who   17-9a.church 4.morning 2.DEM.I=INT

          'who (cl.1) did you see at the church this morning ?'

    a. *Osáńzáya mwánáku onaápíyela aani ?*   {elic.}

          osáńzáya   mwánáku   o-ni-**á**-píy-el-a   aani

          osanzaya   1.chicken   1-IPFV.CJ-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi   who

          'who is Osanzaya cooking the chicken for ?'

(10.42) Copula + *aani* in (pseudo)cleft construction

    a. *ba aaní óm̀váhílééwé síkáléta ?*   {elic.}

    ba   aani   [o-**mu**-váh-ilé = éwé   síkáléta]_{REL}

    2.COP   who   1-OM1-give-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO   9a.bicycle

    'whom did you give the bicycle to ?'

    b. *ba aaní waapéréngezel' osáńzáyá manúvuru, ayimá óbe ábáaba ?*   {elic.}

    ba   aani   [o-**a**-péréngez-el-e   O.   manúvuru]_{REL}   ayimá   óbe ábáabá

    2.COP   who   1-OM2-send-APPL-PFV.CJ   O.   6.book   2.child.PL   or   2.parent

    'whom did Osanzaya send the books to: the children or the parents?'

In both (10.41) and (10.42) the interrogative *aani* queries the object and the beneficiary of the verb. As already developed in section 9.1, object agreement occurs on the verb whenever it belongs to class 1 as in (10.41)a and (10.42)a or class 2 as in (10.41)b and (10.42)b. Regarding subject agreement on the verb, conjoint forms (10.41) always agree with the logical subject, whereas relativised verbs (10.42), as free relatives, have no referent in the clause, and thus agree by default in singular class 1 or plural class 2. As already seen in section 10.1.3 above in non-subject relative constructions, their logical subject is moved postverbally. The reason why these cleft sentences make use of the class 2 copula *ba*, rather than class 1 copula *ddi* is unclear. It seems that the singular/plural distinction has been semantically neutralised in favour of the plural copular form *ba*, without requiring a plural agreement on the relativised verb, which exhibits by default a class 1 agreement, as seen in (10.42). Still, class 2 agreement on the verb is possible in case the awaited subject of the answer is contextually known to be plural. An example of plural agreement is provided below in (10.43)b.

Interestingly, there is a subject/object asymmetry with respect to the position of the interrogative word. *aani* cannot question an agent (or subject) function when it is used with conjoint constructions, as illustrated in (10.43)a and (10.44)a. Instead, it must be used with a copula in a cleft + relative construction, as seen in (10.43)b and (10.44)b.

(10.43) a. **osíkóóla ońdhówá aaní ? ba ánâga*   {elic.}

    o-síkóóla   o-ní-dhówá   **aani**   ba   ánâga

    17-9a.school   17-IPFV.CJ-go   who   2.COP   2.child.POSS.1SG

    Intd. 'who is going to school? my children'

    b. *ba aaní ańdhówá osíkóól' eéji ? ba ánâga*   {elic.}

    ba   **aani**   [a-ní-dhówá   o-síkóóla]_{REL}   ba   ánâga

    2.COP   who   2-IPFV.CJ-go   17-9a.school   2.COP   2.child.POSS.1SG

    lit. 'it is who the ones who are going to school? these are my children'

(10.44) a. **vatákúlu vagonilé aaní ?*   {elic.}

va-tákúlú   va-gon-ilé   **aani**

16-9a.house   16-sleep-PFV.CJ   who

Intd. 'who slept at home?'

b. *ogónílé vatákúlú ba aaní ?*   {elic.}

[o-gón-ílé   va-tákúlú]_{REL}   **ba**   **aani**

1-sleep-PFV.REL   16-9a.house   2.COP   who

lit. 'the one who slept at home, it is who?'

The two following examples are extracted from narratives.

(10.45) *kamuttíddíle ba aaní omújíle naámbêdde*   {ddingí.27}

ka-mu-ttídd-íle   **ba**   **aani**   [o-mú-j-íle   naámbêdde]_{REL}

NEG.2-OM1-catch-PFV   2.COP   who   1-OM1-eat-PFV.REL   1a.maize

'they did not find out who ate the maize'

(10.46) *míyó na Ddóólrínddo okoddéĺlé ba aani ?*   {ddoo.5}

míyó   na   D.   [o-koddél-ílé]_{REL}   **ba**   **aani**

1SG.PRO and   D.   1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL   2.COP   who

'who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoolrinddo?'

Both these examples are interesting in that they show that the cleft interrogative can either introduce the relative clause (10.45) or follow the relative clause on its right edge (10.46). It is not the case for conjoint *wh*-questions, in which the interrogative always follows the conjoint verb form, as can be seen in the preceding examples in (10.41).

Note that the combination of the interrogative *aani* with the cleft construction is far more attested than with the conjoint verb.

aani is also used after a copula amalgamated with the connective in order to question belonging, usually expressed by 'whose' in English.

(10.47) *ñgóm' ééji ja aani ? ja mwíímélêli*   {elic.}

ñgóma éji   **ji-a**   **aani**   ji-a   mwíímélêli

9a.drum 9.DEM.I 9.COP-CON   who   9.COP-CON   1.chief

'whose drum is this? it is the chief's'

(10.48) *mwáán' óddú dda aani ?*   {elic.}

mwááná óddú   **ddi-a**   **aani**

1.child   1.DEM.I   1.COP-CON   who

'whose child is this? it is mine'

Although the main function of *aani* is to question about a person, it can be found after an enumeration of persons or characters, with the meaning of *et cetera*.

(10.49) *eetéén' aánéénám' eetéén' apóddógom' aanyaárúgwe aaní,*   {ddingí.10}
         ééloómperesegíri

a-eté = éne	áná-énáma	a-eté = éne	apóddógoma	anyárúgwe	**aaní**
2-all = INT	2.child-9.animal	2-all = INT	2.lion	2.leopard	who

a-á-íla-ó-mú-peresegíri
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-chase

'every animal, all of them, lions, leopards, etc were chasing him'

(10.50) *poddógóma, nyárúgwe, mútúlú, ápáaká, bá aaní*   {ddingí.16}

poddógóma	nyárúgwe	mútúlú	ápáaká	**bá**	**aani**
1a.lion	1a.leopard	3.mongoose	2a.cat	2.COP	who

'lion, leopard, mongoose, cats, etc'

10.2.1.2   *=ni* 'what'

The interrogative *=ni* 'what' has the same distribution as *aani* 'who', except that it usually does not appear as a plain interrogative, but gets cliticised to the conjoint verb form (10.51), triggering lengthening of the preceding vowel. When used in a cleft construction, the form used is *cííni* (10.52).

(10.51) CJ form + *=ni*

áléddo aaguleléení ámúdhaáwa ?   {elic.}

áléddo	a-a-gul-el-é = **ní**	ámúdhi = áwa
2.visitors	2-OM2-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ = what	2.parent = POSS.3PL

'what did the visitors buy for their families ?'

(10.52) COP + *-ni* in (pseudo)cleft construction

cííní dhaagúlêle áléddo ámúdhaáwa ?   {elic.}

cííní	[dhi-a-gúl-êl-e	áléddo	ámúdhi = áwa]$_{REL}$
7.COP.what	10-OM2-give-APPL-PFV.REL	2.visitors	2.parent = POSS.3PL

'what did the visitors buy for their families ?'

Note that no copula in Cuwabo has the form *ci*. This means that synchronically *cííni* should be considered as a *portemanteau*, amalgamating a copula and the interrogative for 'what'. If we have a closer look at the morphology of this interrogative word, we can infer that it is historically built upon the constituents *ci* (presumably an old form of the class 7/9

copula *ji*) and *eni* 'what'. As a synchronic segmentation of *cííni* is not possible, it is glossed as '7.COP.what' throughout this work. More examples extracted from narratives are given in (10.53).

(10.53) Cleft *wh*-question in 'what' > *cííni*

a. *yuubúwéle íyééne cííni ?* {maria.16}

[e-ubúwél-e   íyééne]_{REL} **cííni**

9-think.APPL-PFV.REL 3SG.PRO   7.COP.what

'what is it she thought?'

b. *cíín' íìm̀páddûwa ?* {maria.75}

cííní   [e-ni-páddûwa]_{REL}

7.COP.what 9-IPFV.CJ-happen

'what is happening?'

Regarding the cliticised =*ni*, my main consultant claims that it should be considered as a plain and independent form, namely *eni*, which then coalesces with the final vowel of the preceding verb form. This is a satisfactory account when the final vowel is -*e*, hence a long [ee] output as shown in (10.51), which conforms to the hiatus resolution of an identical vowel sequence. Still, when the final vowel is -*a*, examples in (10.54) show that the output is a long [aa], while we would expect a long [ee] on the post-lexical level ([a + e] → [ee], see section 2.4.1). I do not deny the fact the =*ni* is originally derived from *eni*, but I just hypothesise that the interrogative loses its agreement prefix *e*- when it gets cliticised to a verb.

(10.54) a. *om̀fúnááni ?*   {maria.39}

o-ní-fúná = **ni**

2-IPFV.CJ-want = what

'what do you want ?'

b. *nyúwó mum̀fúnááni ?*   {maria.177}

nyúwó   mu-ní-fúná = **ni**

2PL.PRO   2PL-IPFV.CJ-want = what

'what do you want ?'

More non-elicited examples of the construction CJ verb + =*ni* are presented in examples (10.55) and (10.56). Interestingly, in the second, =*ni* follows another clitic, namely the class 17 locative clitic =*wo*.

(10.55) *múlóbwan' oóĺl' uubuwelééni ?*   {maria.131}

múlóbwana   óĺle   o-ubuwel-é = **ni**

1.man   1.DEM.III   1-think.APPL-PFV.CJ = what

'what did that man think about ?'

(10.56) *nyúwó eelí [...], odhúlú ókó muńlógáwóoní ?*   {body.6}

nyúwó   a-ilí   odhúlú   ókó   mu-ní-lógá = wó = **ni**

2PL.PRO   2-two   17.top   17.DEM.II   2PL-IPFV.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what

'you two, what are you talking about up there?'

We saw in section 10.2.1.1 that *aani* 'who' functions more with the cleft construction than with the conjoint verb form. =*ni* functions differently as it seems equally distributed in both constructions.

When both the applicative extension and the =*ni* clitics are added to the conjoint verb, the question may deal with the reasons of an event, and can be translated as 'for what' or 'why', as shown from (10.57) to (10.59).

(10.57) *ońjélááni ?*   {elic.}
     o-ní-j-él-á=**ni**
     2SG-IPFV.CJ-eat-APPL-Fi=what
     'why are you eating?'

(10.58) *ttíttítt' uúnóddúkuwéla ttíttítt' uńddúkuweÌlécéeni ?*   {páaká.18}
     ttíttíttí ó-ní-ó-ddí-kuwéla   ttíttíttí   o-ní-ddí-kuwel-el-éc-á=**ni**
     IDEO   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-call IDEO   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-APPL-DUR-Fi=what
     'Again and again he is calling me, but why is he calling me?'

(10.59) *[...] aakal' olóóbwín' óobwína muúńshateyaaréléeni ?"*   {ddoo.30}
     akala   o-lé-óbwíná   o-hi-bwína   muú-ní-shateyaar-él-á=**ni**
     if   1-CE-15.sink   1-PFV.DJ-sink   2PL.OM1SG-IPFV.CJ-bother-APPL-Fi=what
     '[...] if she sank, she sank, why are you bothering me!"

An alternative strategy for reason questions makes use of the Portuguese loan *para* with the clitics =*ni*. The distribution of this question word is less strict: it may be separated from the verb by a modifier (10.60)a, and it is not restricted to conjoint verb forms (10.60)b.

(10.60) a. *ońjá weeká párani ?*   {body.5}
       o-ní-já   weeká   **pára**=**ni**
       2SG-IPFV.CJ-eat   2SG.alone   for=what
       'why do eat on your own?'

      b. *onoójá weeká párani ?*   {elic. from body.5}
       o-ni-ójá   weeká   **pára**=**ni**
       2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat   2SG.alone   for=what
       'why are you going to eat on your own?'

If =*ni* is added to a conjoint form of the verb *ódha* 'come', with a locative subject marker, the question may ask for the origin of something, translated by 'where … from' in English.

(10.61) *pévo énóvúdhééla. nyúwó munózíw' óóńdáaní: ?*   {elic.}

pévo   é-ni-óvúdhééla   nyúwó   mu-ni-ózíwá   ó-ní-dhá = **ni**

9a.wind   9-IPFV.DJ-15.blow   2.RESP.PRO   2.RESP-IPFV.DJ-15.know   17-IPFV.CJ-come = what

'The wind is blowing. Do you know where it comes from?'

Note that =*ni* can also be added to the preposition *nínga* 'like', as shown in (10.62).

(10.62) *mázámwa aǹzíva níngáani ? kaddinájâga*   {semi-elic.}

mázámwa   a-ni-zíva   **níngâ = ni**   ka-ddi-ná-j-âg-a

6.coco.germ   6-IPFV.CJ-be.tasty   as = what   NEG-1SG-CE-eat-HAB-Fi

'how does coconut's germ taste? I have never eaten (some)'

Finally, *cííni* can be used predicatively in non-verbal sentences to express wondering like 'what is it?' or 'what is wrong', as illustrated in (10.63).

(10.63) *mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóbódhaye kadhívo: "ci! haaaa! cííni?"*   {maria.168}

mwáádhí = ye   kaá = vo   ánááye   kaá = vo

1.wife = POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC   2.child.POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.2 = 16.LOC

dhoóbó = dhaye   kadhí = vo   ci   haa   **cííni**

10.furniture = 10.POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC   INTER   INTER   7.COP.what

'His wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here. "[excl.] What is it?"'

Along with the clitic =*ni*, the interrogative *sabwaani* 'why' figures as a strategy to question the reason of something, although it is rarely attested. It is built upon the class 9 noun *sábwa* 'reason, cause', which underwent Predicative Lowering, and to which the aforementioned clitic =*ni* 'what' is suffixed, triggering a vowel lengthening of the stem final vowel. A literal translation in English would give 'it is the reason what'. Note that in the rest of this work, I gloss *sabwa* by 'because', since it mainly functions as a conjunction (see section 7.6.2.6).

(10.64) *sabwaaní: éńlébíiwe?*   {elic.}

sabwa = ní   [é-ní-lébá = iwe]_REL

9.reason.PL = what   9-IPFV.CJ-write = 2SG.PRO

'why are you writing?'

10.2.1.3 *uuvi* 'where'

The same happens when enquiring after a place, with the interrogative *uuvi* 'where', which is attested either in full form after a CJ verb form (10.65), or in a copular construction within a cleft (10.66).

(10.65) CJ form + *uuvi*

    a. *Maríya niívúr' uudhilená ᵂúuvi ?*   {elic.}

        maríya   niívúru   o-dh-ile=ná   úuvi

        maria   5.book   1-come-PFV.CJ=COM   where

        'where did maria get this book ?'

    b. *ddaahígúlihi mafugi, koóbílri y' oógúl' óóba ddináádhéna ᵂuuvi?*   {semi-elic.}

        ddi-a-hí-gúlih-i   mafugi   koóbílri   ya   ógúlá   óba

        1SG-SIT-NEG-sell-NEG   6.banana.PL   9a.money   9.CON   15.buy   14.fish

        ddi-náá-dh-é=na   uuvi

        1SG-FUT.CJ-come-IRR=COM   where

        'If I do not sell bananas, where will I find money to buy fish?'

(10.66) Copula + *uuvi* in cleft construction

    ku uuví odhílená Maríya niívûru ?   {elic.}

    ku   uuví   [o-dh-íle=ná   maríya   niívûru]ᵣₑₗ

    17.COP   where   17-come-PFV.REL=COM   maria   5.book

    'where did mary get this book ?'

As seen in (10.65), an epenthetic labialised glide [w] can be freely inserted between the verb final vowel and *uuvi*.

Other examples extracted from stories are provided in (10.67) for conjoint constructions. (Pseudo)cleft constructions are less common and none was found. Example in (10.68) was produced from elicitation.

(10.67) CJ *wh*-question in 'where' > *uuvi*

    muúzík' oóbw' óoǹzívá dhaáyi, oǹdá uuvi ?   {ddingí.13}

    muúzíka   óbó   [o-ni-zívá   dhaáyi]ᵣₑₗ   o-ní-dhá   uuvi

    3.music   3.DEM.II   3-IPFV.CJ-be.nice   like.this.I   3-IPFV.CJ-come   where

    'such beautiful music, where does it come from?'

(10.68) Cleft *wh*-question in 'where' > *ku uuvi*

  a. *ku uuv' úúttáwêle mbúz' îîso ?*   {elic.}

ku	uuvi	[o-ttáw-êl-e	mbúzí	éso]_{REL}

   ku   uuvi   [o-ttáw-êl-e   mbúzí   éso]_{REL}
   17.COP   where   17-flee-APPL-PFV.REL   4.goat   4.DEM.II

   'where did these goats flee ?'

  b. *ku uuví ońdhówá áyím' aábó araarú ?*   {elic.}

   ku   uuvi   [o-ní-dhowa   áyíma   ábó   a-raarú]_{REL}
   17.COP   where   17-IPFV.CJ-go   2.child   2.DEM.II 2-three

   'where are these three kids going ?'

As expected, the (pseudo)cleft construction with *k' uuvi* as the head element of the sentence implies that the following relativised verb agrees in class 17, in accordance with the copula *ku*.

   In addition to conjoint verb forms, *uuvi* is also attested with the subjunctive.

(10.69) *baahito ddidhów' úuvi ?*   {maria.57}

   baayí=tó   ddi-dhów-é   uuvi
   enough=then   1SG-go-SBJ   where

   'but then, where shall I go?'

   In my database, the interrogative *uuvi* is very often attested after the defective verb *-lí* 'to be' (10.70), in which case its form can be shortened on the surface, as shown in (10.70)c.

(10.70) a. *míím' óol' úuví ?*   {ddoo.29}

   míímá   o-lí   uuvi
   1.child   1-be   where

   'where is the child?'

  b. *al' úuví álóbwana ańfúná olába ?*   {elic.}

   a-lí   úuvi   álóbwana   [a-ní-fúná   olába]_{REL}
   2-be   where   2.man   2-IPFV.CJ-want   15.work

   'where are the men who wanted to work?'

  c. *Maríyá agaañgáná : "mééyá ddilú ?"*   {maria.124}

   Maríyá   a-gaa-añgáná   míyó=yá   ddi-lí   uuvi
   Maria   1-SIT-look   1SG.PRO=DEF   1SG-be   where

   'Maria, when she looked : Where am I ?'

  d. *ńzáyina nigûĺlééwe nilí (w)uuví ?*   {elic.}

   ńzáyi=na   [ni-gúl-ilé=éwe]_{REL}   ni-lí   uuví
   5.egg=5.DEF   5-buy-PFV.REL=2SG.PRO   5-be   where

   'the egg you bought, where is it?'

10.2.1.4   *dhaavi* 'how'

The invariable *dhaavi* 'how' is a manner interrogative, which investigates in which way something is done (10.71). It is always found in final position.

(10.71)   a. *oṁbáálá dháaví ?*   {páaká.17}
      o-ní-báálá   **dháavi**
      1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth   how
      'how does it give birth?'

   b. *muńzíwá: dháav' íílá míyó ddili maríya ?*   {maria.39}
      mu-ní-zíwá   **dháavi**   wíílá   míyó   ddi-li   maríya
      2RESP-IPFV.CJ-know   how   CMP   1SG.PRO   1SG-be   maria
      'how do you know I am maria?'

   c. *kabál' óôgwaddilé dháavi ? na ṁbêni*   {elic.}
      kabálá   o-gwadd-ilé   **dháavi**   na   ṁbêni
      9a.rope   2SG-cut-PFV.CJ   how   with   3.knife
      'how did you cut the rope? with a knife'

dháavi 'how' also questions the state of a person is (10.72).

(10.72)   a. *kí dhaáyí ṁnáákálé dhaavi ?*   {maria.18}
      kí   dhaáyí   ni-náá-kál-é   **dhaavi**
      EMPH   like.this.I   1PL-FUT.CJ-be-IRR   how
      'how will I be then?'

   b. *nyúwó mulí dháaví ?*   {elic.}
      nyúwó   mu-lí   **dháavi**
      2RESP.PRO   2RESP-be   how
      'how are you?'

No cleft usage was found in my database. It then seems that *dhaavi* exclusively occurs after conjoint verb forms, as well as with subjunctive (10.73).

(10.73)   *ddikósé dhaavi ?*   {maria.56}
      ddi-kós-é   **dhaavi**
      1SG-do-SBJ   how
      'How/What shall I do?'

As already seen in (10.69) with the interrogative *uuvi*, (10.73) seems to confirm that the independent interrogatives can function with subjunctive verb forms.

Strangely enough, *dhaavi* happens to occur with a disjoint verb form (10.74), contradicting this assumption that independent interrogatives only function with conjoint forms. It is however difficult to account for the sentence in (10.74), since it is the only one attested in my entire database.

(10.74) Disjoint present + dhaavi

ónótelá	*dháav' oó kudhówíl' oók' óóváneéne ?*				{maria.110}
ó-ni-ótelá	**dháavi**	wéyo	ku-dhów-íle	ókú	óváne＝éne
2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.marry	how	2SG.PRO	NEG.2SG-go-PFV	17.DEM.I	now＝INT

'How are you possibly marrying? Have you not just left (right now)?'

To ask for a price, *dhaavi* can be used (after conjoint constructions) with the meaning of 'how much'.

(10.75) a. *muńgúliha dhaaví máfûgi ?*   {elic.}

mu-ní-gúliha	**dhaavi**	máfûgi
2RESP-IPFV.CJ-sell	how	6.banana

'how much are the bananas?'

b. *ńzáyi ńttó níñgóóno nińgúlúwa dhaavi ?*   {elic.}

ńzáyi	ńttó	ní-ñgóóno	ni-ní-gúl-úw-a	**dhaavi**
5.egg	5.DEM.II	5-little	5-IPFV.CJ-buy-PASS-Fi	how

'how much does this little egg cost?'

dhaavi can also be used in verbless sentences, to ask for someone's state as shown in (10.76), which is another formulation of (10.72)b.

(10.76) *égúmi ényu dháâvi ?*   {elic.}

égúmi	ényu	**dháâvi**
9.health	9.POSS.2RESP	how

'how are you?'

10.2.2 Modifying interrogatives

10.2.2.1 Invariable *gaani* 'which, what kind of'

The invariable *gaani* 'which/what kind of' always follows the head noun.

(10.77) *kanákósiwaga nng' eesééné ; k' ííyó ddabunó gári gan' iíji ?*   {maria.84}

ka-ná-kós-iw-ag-a	nínga	esí = éné
NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi	like	10.DEM.I = INT

kí	íyó	ddabunó	**gári**	**gaani**	éji
EMPH	1PL.PRO	today	9a.luck	which	9.DEM.I

'things like this have never been done before, and we, today, which luck is this?

(10.78) *"[...] ddinómdhoóláwo mwádhâga." "na míkálelo gaani?"*   {maria.130}

ddi-ni-ó-mú-dhoólá = wo	mwádhâga	na	**míkálelo**	**gaani**
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC	1.wife.POSS.1SG	with	4.way	which

'[...] I will fetch my wife. How/Which way?'

gaani can be used in cleft constructions (10.79), in which case the noun undergoes Predicative Lowering, with the presentative meaning 'it is …' (see section 9.2.1).

(10.79) *muri gaaní ogwáddíle wéyo ?*   {elic.}

muri	**gaani**	[o-gwádd-íle	wéyo]REL
3.tree.PL	which	3-cut-PFV.REL	2SG.PRO

'which tree did you cut?' (lit. 'it is which tree that you cut?')

gaani also appears with conjoint verb forms. In the three following examples, it is used to ask for temporal expressions under the form of 'which'-questions. Head nouns such as *óra* 'hour' (10.80), *nsíku* 'day' (10.81), *múdhîdhi* 'time' (10.82) are recurrently used when asking for a general time.

(10.80) *odhilé óra gaani ?*   {elic.}

o-dh-ilé	**óra**	**gaani**
2SG-go-PFV.CJ	14.hour	which

'when did you come?'

(10.81) *nsíkú gaaní ninááfíye mwáán' óoddo ?*   {elic.}

nsíkú	**gaani**	ni-náá-fîy-e	mwááná	óddo
5.day	which	5-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR	1.child	1.DEM.II

'when is this child coming?'

(10.82) *ofiilé múdhídhi gaani ?*   {elic.}

o-fiy-ilé	**múdhídhi**	**gaani**
2SG-arrive-PFV.CJ	4.time	which

'when did you arrive?'

10.2.2.2 Variable *-ví* 'which one'

The variable interrogative *-ví* is used to design one or more entities out of a defined set of entities. It corresponds to English 'which one', and is thus to be distinguished from *gaani* seen above, which means 'what kind of'.

When the interrogative *-ví* is used with a noun phrase, or pronominally in isolation, it marks agreement with the head noun, whether present or implied, by means of a concordial prefix. In this affixation process, a long bimoraic vowel is systematically produced. The source for this vowel lengthening is not clear, but we may hypothesise that the underlying form of *-ví* is in fact *-ːví*, which would thus have a lengthening effect on the preceding vocalic segment. Due to this ambiguity, I will not try to further segment the different agreeing *-ví* forms into morphemes. The whole paradigm showing the different agreement patterns is given in Table 57.

Table 57   Agreement system on the interrogative *-vi* as a noun modifier or pronoun

	PFX + -ví	Examples	Translation
1	wuuví	káddívahé mwááná! (mwááná) wuuví ?	'give me the child! which (child)?'
2	aaví	káddívahé áyíma! (ááná) aaví ?	'give me the children! which (children)?'
3	wuuví	káddívahé muhóre! (muhóré) wuuví ?	'give me the hen! which (hen)?'
4	dhiiví	káddívahé mihóre! (mihóré) dhiiví ?	'give me the hens! which (hens)?'
5	niiví	káddívahé ńzáyi! (ńzáyi) niiví ?	'give me the egg! which (egg)?'
6	aaví	káddívahé mâzâyi! (mazáyi) aaví ?	'give me the eggs! which (eggs)?'
9	yiiví	káddívahé ehíba! (ehíbá) yiiví ?	'give me the hoe! which (hoe)?'
10	dhiiví	káddívahé dhihíba! (dhihíbá) dhiiví ?	'give me the hoes! which (hoes)?'
14	wuuví	káddívahé olíbo! (olíbó) wuuví ?	'give me the birdlime!which (birdlime)?'

When used with a relative clause, *-vi* is preceded by an agreeing copula, as shown in (9.110), to express literally 'it is which?'. Again, vowel lengthening takes places, and the output form is non-segmentable.

(10.83) a. *ńzáyina nigûl̀ééwe ttiiví ?*   {elic.}

        ńzáyi = na   [ni-gúl-ilé = éwe]_{REL}   **ttiiví**

        5.egg = 5.DEF   5-buy-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO   5.COP.which

        'the egg you bought, which one is it?'

      b. *mwa mázáy' aábo, baaví eeyíwé na nówa ?*   {elic.}

        mwa   mázáyi ábo   **baaví**   [a-ey-íw-é   na   nówa]_{REL}

        18.CON 6.egg   6.DEM.II 6.COP.which 6-steal-PASS-PFV.REL by 9a.snake

        'which of these eggs were stolen by the snake?'

The full paradigm of -*vi* used in copular constructions is provided and exemplified in Table 58.

Table 58   Agreement system on the interrogative -*vi* in copular constructions

NC	COp + -ví	Examples	Translation
1	dduuví	dduuví mwánáku omugûĺlééwe ?	'which one is the chicken you bought?'
2	baaví	baaví ánáku aagûĺlééwe ?	'which ones are the chicken you bought?'
3	buuví	buuví múrí ogûĺlééwe ?	'which one is the tree you bought?'
4	siiví	siiví mírí dhigûĺlééwe ?	'which ones are the trees you bought?'
5	ttiiví	ttiiví ńzáyi nigûĺlééwe ?	'which one is the egg you bought?'
6	baaní	baaví mázáyi agûĺlééwe ?	'which ones are the eggs you bought?'
9	jiiví	jiiví ehíbá egûĺlééwe ?	'which one is the hoe you bought?'
10	siiví	siiví dhiíbá dhigûĺlééwe ?	'which ones are the hoes you bought?'
14	buuví	buuví olíbó ogûĺlééwe ?	'which one is the birdlime you bought?'

10.2.2.3 Variable -*ngaasi* 'how many'

-*ngaasi* 'how many' is the only interrogative which behaves like an adjective and takes a noun class agreement (10.84), except for class 10 (10.85). The same invariant form for class 10 is found in Makhuwa with the form *kavi*, and van der Wal explains it as "a reflex of an earlier form with prenasalisation" (Van der Wal 2009: 62).

Two tone patterns are attested, which differ according to my consultants: a toneless pattern -*ngaasi*, with a possible prosodic rising of the last mora, and a High tone pattern -*ngáási*. Note that the H pattern is only (but systematically) found with my consultant Fransisco (noted 'fd' after the source reference).

(10.84) a. *ogûĺlé: mábíla mangáási ?*   {elic.fd}

      o-gul-ilé   **mábíla**   **ma-ngáási**

      2SG-buy-PFV.CJ   6.lamb   6-how.many

      'how many lambs did you buy?'

     b. *mírí mingaasí dhigwáddilééwe ?*   {elic.}

      mírí   **mi-ngaasi**   [dhi-gwádd-ilé = éwe]$_{REL}$

      4.tree   4-how.many   4-cut-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO

      'how many trees did you cut?'

(10.85) a. *oba ngáásí dhimágílééwe ?*   {elic.fd}

      oba   **ngáási**   [dhi-mág-ílé = éwe]

      10a.fish   10.how.many   10-tie-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO

      'how many fish did you catch?'

b. *kúgúlu ngaasí dhilí ḿba ḿpo ?*   {elic.}

    kúgúlu   **ngaasi**   dhi-lí   ḿba   ḿpo

    10a.bed   10.how.many 10-be   18.inside 18.DEM.II

    'how many beds are there in the house?'

-ngaasi can be used anaphorically as a free pronoun, always preceding a cleft construction.

(10.86)   *aneéddéyaná ángaasí ?*   {elic.}

      a-ni-éddéyana   **a-ngaasi**

      2-IPFV.CJ-be.honest   2-how.many

      'how many are really honest?'

-ngaasi also serves to question mass nouns. Compare the relative construction in (10.87)a, pronounced by Guilherme, with the conjoint construction in (10.87)b, pronounced by Fransisco.

(10.87) a. *máánjé mangaasí eekíléewé m̀bíyâni ?*   {elic.gmr}

      máánjé   **ma-ngaasí**   [a-ik-ílé=ewé   mu-bíyâ=ni]_{REL}

      6.water   6-how.much   6-put-PFV.REL=2SG.PRO   18-9a.stove=LOC

      'how much water did you pour in the stove?' (lit. 'how much water that you put in the stove?)

      b. *wiikilémo máánjé mangáási m̀bíyâni ?*   {elic.fd}

      o-ik-ílé=mo   **máánjé**   **ma-ngáási**   mu-bíyâ=ni

      2SG-put-PFV.CJ=18.LOC   6.water   6-how.much   18-9a.stove=LOC

      'how much water did you pour in the stove?' (lit. 'you put how much water in the stove?')

Remember that 'how much' dealing with the price of something is formed with the interrogative *dháavi* 'how', as already shown in section 10.2.1.4 above.

11

Constituent order and information structure

We saw in chapter 9 that constituent order is part of the properties which allow coding and determining grammatical relations. But whereas more emphasis was given to co-indexation marking and behavioural properties, in this chapter I return in more detail to the question of constituent order and the implications it may have on the information structure in discourse. Although the canonical word order is SVO, modifications among the sentence unit may occur, involving a dislocation of a word or a subset of words in a non-canonical position. Such a variation in constituent order is in fact motivated by information structure, in licensing different discourse-pragmatic functions like topic and focus. A topic is a discourse element upon which a comment is made. A topic may be conditioned by i) the shared knowledge among the interlocutors, ii) the context (aforementioned elements); iii) the properties toward topicality that certain nouns inherently carry or obtain as a result of their semantic role: thus the humans (inherent feature) and the agents are more commonly used as topics than non-humans and patients. On the other hand, a focused element carries a more salient informational value. Both the notions of 'topic' and 'focus', whose aforementioned definitions mostly stem from Givón (2001b: 277) and Creissels (2006b: chapter 28), will be

repeatedly used throughout this chapter, since their position in the sentence is strongly conditioned.

Sections 11.1 and 11.2 look into the preverbal and postverbal domains and examine the properties of their constitutive elements. It will be shown that the preverbal domain is tied to topicality whereas the postverbal domain comprises non-topical constituents. Importantly, constituent order is not the only means of encoding information structure. Specific verbal morphology (known as the conjoint/disjoint alternation) also conveys informational content. An analysis of the formal and interpretational properties of the conjoint/disjoint alternation is proposed in section 11.3.

Note that in many respects, word order and information structure in Cuwabo are similar with Makhuwa. The structure of this chapter is thus much inspired from van der Wal (2009: chapters 4 and 5). Still, as an exhaustive study of the communicative function of constituent order is beyond the scope of this study, the present analysis should be considered as preliminary. Further note that the discussion will basically focus on simple clauses.

11.1   The preverbal domain

This section presents an overview of the elements that may occur in the preverbal domain in Cuwabo, in term of their syntactic properties, their informational interpretations, and the principles which determine their occurrence. Note that the term "preverbal" is used here to refer to the linear order of the elements in a sentence. After exploring the possible positioning of subjects, objects and adjuncts, I report four syntactically different types of preverbal elements: (non-dislocated) preverbal subjects (section 11.1.2), left-dislocated objects (section 11.1.3), locative inversion (section 11.1.3.3) and scene-setting elements (section 11.1.5). These four preverbal elements all share the impossibility of having a focus function (section 11.1.1), which represents a broadly attested constraint in Bantu (Morimoto 2006, among others). Still, they have different syntactic, interpretational, and prosodic properties that will be exposed throughout the present section. I will also discuss the possible combinations in case two topic elements precede the verb (section 11.1.6). Whenever relevant, I will draw up comparisons with the preverbal domain elements in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009).

11.1.1   A domain for topicality

Cuwabo, like many Bantu languages (Morimoto 2000, van der Wal 2009, among others), does not tolerate preverbal focal constituents. As a matter of fact, the fronting of topics is generally considered as a pragmatic universal (Givón 2001b). This constraint is well illustrated by *wh*-elements, assumed to be inherently focused, which are banned from the preverbal position. This is first seen with the ungrammatical subject *wh*-question (11.1)a and answer (11.1)b, where the focused subject cannot appear in its canonical preverbal position. As already discussed in section 10.2.1, subject *wh*-questions require a cleft construction introduced by a copula in both question (11.2)b and answer (11.2)b.

(11.1)   a. **aaní oṁpiyilé ṁbíyâni ?*   {elic.}

          aani   o-mu-piy-ilé   mú-bíyâ=ni

          who   1-OM1-cook-PFV.CJ   18-9a.stove=LOC

          'WHO cooked in this stove?'

      b. **Maríyá oṁpiyilé ṁbíyâni*   {elic.}

          maríyá   o-mu-piy-ilé   mú-bíyâ=ni

          maria   1-OM1-cook-PFV.CJ   18-9a.stove=LOC

          'MARIA cooked in the stove'

(11.2)   a. *ba aani oṁpíyílé ṁbíyâni ?*   {elic.}

          ba   aani   [o-mu-píy-ílé   mú-bíyâ=ni]_{REL}

          2.COP who   1-OM1-cook-PFV.REL 18-9a.stove=LOC

          'WHO cooked in this stove?' (lit. 'it is who the one who cooked…')

      b. *ddi Maríyá oṁpíyílé ṁbíyâni*   {elic.}

          ddi   maríyá   [o-mu-píy-ílé   mú-bíyâ=ni]_{REL}

          1.COP maria   1-OM1-cook-PFV.REL 18-9a.stove=LOC

          'it is MARIA who cooked in the stove'

Note however that the sentence in (11.1)a is a correct answer the question 'within which device did Maria cook?', which confirms the postverbal position of focus in Cuwabo (see section 11.3.3 below).

Other examples of questions whereby the *wh*-element is barred from the preverbal domain are provided below.

(11.3) a. **aaní omooní okápééla membeés' ááбâːno ?*   {elic.}

         aaní   o-mu-on-íle   o-kápééla   membeésí   áбâ＝no

         who   2SG-OM1-see-PFV.CJ   17-9a.church   4.morning.PL   2.DEM.I＝PROX

         'who did you see at the church this morning?'

     b. ► *omooní aaní okápééla membees' ááбâːno?*

(11.4) a. **úuví oguÌlé mákarā ?*   {elic.}

         úuví   o-gul-ilé   mákará

         where   2SG-buy-PFV.CJ   6.charcoal

         int. 'where did you buy the charcoal?'

     b. ► *oguÌlé úuví mákarā ?*

As expected, the answer such *wh*-questions, which constitute new information and thus necessarily acquire a focus interpretation, cannot be preposed to the verb, as illustrated in (11.5).

(11.5) a. Question:

         áléddo aaguleléení ámúdhaáwa?   {elic.}

         áléddo   a-a-gul-el-é＝ní   ámúdháwa

         2.visitors   2-OM2-give-APPL-PFV.CJ＝what   2.relative.POSS.3PL

         'what did the visitors buy for their families?'

     b. Answer:

         **dhaábálo áléddo aagulelé ámúdh' aáwa*   {elic.}

         dhaábálo   áléddo   a-a-gul-el-é   ámúdháwa

         10.cloth   2.visitors   2-OM2-buy-APPL-PFVF.CJ   2.relative.POSS.3PL

         'the visitors bought clothing for their families'

         ► *áléddo aagulelé dháabalo ámúdh' aáwa* (with PL on *dhaábálo*)

The only case where an object may occur preverbally is when it answers a yes/no question, as in (11.6), but in this case, the object is not considered as a focus. See section 11.1.3 below for a discussion of preverbal objects.

(11.6) *k' áápó ńzínán' uúńvahá ?*   {páaká.11}

         kí   ápó   ńzíná＝na   o-hí-mú-vahá

         EMPH   16.DEM.I   5.noun＝5.DEF   2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give

         'and then, the name, did you give him?

         sí, ńzínáne, ddiíńvahá   {elic. from páaká.11}

         sí   ńzíná＝ne   ddi-hí-mú-vahá

         yes   5.noun＝5.POSS.3SG   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give

         'Yes, his name, I gave him'

Thus, the focalised elements which answer *wh*-questions necessarily appear in their canonical position, i.e. after the verb for the objects and locative or temporal adjuncts. The only exception concerns subject *wh*-questions, which invariably appear in cleft constructions, as seen above.

All the aforementioned examples show that the preverbal domain cannot host focused elements, but is instead reserved for topicalisation. The following subsections explore the different elements that can be topicalised by reaching the preverbal domain.

11.1.2   Preverbal subjects

As previously seen in section 11.1.1, a focused subject is always introduced by means of a copular or inverted construction (see thetic sentences in section 11.2.2 below). This means that preverbal subjects function in the sentence as topics. In this position, they necessarily manifest certain properties which are developed in turn.

A first interesting characteristic of preverbal subjects is their tendency toward definiteness or specificity. In the locative inversion in (11.7)a, the logical subject *foloóri* 'flower' appears postverbally, and assumes a focus interpretation (confirmed by predicative lowering) as new element in the story. In the next sentence (11.7)b, the flower is henceforth a known element in the discourse, assuming a topic function in the preverbal domain, with an anaphoric reading confirmed by the use of a demonstrative.

(11.7)   *vattólóní vâmeìlé foloóri énddímúwá [vaddíddí y' oókóddéla vaddíddi.]*   {ddoo.23}
   fólóór' iíjíl' ookomesáári wííbā

    a. va-ttóló=ní   vá-mel-ilé   foloóri   é-nddímúwá   ...
       16-well=LOC   16-blossom-PFV.CJ   9a.flower.PL   9-big

    b. **fólóóri**   **éjíle**   o-komesáári   wííbā
       9a.flower   9.DEM.III   NAR-start   15.sing

    'Then, there at the well, a very big [and very beautiful flower blossomed.] That flower began to sing'

Definiteness is further illustrated by definite enclitics (11.8), possessives (11.9), and even combinations of definite enclitics + demonstratives (11.10)a, or definite enclitics + possessives (11.10)b.

(11.8)   *íyéénéyá mwáán' óólle kaalóga*   {mute.2}

    íyééné = yá   mwááná   óĺle   ka-á-lóga

    3SG.PRO = DEF   1.child   1.DEM.III   NEG.1-PST.IPFV-speak

    'she, that child, did not speak'

(11.9)   *mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóbódhaye kadhívo*   {maria.168}

    mwáádhí = ye   kaá = vo   **ánááye**   kaá = vo

    1.wife = POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC   2.child.POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.2 = 16.LOC

    dhoóbó = dhaye   kadhí = vo

    10.furniture = 10.POSS.3SG   NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC

    'His wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here.'

(11.10)   *ōk' úúk' waadhowílííh' úulába, múzúgw' ééhuy' oologilé wíí [...]*   {maria.78}

    a. **ōkú = wa**   **óku**   [o-a-dhow-ílé = íhú   olába]_{REL}

       17.DEM.I = 17.DEF   17.DEM.I   17-PST-go-PFV.REL = 1PL.PRO   15.work

    b. **múzúgu**   **wééhu = ya**   o-log-ilé

       1.boss   1.POSS.1PL = DEF   1-say-PFV.CJ

    'there where we have been working, our boss asked [...]'

    Furthermore, noun phrases modified by universal quantifiers are allowed as subjects in the preverbal domain. In (11.11), both subjects *dhááwo* 'belongings' and *másóóso* 'suffering' are modified by the quantifiers *oté = ene* 'all', and in (11.12), *élóbo* 'thing' is modified by *kadda* 'each'.

(11.11)   *dhááwo dhootédhéne ddabunó, māsóóso^w ááw' ootééné ddabunó aamála*   {maria.46}

    dhááwo   **dhi-oté = dhéne**   ddabunó   **māsóóso**   **ááwo**   **a-oté = éne**

       10.POSS.2SG   10-all = 10.INT   today   6.suffering   6.POSS.2SG   6-all = INT

    ddabunó   a-hi-mála

    today   6-PFV.DJ-finish

    'Everthing you have today, all your suffering today is over.'

(11.12)   *kadd' eélóbó eekál' eettongéluwááni*   {body.19}

    kadda **élóbó**   e-hi-kála   [e-ttong-él-uw-é = âni]_{REL}

    each   9.thing   9-PFV.DJ-remain 9-order-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO

    'every part of the body has its function'

    Other nominal modifiers such as relatives (11.13) and connective constructions (11.14) may also participate in the definiteness of the preverbal subject.

(11.13) *múzúgúy' oódd' úńníkosá íyo dhaáyi, ba aani?*   {maria.83}

    múzúgú = ya   **óddú**   **[o-ní-ní-kosá**   **íyo**   **dhaáyi]**REL   **ba**

aani

    1.European = DEF   1.DEM.I   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1PL-do   1PL.PRO   like.this.I   2.COP   who

    'this white person who treats us like this, who is she?'

(11.14) *nyúwó w' ookáánec' oówâli munááwane*   {semi-elic.}

    nyúwó   **wa**   **okáán-ec-a**   **ówâli**   mu-náá-wan-e

    2PL.PRO   1.CON   15.have-DUR-Fi   14.rage   2PL-FUT-fight-PROH

    'you (2pl.) who are so feroce, do not fight!'

Eventually, when definiteness is not overtly specified on the preverbal subject (by one or several of the aforementioned modifiers), the context usually suffices for interpreting it as definite. In (11.15), *múlóbwana* 'man' refers to the main male character in the story and is, as such, inherently definite.

(11.15) *eǹtáwú, múlóbwana oorúméela*   {mbílri.15}

    eǹtáwú   múlóbwana   o-hi-rúméela

    then   1.man   1-PFV.DJ-agree

    'Then, the man accepted'

On the contrary, indefinite or non-specific subjects are not encountered in the preverbal domain, and are considered ungrammatical (11.16)a. Instead they are best attested postverbally (11.16)b in thetic sentences (see section 11.2.2), or are encoded in a biclausal construction involving a relative, as in (11.17).

(11.16) a. *múttú kadhílévó   {elic.}

       múttú   ka-dh-ílé = vó

       1.person   NEG.1-come-PFV = 16.LOC

       'nobody came'

    b. *kadhílévó muttu*

(11.17) *okálá wiíyíle m̀pádd' óoskóóla wééhu*   {elic.}

    o-kálá   [o-íy-íle   m̀páddó   oskóóla   wééhu]REL

    1-be   1-steal-PFV.REL   3.bench   17.school   17.POSS.2PL

    'somebody has stolen a bench from our school' (lit. 'there is who stole...')

We conclude that subjects in Cuwabo are canonically preverbal. As might be expected though, they are not the only elements which can occur in the preverbal domain. In the following subsections, other preverbal constituents such as objects and locative NPs are discussed.

11.1.3   Left-dislocated objects

As suggested by the canonical word order SVO, the object should pertain to the postverbal domain. However, left-dislocation of the object, in which the object appears preverbally and thus has an indirect syntactic relation to the verb, is commonly attested in Cuwabo. It is used to mark topical referents, which have formerly been introduced as a focus. Left-dislocating these objects is a way to bring them back into discourse, often with a contrastive function. Their topic status usually involves an anaphoric reference and thus definite marking (although it is not the case with generic NPs as will be further shown). Two examples are provided below.

(11.18) *namárógol' oóddó kámttiyenī*   {ddingí.25}

      namárógolo   **óddó**   ká-**mú**-ttiy-e＝nī

      1a.hare   1.DEM.II   IMP-OM1-leave-IMP＝PLA

      'leave that hare!'

(11.19) *míyó múyán' óĺle kaǹnímúceeléla, míyó múyán' óóĺle ǹnómútela*   {maria.108}

      míyó   **múyáná**   **óĺle**   ka-ni-ní-**mú**-ceeléla

      1SG.PRO   1.woman   1.DEM.III   NEG-1PL-IPFV-OM1-give.up

      míyó   **múyáná**   **óĺle**   ni-ni-ó-**mú**-tela

      1SG.PRO   1.woman   1.DEM.III   1PL-IPFV-15-OM1-marry

      'Me, that woman, I cannot give her up! Me, that woman, I am going to marry her!'

11.1.3.1   Agreement properties

Certain Bantu languages like Rundi (JD62) allow subject-object reversal, in which a preverbal object determines the subject agreement marker on the verb, while the subject remains postverbal. This is illustrated in (11.20).

(11.20) *ibitabo*   *bi-á-som-ye*   *Yohani*   {Ndayiragije 1999}

      8.book   8-PST-read-PFV   John

      'John read the books' (lit. 'books read John')

      amatá   *y-á-nyôye*   *abâna*

      6.milk   3SG-PST-drink.PFV   2.children

      'Children drank milk' (lit. 'Milk drank children')

Cuwabo does not function like Rundi and does not allow subject-object reversal. As examples (11.18) and (11.19) above show, the SM on the verb always agrees with the

logical subject. Agreement with the preverbal object would be considered ungrammatical in the context of verbal predication. Compare (11.20) and (11.21).

(11.21) *ǹbúgá   e-hi-líma   álóbwana   {elic.}
        9a.rice   9-PFV.DJ-cultivate   2.man
        intd. 'the men cultivated rice'

      ▸ *álóbwana a-hi-líma mbúga*

Another argument in favour of the preserved 'object' status of the left-dislocated objects deals with object marking on the verb. Again, examples (11.18) and (11.19) above show that the argument function of the dislocated objects is respected through object marking on the verb. Remember that such an agreement only concerns class 1/2 objects and persons (11.22).

(11.22) *míyó munóddíziwá: ?*   {maria.86}
        míyó   mu-ni-ó-**ddí**-ziwá
        1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know
        'Do you know me?'

11.1.3.2 Tendency toward definite interpretation

Indefinite objects are in principle ungrammatical in preverbal position, as the following example illustrates.

(11.23) Question: *onowííbá jíbo ?*   {elic.}
              o-ni-ó-íbá   jíbo
              2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-sing   9a.song
              'are you going to sing a song?'

       Answer: *# jíbó, ddinowííbā*   ▸   *ddinowííbā*

Note however that such a sentence would be well accepted in case of contrast between two notions, such as *jíbó, ddinowííbā, ǹbónye músááje, ǹne!*, 'a song, I am going to sing, but not a funeral lament'.

    In most cases, definite or specific modification is needed, such as demonstratives (11.24), definite enclitics (11.25), possessives (11.26), or relatives (11.27).

(11.24) *óba ési ddilóógúlá macíkwi zána*   {semi-elic.}
        óba   **ési**   ddi-lá-ógúlá   ma-cíkwi   zána
        10a.fish   10.DEM.I   1SG-CE-15.buy   6-thousand   hundred
        'I bought this fish for 50 meticais'

(11.25) a. *elóbóyá kalógíle so ónónúkuwéla bááhi*   {maria.79}

       elóbó = yá   ka-lóg-íle   so   ó-ni-ó-ní-kuwéla   bááhi

       9.thing = DEF   NEG.1-say-PFV but   1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call   only

       'she did not say why, she only called us'

     b. *agóra k' áápó ńzínán' uúḿvahá?*   {páaká.11}

       agóra   kí   ápó   **ńzíná = na**   o-hí-mú-vahá

       then   EMPH 16.DEM.I 5.noun = 5.DEF 2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give

       'and then, the name, did you give him?'

(11.26) *bááhi m̀fíyedháán' oókulé: ḿpóǹtáárí ááye mabás' áalógôma*   {maria.149}

       bááhi   [mu-fíy-edh-é = áni   ókulé]_{REL}   ḿpóǹtáári

       only   18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO   17.DEM.III 1.tracker

       áaye   **mabása**   a-lé-ógoma

       6.POSS.3SG   6.work   6-CE-15.finish

       'now that they arrived there, the tracker's work was done'

(11.27) *óĺlééne ojíl' éésáv' iíjíí oneelóómuttidda vénêva*   {mbílri.14}

       óĺlé = éne   [o-j-ílé   **ésávi éjí**]_{REL}   o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-ttidda   vénêva

       1.DEM.III = INT 1-eat-PFV.REL 9.relish 9.DEM.I   1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-catch.PL 16.EDEM.I

       'the very one who ate the caril, it will catch him straight away'

Interestingly, by substituting the demonstrative in (11.24) by an existential modifier, such as the quantifier *vangóno* 'few' in (11.28), the left-dislocated object becomes indefinite and the sentence is ungrammatical.

(11.28) **óba vangónó ddilóógúlá macíkwi zána*   {elic. from (11.24)}

       óba   vangónó   ddi-lé-ógúlá   ma-cíkwi   zána

       10a.fish   few   1sg-CE-15.buy 6-thousand hundred

       'I bought a few fish for 50 meticais'

However, in some cases, it happens that definiteness is not overtly specified on the preverbal object (by one of the aforementioned modifiers). As a matter of fact, the context also functions as a vector of definiteness and may help to interpret the object as definite information, either discourse-old or presumably known from the hearers. In (11.29), *mwámúni* 'husband' in bold is highly accessible by the discourse context, since introduced in the preceding sentence. Being well definite by the context, it does not need further definite modifier.

(11.29) *dhiṅdéeyína dha déréétúdhá [...] mwáádhǐye kaáṁvaha mwámúni,*   {mbílri.9}
         mwámúní | kadhaáṁfiya

[dhi-ní-dá = iyí = na   dha   déréétú = dhá]REL mwáádhí = ye
10-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO = COM   10.CON   good = 10.DEF   1.wife = POSS.3SG

ka-á-mú-vaha   mwámúni   **mwámúni**   ka-dhi-á-mú-fiya
NEG.1-PST-OM1-give   1.husband   1.husband   NEG-10-PST-OM1-arrive

'the good things he brings, [...] his wife did not give them to the husband; to the husband
they did not arrive'

Furthermore, when asking something about a given object by means of a *wh*-question, the
answer tends to privilege dislocation of this already-known object in the preverbal domain,
where it functions as a topic, as shown in (11.30)a. The postverbal position, i.e. the
canonical object position, is thus available to express the focused element, here a temporal
adjunct. The sentence in (11.30)b, where the object follows the focused element is not
natural, although not ungrammatical.

(11.30) a. *máfúgí | ddináágúle sumaáná éjó eńdhâwo*   {elic.}
            máfúgi   ddi-náá-gúl-e   [sumaáná   éjó   [e-ní-dhâ = wo]REL]FOC
            6.banana   1SG-FUT.CJ-buy-IRR   9a.week.PL   9.DEM.II   9-IPFV.CJ-go = 17.LOC
            'the bananas, I will buy (them) next week' (question: 'When will you cook the bananas?)

         b. #*ddináágúle sumaáná éjó eńdháwo máfûgi*   {elic.}

11.1.3.3 Prosodic properties

A last argument toward the dislocated status of the preverbal object deals with prosody. It is
common to hear a pause (indicated by | in the following examples) between the preverbal
object and the remaining sentence.

(11.31) *wúttú | ddiikáâna, kúní | ddiikáâna, [ddaahígúlihi mafugi,*   {semi-elic.}
         koóbílri y' oógúl' óóba ddináádhéna ʷuuvi ?]
         wúttú   ddi-hi-káâna   **kúní**   ddi-hi-káâna
         14.flour   1SG-PFV.DJ-have   5a.log   1SG-PFV.DJ-have
         'Flour, I have. Log, I have. [If I do not sell bananas, where will I find money to buy fish?]'

Furthermore, the left-dislocated NP often forms an intonational unit marked by a
lengthened boundary tone, as shown in (11.32) with *naámbéddé:* 'maize', uttered *naámbêdde*
in citation form.

(11.32) *naámbéddé: | anáámúlíme ǹsaká ńttí, ǹsaká ńttó: | anáálíme fola*   {elic.}

naámbédde	a-náá-**mú**-lím-e		ǹsaká	ńttí
1a.maize	2-FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR		5.period	5.DEM.I

ǹsaká	ńttó	a-náá-lím-e		fola
5.period	5.DEM.II	2-FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR		9.tobacco.PL

'maize, they will cultivate this season; next season they will cultivate tobacco'

Both sentences in (11.31) and (11.32) are interesting in that they exhibit examples of left-dislocated generic NPs, which are not marked for definiteness. This shows that the relation between topicalisation and definiteness is more complex than it seems and is by no means exclusive, since generic NPs also easily topicalise (probably because they display in some way proper noun properties).

11.1.4   Locative inversion(s)

In Cuwabo, temporal or locative adjuncts may be introduced obliquely by a preposition such as *na* 'with, by', e.g. in *na maámbéesí* 'in the morning'. However most are grouped together under the locatives classes. Locative NPs usually function as an optional complement to the verb and occupy a peripheral position. Still it is a well-known fact that in many Bantu languages, locative NPs may be raised to the position of syntactic subject, where they control the SM on the verb. This is shown in the following examples where the locative NPs *ottólóni ókúle* 'at that well' in (11.33) and *ḿpúle ǹbárá* 'there in the sea' in (11.34) are coindexed with the SM on the following verb *okála* 'be'.

(11.33) *ottólón' uúkúl' ookálá fúlóóri*   {ddoo.25}

o-ttólo=ni	ókúle	**o**-hi-kála	fúlóóri
17-well=LOC	17.DEM.III	17-PFV.DJ-be	9a.flower

'at that well there is a flower'

(11.34) *ḿpúle ǹbara, muukálá mwánéenámá ońkúwélíwa nikúrábedha*   {maria.104}

ḿpúle	**mu**-bara	**mu**-hi-kálá	mwáná-enámá	[o-ní-kúwél-íw-a	N.]REL
18.DEM.III	18-9a.sea	18-PFV.DJ-be	1.child-9.animal	1-IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi	D.

'There in the sea, there is an animal called dugong.'

Among Bantuists such reversed constructions are known under the label "locative inversion" (LI). Givón (2001a: 191) refers to them as "existential-presentative" clauses. LIs are thus a good example of some constructions in which a peripheral constituent is turned into a core syntactic constituent of the clause, but only to a certain extent. Indeed in many

Bantu languages, inverted locative subjects are considered as non-prototypical subjects, since they lack certain behaviour properties, such as relativisation and equi-subject complementation (see the case of Lunda-Ndembu in Givón 2001a: 192). LI constructions thus represent a non-canonical constituent order, whereby the argument encoded as the subject is displaced from its original canonical preverbal position and appears after the verb, whereas the locative noun phrase moves forward to preverbal position. LI is well-reported in many Bantu languages and has been the topic of an abundant literature (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006, Buell 2007, Creissels 2011, Diercks 2011). This long-lasting tradition is explained by the interesting issues raised by LI constructions, such as the morphology associated to LI, the agreement patterns it implies, and the available thematic structure. These parameters strongly vary across Bantu. This section discusses each parameter with regard to Cuwabo LI. Of particular interest is the presence of two constructions, a formal one (section 11.1.4.1) and a semantic one (section 11.1.4.3). Note that most data presented here stem from Guérois (2014).

11.1.4.1   Morphosyntactic properties

As mentioned above, LI implies a linear inversion of the subject and the locative noun phrase. This positional reordering correlates with an agreement change: the front-shifted locative expression triggers subject agreement on the verb, and not the logical subject, which follows the verb. This is illustrated in the three-way morphological contrast of locative subject markers in (11.35). Each verb agrees in noun class with the fronted locative noun phrase, while the logical subject (*maánje* 'water' in (11.35)a, *fólóóri* 'flower' in (11.35)b, and *álêddo* 'guests' in (11.35)c), remains postverbal.

(11.35) a. *vattólóní vahíínjívâ maánje*   {elic.}

       va-ttóló=ní   va-hí-ínjívâ   maánje

       16-well=LOC   16-PFV.DJ-abound 6.water

       lit. 'at the well abound water'

     b. *ottólón' uúkúl' ookálá fúlóóri*   {ddoo.25}

       o-ttólo=ni   ókule   o-hi-kála   fúlóóri

       17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ-be 9a.flower

       'at that well there is a flower'

     c. *m̀múrúddání: muúdha álêddo*   {elic.}

       mu-múrúdda=ni   mu-hí-dha   álêddo

       18-3.village=LOC 18-PFV.DJ-come 2.guest

       lit. 'in the village came the guests'

The corresponding uninverted sentences, in which the verb agrees in noun class with the preceding logical subject while the locative noun phrase follows the verb, are shown in (11.36).

(11.36)   a. *maánje ahíínjívâ vattólóní*   {elic.}

         maánjé   a-hí-ínjívâ   va-ttólô = ni

         6.water   6-PFV.DJ-abound   16-well = LOC

         'water abound at the well'

         b. *fúlóóri eekálá ottólóni ókúle*   {elic. from ddoo.25}

         fúlóóri   e-hi-kálá   o-ttóló = ni   ókúle

         9a.flower   9-PFV.DJ-be   17-well = LOC   17.DEM.III

         'there is a flower at that well'

         c. *áléddo aádha m̀múrúddani*   {elic.}

         áléddo   a-hí-dha   mu-múrúdda = ni

         2.guest   2-PFV.DJ-come   18-3.village = LOC

         'the visitors came in the village'

Both (11.35) and (11.36) share the same thematic role structure, but differ in their syntactic properties. The subject-verb agreement observed in (11.35) brings evidence that the locative phrase may be analysed as the grammatical subject. Co-variation between the three class possible locative class prefixes (class 16 *va-* in (11.35)a, class 17 *o-* in (11.35)b, and class 18 *mu-* in (11.35)c) exists both on the locative expression and on the subject prefix of the following verb, which agrees accordingly. An argument in favour of this agreement morphology (i.e. the grammatical subject status assumed by the locative noun phrase) is that the locative noun phrase can be post-posed, as shown in (11.37).

(11.37)   a. *vahíínjívâ maánje vattólóní*   {elic.}

         va-hí-ínjívá   maánjé   va-ttóló = ni

         16-PFV.DJ-abound   6.water   16-well = LOC

         lit. 'abound water at the well'

         b. *ookálá fúlóóri ottólóni ókúle*   {elic.}

         o-hi-kála   fúlóóri   o-ttóló = ni   ókûle

         17-PFV.DJ-be   9a.flower   17-well = LOC   17.DEM.III

         'there is a flower at that well'

         c. *muúdha álêddo m̀múrúddani*   {elic.}

         mu-hí-dha   áléddó   mu-múrúdda = ni

         18-PFV.DJ-come   2.guest   18-3.village = LOC

         lit. 'came the visitors in the village'

Interestingly, locative complement found in canonical SVO/Adjunct sentences may be passivised, as shown in intransitive (11.38) as well as transitive (11.39) constructions.

(11.38) a. *áyíma ánósúńza vasíkóóla ápa*   {elic.}

        áyíma   á-ni-ósúńza   va-síkóóla   ápa

        2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.study 16-9a.school   16.DEM.I

        'children are studying in this school'

     b. *vasíkóóla ápa vánósúńzíwa*   {elic.}

        va-síkóóla   ápa   vá-ni-ósúńz-**íw**-a

        16-9a.school   16.DEM.I   16-IPFV.DJ-15.study-PASS-Fi

        lit. 'this school there-is being studied'

(11.39) a. *áyíma ánósúńza dhílógélo dhíínji vasíkóóla ápa*   {elic.}

        áyíma   á-ni-ósúńza   dhílógélo   dhí-ínji   va-síkóóla   ápa

        2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.study 10.language   10-many 16-9a.school 16.DEM.I

        'children are studying several languages at this school'

     b. *vasíkóóla ápa vánósúńzíwa dhílógélo dhíínji*   {elic.}

        va-síkóóla   ápa   vá-ni-ósúńz-**íw**-a   dhílógélo   dhí-ínji

        16-9a.school 9.DEM.I   16-IPFV.DJ-15.study-PASS-Fi 10.language   10-many

        lit. 'at this school there-is being studied several languages'

In this respect, the inverted locative subjects behave like prototypical objects undergoing a passivisation process. Thus, in (11.38) and (11.39), the locative NP *vasíkóóla ápa* 'at this school' can be assimilated to an object of the transitive verb *ósúńza* 'study', which then becomes subject of the passivised verb.

Whereas there is solid evidence for the subjecthood of the fronted locative noun phrase, the grammatical status of the postverbal logical subject is less clear. Considering word order, it assumes an object position, since it always occurs in immediate adjacency to the verb. Yet, it fails the typical test of objecthood in that it cannot be cross-referenced with an object marking on the verb, as shown in (11.40). As a comparison, the sentence in (11.41) illustrates the necessity of object marking (but only restricted to classes 1 and 2 in Cuwabo) when the postverbal element assumes an object grammatical function.

(11.40) *mu-múrúdda=ni   mu-hí-a-dha   álêddo   {elic.}

        18-3.village=LOC   18-PFV.DJ-OM2-come   2.guest

        lit. 'in the village came the guests'

(11.41) *múttú oovényá: , oómútelá mwáádhíyé: , waabaál' áánááyé: , [...]*   {mbílri.7}

múttú   o-hi-vényá   o-hí-**mú**-telá

1.person   1-PFV.DJ-rise.up   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry

mwáádhí = yé   o-**a**-baála   áná = áyé

1.wife = POSS.3SG   NAR-OM2-give.birth   2.child = POSS.3SG

'a man grew up, married a woman, had his children, [...]'

Furthermore, the postposed logical subject cannot be demoted to an optional adjunct in that it cannot be omitted (11.42), nor can it be separated from the verb by the locative noun phrase (11.43).

(11.42) a. **vattólóní vahíínjíva*   {elic.}

va-ttóló = ni   va-hí-ínjíva

16-well = LOC   16-PFV.DJ-abound

lit. 'at the well abounds'

   b. **ottólóni ókúle ookála*   {elic.}

o-ttóló = ni   ókúle   o-hi-kála

17-well = LOC   17.DEM.III   17-PFV.DJ-be

lit. 'at that well there is'

   c. **m̀múrúddání muúdha*   {elic.}

mu-múrúddá = ní   mu-hí-dha

18-3.village = LOC   17-PFV.DJ-come

lit. 'in the village came'

(11.43) a. **vahíínjívá vattólóní maánje*   {elic.}

va-hí-ínjívá   va-ttóló = ní   maánje

16-PFV.DJ-abound   16-well = LOC   6.water

lit. 'abounds at the well water'

   b. **ookálá ottólóni ókúle fólóóri*   {elic.}

o-hi-kálá   o-ttóló = ni   ókúle   fólóóri

17-PFV.DJ-be   17-well = LOC   17.DEM.III   9a.flower

lit. 'there is at that well a flower'

   c. **muúdhá m̀múrúddani álêddo*   {elic.}

mu-hí-dhá   mu-múrúdda = ni   álêddo

18-PFV.DJ-come   18-3.village = LOC   2.guest

lit. 'came in the village the guests'

The linear order of the elements in LI is thus not free, and the postverbal logical subject systematically follows the verb. This close relation between the verb and the postverbal

logical subject is further confirmed by prosodic evidence: a pause (represented in (11.44) by |) is usually heard after the topicalised locative noun phrase, but never between the verb and the postverbal logical subject. Furthermore, both these elements seem to form a suitable environment with respect to H tone doubling (HTD) at the phrasal level. In (11.44), each verb has a primary (underlined) H tone on the penult mora, which doubles onto the following mora when the next word has an initial ØH sequence (11.44)a, but does not double when the next word has an initial H tone (11.44)b and (11.44)c, because of the Obligatory Contour Principle effect. These constraints on HTD suggest that both the verb and the postverbal logical subject form a prosodic unit, represented into brackets in (11.44). Note that there is no penultimate lengthening in Cuwabo, hence the difficulty of referring to phonological phrases.

(11.44) a. vattólóní | (vah_íínj_ívá ma_ánje)   {elic.}
                 lit. 'at the well abounds water'

            b. ottólón' uúkúlé | (ook_ála f_óló_óri)   {elic.}
                 'at that well there is a flower'

            c. mmúrúddání | (mu_údha _álêddo)   {elic.}
                 lit. 'in the village came the guests'

All these aforementioned syntactic and prosodic properties of the postverbal element are explained by its "presentational focus" discourse function (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006). Compare the noun phrase *áyaná* 'women' in (11.45), immediately following the verb and introducing new information, with (11.46), where it represents a right-dislocated topic, with an afterthought interpretation.

(11.45) *munólóbéla áyanā*   {elic.}
             mu-ni-ólóbéla   áyanā
             18-IPFV.DJ-15.pray   2.woman
             lit. 'in there are praying the women'

(11.46) *anólóbéla, áyanā*   {elic.}
             a-ni-ólóbéla   áyanā
             2-PFV.DJ-15.pray   2.woman
             'they are praying, the women'

Locative inversion constructions illustrated in this subsection have been widely discussed in the Bantu literature. Buell (2007) refers to these constructions as "agreement constructions", opposed to "non-agreeing constructions", which often make use of a single verb prefix with an expletive function.

Locative marking on the verb

Interestingly, an agreeing locative enclitic on the verb (class 16 =*vo*, class 17 =*wo*, and class 18 =*mo*) cannot co-occur with the locative head-agreeing prefix, as shown in (6.140).

(6.140) a. **vattólóní vahíínjívá=vo maánje*   {elic.}
               lit. 'there at the well abound (there) water'

           b. **ottólóni ókúle ookálá=wo fúlóóri*   {elic.}
               lit. 'there at the well there is (there) a flower' {elic. from ddoo.25}

           c. **m̀múrúddání: muúdhá=mo álêddo*   {elic.}
               lit. 'in the village came (in there) the visitors'

In comparison, such a double locative marking on the verb is obligatory in Bukusu (J30, Kenya). Diercks (2011) refers to this construction, exemplified in (11.47), as "repeated agreement" LI.

(11.47) mú-músiirú   mw-á-kwá=mó   kú-músaala   [Bukusu]
          18-3.forest   18-PST-fall=18LOC   3-3.tree   Repeated Agreement LI
          'in the forest fell a tree'

    Furthermore, note that another construction with a preverbal locative exists in Cuwabo, which strongly differs from the aforementioned LI in term of verbal agreement. Instead of agreeing with the preverbal locative noun phrase, the verb prefix agrees with the postverbal logical subject. In parallel, a locative agreement clitic (=*vo*, =*wo*, =*mo*) is obligatorily suffixed to the verb, as illustrated in (11.48). Omitting these locative suffixes is considered ungrammatical.

(11.48) a. *vattólóní / awíínjívávo maánje*   {elic.}
               va-ttóló=ní   a-hí-ínjívá=vo   maánje
               16-well=LOC   6-PFV.DJ-abound=16.LOC   6.water
               lit.'at the well (it) abounds there water'

           *vattólóní, awíínjívá maánje

           b. *ottólóni ókúlé / eekáláwo fólóóri*   {elic.}
               o-ttóló=ni   ókúlé   e-hi-kálá=wo   fólóóri
               17-well=LOC   17.DEM.III   9-PFV.DJ-be=17.LOC 9a.flower
               lit. 'at that well over there (it) is there a flower'

           *ottólóni ókúlé, eekála fólóóri

c. *m̀múrúddání | aádhámo álêddo*   {elic.}

   mu-múrúddá = ní   a-hí-dhá = mo   álêddo

   18-3.village = LOC   2-PFV.DJ-come = 18.LOC   2.guest

   'in the village came (in) the guests'

m̀múrúddání, aádha álêddo

In such constructions, the preverbal locative is more loosely connected to the verb and does not constitute a core constituent of the sentence. Instead it occupies a peripheral position, where it displays a scene or frame setting function for the remaining sentence, and is interpreted as an external topic. Note that these constructions do not represent instances of LI in the strict sense.

Interestingly, this construction is the only one attested in Makhuwa, which does not display LI. Van der Wal (2008) reports that the subject marker always agrees with the postverbal logical subject (11.49)a, whereas a locative subject agreement on the verb is not allowed (11.49)b.

(11.49) a. wakisírwá   a-náá-phíyá   alétto   (van der Wal 2008: 346)

          16.island   2-PRS.DJ-arrive   2.guests

        b. *wakisírwa wa-náá-phíyá   alétto

          16.island   16-PRS.DJ-arrive 2.guests

          'on the island arrive guests'

The crucial difference between Cuwabo and Makhuwa is the presence of the agreeing locative enclitics on the verb, not needed in Makhuwa, while obligatory in Cuwabo as seen in the examples in (11.48) above. Further note that such a construction is not available with transitive verbs, as exemplified in (11.50).

(11.50) *muttólóní | oomútúkumamo múlóbwana múlêddo*   {elic.}

          mu-ttóló = ní   o-hi-mú-túkuma = mo   múlóbwana   múlêddo

          18-well = LOC   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-push = 18.LOC   1.man   1.guest

          lit. 'into the well pushed a man a guest'

LI and disjoint verb forms

The careful reader will have noted that every aforementioned LI construction makes use of a disjoint verb form, which is rather unexpected. In order to introduce a focused element, the conjoint form is required in Cuwabo, as will be discussed in section 11.3 below. And yet, in LI constructions, disjoint verb forms are necessarily chosen over conjoint verb forms, since the latter would involve a relative reading, as shown in (11.51) and (11.52).

(11.51) *vasíkóóla ápa vaasuńzíle áyíma*   {elic.}

    vasíkóóla   ápa   [va-a-suńz-íle   áyíma]_{REL}

    16-9a.school1 6.DEM.I   16-PST-learn-PFV.CJ   2.children

    'at this school where children had studied'

(11.52) *m̀múrúddání muǹlába álóbwana*   {elic.}

    mu-múrúddá=ní   [mu-ni-lába   álóbwana]_{REL}

    18-3.village=LOC   18-IPFV.CJ-work   2.men

    'in the village where the men work'

Such constructions are common in the language, but they do not represent cases of LI, but rather locative relatives, in which the locative noun phrase is the head noun to be modified. In order to avoid a relative reading, LI constructions rely on the other available verb forms in the language, namely the disjoint verb forms. But interestingly, one conjoint tense is attested in LI constructions: the perfective, as illustrated in (11.53) and (11.54), extracted from stories. Remember that for this tense, the conjoint form and the relative exhibit a different tone pattern (see Table 52 in section 10.1). In both examples below, no ambiguity in interpretation is possible, since the tone pattern of *vameĺlé* [59] 'blossomed' and *obudduwilé* 'went out' corresponds solely to the conjoint form. In contrast the relative forms for these forms would be *vaméĺlé* 'where blossomed' and *obuddúwilé* 'where went out'. Furthermore, the focus position of the postverbal logical subjects *foloóri* 'flower' and *ttúngulru* 'trill' is confirmed by Predicative Lowering (*foloóri*).

(11.53) *ddabun' óókwééné:, vattólóní vameĺlé foloóri énddímúwá vaddíddí y'*   {ddoo.23}

    oókóddéla vaddíddi. [fólóór' iíjíl' ookomesáári wiíba : ...]

    ddabunó ókú=éné   **va-ttóló=ní**   **vá-mel-ilé**

    then   17.DEM.I=INT 16-well=LOC   16-blossom-PFV.CJ

    foloóri   é-nddímúwá   vaddíddí ya   ókóddéla   vaddíddi

    9a.flower.PL 9-big   much   9.CON 15.be.beautiful   much

    'Then, there at the well a flower blossomed, a very big and very beautiful flower. [That flower began to sing: ...]'

(11.54) *eǹtãwú: ókúle omúnddá obudduwilé ttúngulrú: , [báábe na mááy' éézívéliwá:]* {mute.18}

    eǹtáwú   **ókúle**   o-múndda   o-budduw-ilé   ttúnguru

    then   17.DEM.III 17-3.field   17-go.out-PFV.CJ   9a.trill.PL

    'then trilling went out in the plantation, [the parents were pleased].'

---

[59] Note that in the form *vámeĺlé*, the H tone found on the locative prefix *va-* is the result of High Tone Doubling.

Now that the formal and agreement properties of LI in Cuwabo have been discussed, let us examine the range of arguments and verb types with which LI may occur.

11.1.4.2 LI & argument structure

The Bantu languages in which locative inversion is attested differ in the (semantic) type of verbs allowed in such constructions. The thematic restrictions imposed on predicates undergoing LI vary from one language to another. The array goes from languages which restrict LI to unaccusative verbs only (e.g. Chewa, see Bresnan and Kanerva 1989), to languages which only prohibits LI to ditransitives (e.g. Herero, see Marten 2006). Among this existing variation, this subsection examines how the two different LI constructions in Cuwabo interact with argument structure. Verbs of different argument structure (unaccusatives, unergatives, and transitives), which involve different thematic roles (theme, agent, or both theme and agent), will be discussed.

First, unaccusative verbs, which typically comprise verbs of movement or location, whose single argument is assigned a theme role, not actively responsible thus for the verb action, are widely attested in LI constructions. It is also the case in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (11.55)a with the motional verb *ofíya* 'arrive', (11.55)b with the postural verb *wííméla* 'stand', and (11.55)c with the verb *wíínjíva* 'abound', which expresses a container-contained relation between arguments.

(11.55) a. *m̀múrúddání muufíya álêddo*   {elic.}

mu-múrúdda＝ni   mu-hi-fíya   álêddo

18-3.village＝LOC   2-PFV.DJ-arrive   2.visitor

lit. 'at the village arrived the visitors'

    b. *mukápéélá mwihííméla áyanā*   {elic.}

mu-kápéélá   mu-hí-íméla   áyanā

18-9a.church   18-PFV.DJ-stand   2.women

'in the church are standing the women'

    c. *vattólóní vawíínjívâ maánjé*   {elic.from ddoo.31}

va-ttóló＝ní   va-hí-ínjívâ   maánjé

16-well＝LOC   16-PFV.DJ-abound   6.water

'at the well abounds water'

Unergative verbs, which are also intransitive but rather imply an agentive subject, also fit in LI constructions. Motional (11.56) and non-motional (11.57) verbs are provided below.

(11.56)   a. *ḿba mwa múzúgu mwaávólówa nówa*   {elic.}

      ḿba   mwa   múzúgu   mu-a-hí-vólówa   nówa

      18.in   18.CON   1.European   18-PST-PFV.DJ-enter   9a.snake

      lit. 'into the European's house entered a snake'

     b. *mutákwání munóttámága áyîma*   {elic.}

      mu-tákwá=ní   mu-ni-óttámága   áyîma

      18-9a.forest=LOC   18-PRS-IPFV.DJ-15.run   2.children

      'in the forest are running the children'

(11.57)   a. *vatákúlú: vanotéya áyîma*   {elic.}

      va-tákúlu   va-ni-otéya   áyîma

      16-9a.courtyard   16-IPFV.DJ-15.laugh   2.child

      lit. 'at home are laughing the children'

     b. *mukápéélá muúlóbéla áyanā*   {elic.}

      mu-kápéélá   mu-hí-lóbéla   áyanā

      18-9a.church   18-PFV.DJ-pray   2.woman

      'in the church are praying the women'

This means that LI applies to all intransitive verbs in the language. In contrast, transitive verbs, which have a thematic object in their argument structure in addition to the subject argument, fail to undergo LI. This ungrammaticality is exemplified below with two transitive verbs, *óddaddá* 'catch, find' (11.58)a and *ósuwá* 'wipe' (11.58)b.

(11.58)   a. **mucéláni mwiímúddoddá ábáabí mwáanā*   {elic.}

      mu-célá=ni   mu-hí-mú-ddoddá   ábáabí   mwáanā

      18-well=loc   18-PFV.DJ-OM1-catch   2.parent   1.child

      lit. 'in the well caught/found the parents the child'

     b. **vatákúlú vánósúwa múyaná dhoóbo*   {elic.}

      va-tákûlu   ó-ni-ósúwá   múyáná   dhoóbo

      16-courtyard   1-IPFV.DJ-15.wipe   1.woman   10.dish

      lit. 'at home is wiping the woman dishes'

As expected, ditransitivity, involving the presence of a second object (usually a benefactive), is not compatible with LI. Compare (11.59)a and (11.59)b.

(11.59)   a. *mwááná oólébéla njángára vatákûlu*   (declarative)

      mwááná   o-hí-léb-él-a   njángára   va-tákûlu

      1.child   1-PFV.DJ-write-APPL-Fi   5.card   16-9a.courtyard

      'the child wrote a letter at home'

b. *vatákúlú: vahílébéla mwááná njángâra   (LI)

va-tákûlu   va-hí-léb-él-a   mwááná   njángára

16-9a.courtyard   16-PFV.DJ-write-APPL-Fi   1.child   5.card

lit. 'at home wrote the child a letter'

Note however that (di)transitive verbs that have been passivised allow LI. (11.60) provides an examples of LI applied to a transitive verb which underwent passivisation.

(11.60) a. dhoójá dhiípíyíwá m̀múkááttén' uúbu   (declarative)

dhoója   dhi-hí-píy-íw-a   mu-múkáátté=ni   óbu

10.food   10-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi   18-3.jug=LOC   3.DEM.I

'the food was cooked in this pot'

b. m̀múkááttén' uúbu muúpiyíwá dhoója   (LI)

mu-múkáátté=ni   óbu   mu-hí-píy-íw-a   dhoója

18-3.jug=LOC   3.DEM.I   18-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi   10.food

'the food was cooked in this pot'

11.1.4.3   Recapitulative table

Table 59, adapted from comparative works by Demuth and Mmusi (1997: 14) and Marten (2006: 116), gives a typological overview of the constituent and thematic structures displayed in Cuwabo LI (in bold), in comparison to well-documented Bantu languages on this issue.

Table 59   Variation in LI constructions, comparing Cuwabo to other Bantu languages

Language	Constituent Structure			Thematic structure	
	loc. morph.	SM morph.	gramm. function of SM	highest thematic role	verb type
Chewa	16/17/18	16/17/18	locative	theme	unaccusative
Chaga	-	17	locative	theme	unaccusative
Shona	16/17/18	16/17/18	locative	– agent	all except agent actives
		17	expletive		
Cuwabo	**16/17/18**	**16/17/18**	**locative**	***(agent + theme)**	**all except active transitives**
Herero	16/17/18	16/17/18	locative	*(agent + theme + benef)	all except ditransitives
		16	expletive		

From Table 59, the data of Cuwabo bring a further piece of evidence of the existing variation of LI constructions among Bantu languages. In terms of morphology, Cuwabo patterns with Chewa, Shona and Herero, but differs from these three languages regarding thematic restrictions. In this respect, Cuwabo can be considered more liberal than Chewa, Chaga, and Shona, but more restricted than Herero, where LI is also possible with transitive predicates.

11.1.4.4   Semantic locative inversion

Another LI pattern known as semantic LI exists, which is less widely discussed in the Bantu literature. Semantic LI is not essentially different from formal LI: the fronted expression occupies the grammatical subject position and triggers agreement on the following verb, but the difference lies on its non-locative morphology. Instead, it appears in its canonical class, and denotes the place or the space inherently rooted in the semantic of the noun. This means that semantic LI is only allowed with expressions which refer to a possible location, such as school, house, church, shop, etc.

An agreement relation is thus established between the inherent noun class of the fronted expression and the verb. Such constructions are found in Zulu and Tharaka (Buell 2007), respectively illustrated in (11.61), and (11.62).

(11.61) lezi   zindlu   zi-hlala   abantu   abadala   [Zulu]
        10.these   10.houses   10-stay   2people   2old
        'old people live in these houses'

(11.62) kanisa   i-thom-ag-îr-a   twana   [Tharaka]
        9.church 9-study-HAB-APPL-Fi   13.children
        'the children study at the church'

It has been suggested (Buell 2007) that semantic and formal LI constructions are essentially equivalent, but that they cannot co-exist in a language. In Cuwabo, a considerable preference is given on formal locative LI. Still, it turns out that semantic LI is also considered grammatical, at least with the stative unaccusative verb *okála* 'be, stay', as shown in (11.63).

(11.63) *nyúmba éji eekálá akálâba*   {elic.}
         nyúmba   éji   e-hi-kálá   akálâba
         9a.house 9.DEM.I   9-PFV.DJ-be   2.older
         lit. 'this house were/lived old people'

Now, with another stative unaccusative verb, namely *wííméla* 'stand' (11.64), and with unergatives (11.65), which imply an agentive thematic role, two of my consultants have different judgements on the acceptability of such sentences. On the first hand, Agostinho thinks that they are grammatical, but that they do not represent natural options in discourse. In other words, he can interpret such sentences, but will presumably not utter them spontaneously. On the other hand, Sérgio perfectly accepts them.

(11.64) a. (?)   *kápééla éji ehííméla áyanā*   {elic.}

    kápééla éji   e-hí-íméla   áyanā

    9a.church 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-stand 2.women

    'in this church stood the women'

(11.65) a. (?)   *síkóóla éji eésúṅza áyîma*   {elic.}

    síkóóla éji   e-hí-súṅza   áyîma

    9a.school 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-learn 2.children

    'at this school have studied the children'

   b. (?)   *kápééla éji enólóbéla áyanā*   {elic.}

    kápééla éji   e-ni-ólóbéla   áyanā

    9a.church 9.DEM.I 9-IPFV.DJ-15.pray 2.women

    'in this church are praying the women'

   c. (?)   *ṁbúró ési dhiídhówa áléddo éénjééne*   {elic.}

    ṁbúró ési   dhi-hí-dhówa áléddo á-ínjí=éne

    4.place 4.DEM.I 4-PFV.DJ-go 2.guests 2-many=INT

    'to these places went many guests'

Note that the first consultant prefers constructions in which the verb receives a locative subject agreement, as illustrated in (11.66) with the class 16 prefix *va-*, in (11.67) with the class 17 prefix *o-*, and in (11.68) with the class 18 prefix *mu-*.

(11.66) *kápééla éji vahííméla áyanā*   {elic.}

    kápééla éji   va-hí-íméla   áyanā

    9a.church 9.DEM.I 16-PFV.DJ-stand 2.woman

    lit. 'this church, (there) are standing the women'

(11.67) *ṁbúró ési oódhówa áléddo éénji*   {elic.}

    ṁbúró ési   o-hí-dhówa áléddo á-ínji

    4.place 4.DEM.I 17-PFV.DJ-go 2.guest 2-many

    lit. 'these places, (there) went many guests'

(11.68)   *nyúmba éji muukálá akálâba*   {elic.}

      nyúmba   éji   mu-hi-kálá   akálâba

      9a.house   9.DEM.I   18-PFV.DJ-live   2.older

      lit. 'this house, (in there) live old people'

In such cases, the subject position is no longer assumed by the preverbal noun phrase, henceforth analysed as a frame-setting adjunct occupying a peripheral position and assuming a topic interpretation. With respect to the locative subject markers, they cannot be considered as expletive since they have a clear locative interpretation. The choice between the three locative classes seems to be determined in function of the locative semantic implied by the preverbal noun phrase, toward which the subject marker entertains an anaphoric locative reference.

Furthermore, whereas Agostinho refuses the construction in (11.69), with the unergative verb *olába* 'work', Sérgio acknowledges it.

(11.69) (?)   *múndda óbu onolába áyîma*   {elic.}

      múndda   óbu   o-ni-olába   áyîma

      3.field   3.DEM.I   3-IPFV.DJ-15.work   2.children

      lit. 'this field are working children'

Finally, whereas intransitives seem to tolerate semantic LI (with some variation), transitive verbs are generally more subject to a consensus among my two consultants, who both disallow semantic LI constructions, as illustrated in (11.70) and (11.71).

(11.70) *   *lózha éji enógúla múyaná málrûwa*   {elic.}

        lózha   éji   e-ni-ógúla   múyaná   málrûwa

        9a.shop   9.DEM.I   9-IPFV.DJ-15.buy   1.woman   6.flower

        lit. 'in this shop is buying a woman flowers'

(11.71) *   *nyúmba éji enólóga áttú ottámbi*   {elic.}

        nyúmba   éji   e-ni-ólóga   áttú   ottámbi

        9a.house   9.DEM.I   9-IPFV.DJ-15.tell   2.people   14.lie

        lit. 'in this house tell people lies'

All these data about semantic LI reveal two important points. First, they demonstrate the co-existence of both formal and semantic LI in Cuwabo. This is of particular interest from a typological point of view, since it has been proposed that a given language can only have one of the two constructions (Buell 2007). In Cuwabo, both formal and semantic LI are attested with a sample of intransitives. However, and this constitutes the second important point, a high degree of variation exits among speakers, which may indicate a change in progress, whereby semantic LI would represent a recent innovation, in a process of gradual

diffusion, with variation implications. In view of the limited nature of the data presented here, further research is needed, which would cover a greater number of verb types, to be surveyed over a greater number of speakers.

11.1.5 Other frame-setting preverbal elements

Noun phrases related to temporal meaning are often attested in preverbal position, and more specifically on the left edge of the sentence, in order to introduce the scene or the frame of the remaining sentence. They thus fulfil the role of framing topics. Such expressions are more loosely connected to the verb than the locative inversion constructions seen above, since they do not trigger any agreement on the verb, as shown in the following examples.

(11.72) *sikúnéne ńttó: , óbá yaapíléeyé: yaácémbelruwa mbílri*   {mbílri.17}

sikú=néne   **ńttó**   óbá   [e-a-p-ílé=iyé]ᵣₑₗ
5.day=5.INT   5.DEM.I   9a.fish   9-PST-kill-PFV.REL=3sg.pro

e-á-cémbelr-uwa   mbílri
9-PST.IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi   9a.fish.sp

'This day, the fish that he had caught was called 'mbílri' fish.'

(11.73) *ózómbwe wáaga w' ootééne ddaágúla kokó*   {semi-elic.}

ózómbwe   **wáaga**   **o-oté=éne**   ddi-á-gúla   koko
14.youth   14.POSS.1SG   14-all=INT   1SG-IPFV.CJ-buy   10a.coconut.PL

'during my whole childhood, I used to buy coconut'

(11.74) *meerí míinddi ddihílógagá na mwámúnaga*   {semi-elic.}

meerí   **mí-inddi**   ddi-hí-lóg-agá   na   mwámúnaga
4.month   4-two   1SG-NEG-speak-PART   with   1.husband.POSS.1SG

'I have not spoken with my husband for two months'

(11.75) *ókwá wa bíbííni míyó kaddoonddíle*   {semi-elic.}

ókwá   **wa**   **bíbííni**   míyó   ka-ddi-a-undd-íle
14.death   14.CON   1a.my.grandpa   1SG.PRO   NEG-1SG-PST-cry-PFV

'when my grandpa died, I did not cry'

Dependent clauses can also appear preverbally, as frame-setting elements. (11.76) and (11.77) provide two situations of logical or temporal precondition, rendered by the two available situative morphemes in Cuwabo, namely *-a-* in (11.76), and *-gaa-* in (11.77).

(11.76) *maánjé áakuvúwa ddinokúpa n̂ttádda n̂ttíle*   {semi-elic.}

maánjé	**a-a-kuvúwa**	ddi-ni-okúpa	n̂ttádda	n̂ttíle
6.water	6-SIT-fall.from.top	1SG-IPFV.DJ-fish	5.lake	5.DEM.III

'when/if the water diminish, I am going to fish in that lake'

(11.77) *[ábáal' ágá: ánóddínyapwaaríyá kańddífuná:]*   {maria.19}

ddigaadhowá m̀mátakúlú mwaaw' aanóddíttamagíhá:

ddi-gaa-dhowá	**mu-mátakúlú**	**mwaawa**	a-ni-ó-ddí-ttamag-íh-á
1SG-SIT-go	18-6.house	18.POSS.3PL	2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi

'[My sisters despise me, they do not want me.] When I go to their home, they make me run all around.'

Combinations of adverbs and dependent phrases are perfectly attested, as illustrated in (11.78).

(11.78) *Maríyá na maámbéesí agaamala waábá: , odhow' óója [dhiḿfúnééy' oottúkúla]* {maria.102}

M.	[**na maámbéesí**]	[**a-gaa-mala**	**waábá**]	o-dhowá	o-ja
M.	by 6.morning	1-SIT-finish	15.bathe	NAR-go	NAR-eat

'In the morning, Maria, after bathing, went and ate [whatever she wanted]'

11.1.6   Topics succession

Unlike focalisation, which is generally applied to a single element in the sentence, topicalising can affect several elements in the same sentence. It is even not uncommon that two topic elements be placed before the verb, usually separated one from the other by a pause, represented by | in the following examples. In Cuwabo, this pause is reinforced by the boundary High tone on the last syllable of the first preverbal element.

The following examples illustrate the different types and orders of preverbal elements attested in Cuwabo. The most recurrent pattern in my database has the subject put left-forward, separated from the verb by an intervening object (11.79), or adverbial phrase (11.80). Note in (11.80)c that the pause between the preverbal elements is not necessarily carried out.

(11.79) Subject - Object + Verb

nyúwó | mukítto óbó | mudhiléná úuvi ?   {semi-elic.}

[**nyúwó**]	[**mukítto óbó**]	mu-dh-ilé=ná		úuvi
2PL.PRO	3.phone 3.DEM.I	2PL-go-PFV.CJ=COM		where

'you, that phone, where did you bring it from?'

(11.80) Subject - Adjunct + Verb

a. *áttú | ddabunó: | kaṁfúná biya dh' oólôgo*   {semi-elic.}

[áttú]   [ddabunó]   ka-ní-fúná   biya   dha   ólôgo
2.people   today   NEG.2-IPFV-want   9a.stove 9.CON   14.clay
'today people no longer want clay stove'

b. *Maríya nikómé ńttíle na bárá noot' ónólímíhá:*   {maria.64}

[maríya]   [nikómé   ńttíle   na   bárá   ni-oté]   ó-ni-olím-íh-á
maria   5.bank   5.DEM.III 5.CON   9a.sea 5-all   1-PFV.DJ-15.cultivate-CAUS-Fi
'Then along the whole sea bank, Maria has people cultivating.'

c. *míy' óómúnddáaw' oók' óóńlógíínyú, kaddiídhúwo kaaṁnávíragáwo*   {ddingí.6}

[míyó]   [o-múnddá=wa   ókó   [ó-ní-lógá=ínyú]ᵣₑₗ]
1SG.PRO   17-3.field=17.DEF 17.DEM.II   17-IPFV.CJ-say=2PL.PRO

ka-ddi-ídhí=wo   ka-ni-ná-vír-ag-á=wo
NEG-1SG-know=17.LOC   NEG-1PL-CE-go.by-HAB-Fi=17.LOC

'I, in this plantation you are referring to, I have never been, I have never been through it.'

(11.81) Subject - Complement - Object + Verb

míyó ńngá kaddiná múdhîdhi dereétú: , naámbédde ddigámúlima na mattí   {semi-elic.}

[míyó]   [ńngá   ka-ddi-ná   múdhîdhi   dereétú] [naámbédde]
1SG.PRO   as   NEG-1SG-have   3.time   well   1a.maize

ddi-gá-mú-lima   na   mattí
1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-OM1-cultivate by   6.night.PL

'as I don't have time enough, I will be cultivating maize at night.'

(11.82) Adjunct - Subject + Verb

máángwána míyó ddinowújéedhela onáájómbe   {semi-elic.}

[máángwána]   [míyó]   ddi-ni-o-ú-jéedh-el-a   o-náá-jómb-e
tomorrow   1SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-wait-APPL-Fi   2SG-FUT-miss-PROH
'tomorrow I will wait for you, do not miss'

(11.83) Adjunct - Object - Subject + Verb

bābáání baliwó, ója míyo ddááṅsakulaga   {semi-elic.}

[bābáání   ba-li=wó]   [ója]   [míyo]   ddí-á-ni-sakul-ag-a
1a.my.father SEQ.1-be=17.LOC 14.food   1SG.PRO   1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-choose-HAB-Fi
'when my father was alive, I could choose my food'

(11.84)   Secondary Object - Primary Object + Verb

dhikósíle Maáŕk' uusíkóóla, bábé kaddiílóomwaaddela, oziwilé dháaví peéno. {semi-elic.}

[dhi-kós-íle   Maáŕku   o-síkóóla]ᵣₑₗ   [bábé]
10-do-PFV.REL   Marco   17-9a.school   1a.father

ka-ddi-ílé-o-mu-add-el-a   o-ziw-ilé   dháaví   peéno
NEG-1SG-CE-15-OM1-inform-APPL-Fi.PL   1-know-PFV.CJ   how   WOND

'what Marco did at school, I did not inform father, I do not know how he got to know it'

In case of double object constructions implying focalisation of one of the two objects, the other (already-known) object is usually fronted in the preverbal domain as a topic. In this case, there does not seem to be any restriction on the order of the two preverbal topics. Two examples are provided below.

(11.85)   'whom did mother give the oranges?'   {elic.}

   a. *mááyé oṁvahilé aani mááraánja ?*
      mááyé   o-mu-vah-ilé   aani   mááraánja
      1.mother   1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ   who   6.orange

   b. *mááyé mááraánja oṁvahilé aani ?*

   c. *mááraánja / mááyé oṁvahilé aani ?*

(11.86)   'the teacher gave the winner a medal'   {elic.}
   (answer the question: 'what did the teacher give the winner?)

   a. *námásunzíha oṁvahilé mâlruwatti ḿpémbéélri*
      námásunzíha   o-mu-vah-ilé   mâlruwatti   ḿpémbéélri
      1a.teacher   1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ   6.medal.PL   1.winner

   b. *námásunzíha ḿpémbéélri oṁvahilé mâlruwatti*

   c. *ḿpémbéélri / námásunzíha oṁvahilé mâlruwatti*

In (11.85)b-c and (11.86)b-c, the two sequences subject-object and object-subject in the preverbal domain are possible. Sérgio does not recognise any difference of interpretation between both, but tends to prefer the subject-object order. Furthermore, (11.85)c and (11.86)c are prosodically more conditioned: omitting the pause between the left-dislocated object and the subject would lead to ungrammaticality.

More research is undoubtedly needed to deal with the question of the preverbal elements order and the way it interacts with the information structure.

11.2 The postverbal domain

This section investigates the elements that may occur in the postverbal position. As seen above, the preverbal domain is the domain for topicality. It is thus to be expected that the postverbal elements have a non-topical interpretation. Cuwabo is part of the Bantu languages (together with Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009), Matuumbi (Odden 1984), Matengo (Yoneda 2011)), which use different verb forms depending on whether the following element has a focal interpretation. In this respect, a distinction must be made in Cuwabo between the elements following a conjoint verb form (necessarily focused) and those following a disjoint verb form, which have a non-topic and non-focal interpretation. Importantly, while the first will be discussed in section 11.3 below, this section exclusively focuses on the postverbal domain in disjoint verb constructions. In this environment, three types of postverbal elements exist: non-focused objects (section 11.2.1), postverbal subjects (section 11.2.2), and right-dislocated elements, also known as 'afterthought' (section 11.2.3).

11.2.1 SVO as topic-comment sentences

In most communication acts, utterances are constituted of a topic followed by a comment. As already seen above, the topic constitutes the already known or pre-supposed information and functions as a referential entry or 'starting point' of the utterance, upon which a comment is made. In turn, the comment provides information about the topic, and more particularly what one says about it. In this configuration, the topic is often the canonical preverbal subject, and the comment, which combines both the verb and the object, usually corresponds to the whole predicate. For instance, in (11.87) the predicate *ókosá: masárápittw' aábále* '(he) made that magic' is affirmed of the subject *múlóbwana* 'the man'. Other examples are provided below, in which brackets are used to delimitate the topics (TOP) and the comments (COMM).

(11.87) *múlóbwan' oókosá: masárápittw' aábále*   {mbílri.16}

       [múlóbwana]$_{TOP}$ [o-hí-kosá   masárápitto   ábále]$_{COMM}$

       1.man   1-PFV.DJ-do   6.magic   6.DEM.III

       'The man made that magic.'

(11.88) *mwánábwa oottúkúla shávi, oóvólówa ḿba, [oofúgúlamo ńngá de kòstúmi.* {páaká.25-26}
oódhówa.] oottámágél' ookómídan' ttúkúla párááto

[mwánábwa]_{TOP}	[o-hi-ttúkúla	shávi]_{COMM}	[o-hí-vólówa	ḿba]_{COMM}
1.dog	1-PFV.DJ-take	9a.key	1-PFV.DJ-enter	18.inside

[o-hi-ttámág-él-a	o-kómíída=ni]_{COMM}	[o-hi-ttúkúla	párááto]_{COMM}
1-PFV.DJ-run-APPL-Fi	17-9a.food=LOC	1-PFV.DJ-take	9a.plate

'The dog took the key, entered the house, opened as always. He ran towards the food place, took the plate'

(11.89) *Maríy' óomál' oófúl' óottúkúla guwódh' óódhówa vatákûlu*   {ddoo.16}

[Maríyá]_{TOP}	[o-hi-mála	ófúlá]_{COMM}	[o-hi-ttúkúla	guwó=dhé]_{COMM}
Maria	1-PFV.DJ-finish	15.wash	1-PFV.DJ-take	10a.cloth=10.POSS.3SG

[o-hí-dhówa	va-tákûlu]_{COMM}
1-PFV.DJ-go	16-9a.house

'Maria finished to wash, took her clothes, and went home.'

In each example above, the postverbal object is interpreted as non-topic/non-focus, since it follows a DJ verb, which never attracts focus, unlike CJ verbs, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Thus each example constitutes a neutral descriptive sentence, in which a statement is made. It does not answer a potential question, nor does it contain any narrow focus. Lambrecht (2000) takes a topic-comment articulation as the unmarked state of affairs and refers to it as a Predicate Focus construction.

Interestingly, if topic-comment constructions in Cuwabo are restricted to DJ verb phrases, it is not the case in a language like Tswana (Creissels 2014), which necessarily requires in this context the use of CJ forms. For instance, in (11.90), the postverbal object *Kitso* following a CJ verb form does not assume a focus position but rather "forms part of the comment expressed by the verb phrase" (Creissels 2014: 10).

(11.90) *Re thusa Kitso.*   {Creissels 2014: 11, adapted gloss)

rì-t^hús-á	[↓]kî:tsɔ̀
1PL-help-Fi(CJ)	1.Kitso

'We help / are helping Kitso.'

In addition to the CJ/DJ distinction, another interesting difference between the two languages deals with the co-indexation of the postverbal object on the verb: whereas it is considered ungrammatical in Tswana (11.91), Cuwabo unvariably exhibits a grammatical agreement with the following (class 1/2) object (11.92), except when a comitative or instrumental enclitics is attached to the verb (11.93).

(11.91) Tswana   {Creissels 2014: 11, adapted gloss}

Re mo thusa Kitso.

* rì-**mù**ᵢ-tʰús-á   ⁺**kîːtsɔ̀**ᵢ

1PL-OM1-help-Fi(CJ)   1.Kitso

'We help / are helping Kitso.'

(11.92) Cuwabo

a. *míyó ddinómẃodhá nikúrábedha, ddinómdhoóláwo mwádhâga*   {maria.130}

[míyó]_TOP   [ddi-ni-ó-**mú**ᵢ-wodhá   **nikúrábedha**ᵢ]_COMM

1SG.PRO   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-defeat   1a.dugong

[ddi-ni-ó-**mú**ⱼ-dhoólá = wo   **mwáádhâga**ⱼ]_COMM

1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC   1.wife.POSS.1SG

'I will defeat Mr.Dugong, and I will fetch my wife.'

b. *balogá : "iiii, náadat' óonwaáláv' aánááyíma*   {mbílri.38}

ba-logá   hiii   náada = tó   [o-ni-**á**ᵢ-láva   **áná-áyíma**ᵢ]_COMM

SEQ.1-say   INTER   no = then   2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM2-curse   2.child-2.child

'He said : [excl.], then not this way, you are going to bring curse on the children.'

(11.93) *mangwáááná mangwáááná mangwáána mángwáâna! míyó ǹnódhána múnânddo* {maria.112}

mangwáááná   [míyó]_TOP   [ni-ni-ódhá = na   múnânddo]_COMM

tomorrow   1SG.PRO   1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come = COM   1.co-wife.POSS.2SG

'tomorrow, tomorrow , tomorrow, tomorrow! I will bring your co-wife'

In Tswana, co-indexation of the postverbal object on the verb is only carried out when the object is expressed as an afterthought (which necessarily involves a DJ verb form, unless another phrase forming part of the comment is present between the verb and the right-dislocated object). An illustrating example is provided below. Note that the pause between the DJ verb and the extraposed object is optional.

(11.94) *Re a mo thusa (,) Kitso.*   {Creissels 2004: 11, adapted gloss}

rì-à-**mù**ᵢ-tʰús-á   ⁺**kîːtsɔ̀**ᵢ   (no pause between thusa and Kitso)

~ rì-à-**mù**ᵢ-tʰûːs-à   **kîːtsɔ̀**ᵢ   (with a pause between thusa and Kitso)

1PL-DJ-OM1-help-Fi   1.Kitso

'We help / are helping him, Kitso that is.'

11.2.2 Thetic VS sentences

In addition to non-subject relative clauses and locative inversion, VS inverted structures (known as thetic sentences) constitute another construction in Cuwabo whereby the logical subject appears postverbally, rather than in its usual preverbal position.

Among Bantu languages, van der Wal (2008) reports two types of subject agreement on the verb in thetic sentences: a default agreement (e.g. in Tswana, see Creissels 2011) and an agreement with the postverbal subject. Cuwabo belongs to the second type, in that the postverbal subject maintains the control of verb agreement. This is shown in (11.95), where the class 14 subject marker on the verb agrees with the class 14 postverbal subject *ósálu* 'thread'.

(11.95) a. *olóódh' oósálu, singáno dh' ootédhéen' eésîle*   {maria.101}

       o-lé-ódha   ósálu   singáno   dhi-oté=dhéne   ésîle

       14-CE-15.come   14.thread   10a.needle   10-all=10.INT   10.DEM.III

       'there came the thread, the needle and everything'

      b. *elóódha singáno, ósálu ...*   {elic.from maria.101}

       e-lé-ódha   singáno   ósálu

       9-CE-15.come   9a.needle   14.thread

       'there came the needle, the thread, etc'

This means that the subject marker on the Cuwabo verb agrees in noun class with the subject both in categorical sentences with the SVO order (11.96) and thetic sentences (11.96).

(11.96) a. *ora y' aárímoós' éefíyá, árímoós' óopíyíwá*   {ddoo.18}

       ora   ya   árímoósó   e-hi-fíyá   árímoósó   o-hi-píy-íw-á

       9.hour   9.CON   1a.lunch   9-PFV.DJ-arrive   1a.lunch   1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi

       'Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked'

      b. *eefíyá wóóra ya árímoósó, oopíyíwá árímoósó*   {elic.from ddoo.18}

       e-hi-fíyá   wóóra   ya   árímoósó   o-hi-píy-íw-á   árímoósó

       9-PFV.DJ-arrive   9.hour   9.CON   1a.lunch   1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi   1a.lunch

       'Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked'

With regard to information structure, thetic sentences are often considered to be presentational focus constructions whereby the postverbal subject occupies a focus position (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006). For instance, new participants in a story are often introduced by means of VS constructions. In Cuwabo thetic VS structures, if the postverbal subject is undoubtedly detopicalised (in that there is no

presupposed information in this sentence), focalisation seems to be co-related with the conjoint/disjoint alternation, used as a focus strategy device in the language. When the verb is conjoint, the postverbal subject is considered as the most salient piece of information. For instance, in (11.97)a, the postverbal subject *mwánámwíyaná* 'girl' can easily be interpreted as a presentational focus (implying an indefinite reading) for two reasons: first, it follows a CJ verb form; second, it is introduced at the beginning of the story as one of the main protagonists. Note here that the SM *o-* is not to be interpreted as a class 17 prefix, since substituting the singular inverted subject *mwánámwíyaná* 'girl' by its plural form (*ánámwíyaná*) would trigger a class 2 agreement on the verb, as shown in (11.97)b. In (11.98), the postverbal subject *eetééne* 'all' follows the CJ verb form *akwilé* '(they) died'. However, in contrast with (11.97), the characters implied by *eetééne* are not considered as new information since they have already been introduced in the story. Thus, rather than presentational focus, *eetééne* seems best interpreted as an identificational focus.

(11.97)   a. *ńsáká nimodhá waákálawo mwánámwíyaná*   {mute.1}

ńsáká   ni-modhá   **o-á-kála=wo**   **mwáná-mwíyaná**

5.time 5-one   1-PST.IPFV.CJ-be=17.LOC   1.child-1.woman

'one day (intd. 'once upon a time'), there was a girl'

b. *ńsáká nimodhá aákálawo ánámwíyaná*   {elic. from mute.1}

ńsáká   ni-modhá   a-á-kála=wo   áná-mwíyaná

5.time 5-one   2-PST.IPFV.CJ-be=17.LOC   2.child-1.woman

'one day (intd. 'once upon a time'), there were girls'

(11.98)   *eǹtǎwú mukwéliiyé: , akwilé eetééne*   {body.17}

eǹtáwú   [mu-kw-él-é=iye]_REL   **a-kw-ilé**   **a-eté=éne**

then   18-die-APPL-PFV.REL=3sg.pro   2-die-PFV.CJ   2-all=INT

'then when he died, all died'

However, thetic sentences built upon CJ verb forms are very little attested in Cuwabo and, in my database, most make use of DJ verb forms, which thus exclude the following constituent from the verb phrase (see section 11.3 below). Such constructions occur "out of the blue", in that they typically introduce a (usually unexpected) event taking place, but without focusing on one particular element. Instead, the verb and the postverbal subject express a conceptual unity in which none is interpreted as a focus in relation to the other. Both carry equally salient information. In addition to (11.95) and (11.96) presented above, other examples of DJ thetic sentences are provided below.

(11.99) *oódhówávo múyaná. […] oódhówávó émperegádo.*   {mbílri.25-28-29}

[...] eefíya vézhi ya ddóónawa, mulíbá vatákúlú vawa

o-hí-dhówá = vo		múyaná	o-hí-dhówá = vó		émperegádo
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC		1.woman	1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC		1a.employee

e-hi-fíya	vézhi	ya	ddóónawa	mulíbá	va-tákúlú = vawa
9-PFV.DJ-arrive	9a.time	9.CON	1a.miss.POSS.3PL	1.owner	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3PL

'The woman went there. […] Then went the working-man. [...] Then came the turn of their mistress, the housekeeper.'

(11.100) *naáfíya ńsáká: n' oótélíwá:*   {elic. from mute.2}

ni-a-hí-fíya	ńsáká	na	ótél-íw-á
5-PST-PFV.DJ-arrive	5.time	5.CON	15.marry-PASS-Fi

'time to get married had come'

(11.101) *m̀maléláaní: ǹǹfíyá ńsáká na wúúnúwá: , awúúnúw' eetéén' aábâle.*   {maria.10}

mu-mal-él-á = ní	ni-hi-fíyá	ńsáká	na	wúúnúwá
18-finish-APPL-Fi = LOC	5-PFV.DJ-arrive	5.time	5.CON	15.grow

a-hí-únúwá	a-eté = éne	ábâle
2-PFV.DJ-grow	2-all = INT	2.DEM.III

'Then came the growing phase : all these grew up.'

Lambrecht (2000) refers to such thetic sentences as "sentence-focus constructions", in which both the subject and the predicate constitute new information and thus assume a focus function. Note that the same interpretation is given by van der Wal (2008, 2009) to Makhuwa thetic sentences, which only occur with disjoint verb forms.

From all the examples above, it seems that Cuwabo thetic sentences are restricted to intransitive (unaccusative) verbs. Transitive verbs, with the subject following the verb and the object, are not attested in this type of inverted construction, as the example in (11.102), elicited from (11.101) above, shows.

(11.102) *[m̀maléláaní: ǹǹfíyá ńsáká na wúúnúwá: ,] *owááfwanyá álóbwana Maríya*   {elic. from

o-hí-á-fwanyá	álóbwana	maríya	maria.10}
1-PFV.DJ-OM2-grow	2.man	maria	

'[Then came the growing phase :] Maria met some men'

Such a semantic restriction on the type of verbs allowed in thetic sentences is not observed in Makhuwa, where VOS thetic structures are possible (see van der Wal 2009: 197-98).

Finally, the different examples above make clear that the postverbal subject in DJ thetic sentences is definite, which confirms the impossibility of a presentational focus

interpretation. Other examples of DJ thetic sentences with personal pronouns as postverbal subjects are provided below.

(11.103) a. *kattíyan' ók' úreddá: , ddááǹsoma míyo*   {semi-elic.}

    ka-ttíya = ni   ókú   oreddá   **ddí**-á-ni-soma   **míyo**

    IMP-leave = PLA   14.DEM.I   14.illness   1SG-PST-IPF.DJ-copulate   1SG.PRO

    'leave me alone, this is illness which left me this way, I used to have sex!'

    b. *ddigahílába míyo, ohisuǹzá ók' uuddiségédhilé*   {semi-elic.}

    ddi-gaa-hí-lába   **míyo**   o-hi-suǹzá   óku

    1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-work   1SG.PRO   15-NEG-study.PL   15.DEM.I

    [o-ddi-ségédh-ilé]$_{REL}$
    15-OM1SG-cause.trouble-PFV.REL

    'I am willing to work, but it is not having studied which prevents me to'

11.2.3   Right-dislocation ('afterthought')

Another instance of VS order is attested, in which the subject is right-dislocated in the sentence final position. This extraposed subject fulfils the discourse role of 'antitopic', commonly referred to as 'afterthought'. Afterthought is a pragmatic device which consists in recoding a NP at the end of a sentence, usually as a reminder, a clarification, or as an *a posteriori* specification, which is thought to be missing for the good comprehension of the message by the interlocutor. Thus, in contrast to thetic sentences, the right-dislocated subject does not provide new information; the referent is not new in the discourse. Prosodically, an afterthought is necessarily preceded by a pause, in order to demarcate it from the rest of the sentence. It is thus not really part of the sentence, but rather considered as an additional element, bringing back old information. Note that the following examples were elicited since afterthought is hardly attested as such and I could not find any occurrence of what may look like an afterthought in my database.

(11.104) *áwééne ánólóbéla mukápééla | áyaná*   {elic.}

    áwééne   á-ni-ólóbéla   mu-kápééla   áyaná

    3PL.PRO   2-IPFV.DJ-15.pray   18-9a.church   2.woman

    'they are praying at the church, the women'

Afterthought is not restricted to subject NP. Locative NP can also fulfil this discourse function, as illustrated in (11.105).

(11.105) *áléddo aádhámo / m̀múrúddani*   {elic.}

      áléddo   a-hí-dhá = **mo**   mu-múrúdda = ni

      2.guest   2-PFV.DJ-come = 18.LOC 18-3.village = LOC

      'the guest arrived into the village'

11.3   Conjoint and disjoint verb forms

Constituent order is not the only way of expressing information structure. In fact, word order goes alongside a specific morphological marking on the verb, often referred to as conjoint/disjoint alternation. This morphological alternation is displayed in quite a number of Bantu languages and applies in a specific subset of tenses for each language. The terms conjoint and disjoint are due to Meeussen (1959), but other terminology may be found, such as conjunctive/disjunctive (Creissels 1996).

This section investigates the conjoint/disjoint alternation in detail and examines the formal (section 11.3.1), syntactic (section 11.3.2) and interpretational (section 11.3.3) properties of these forms. The distinction between conjoint and disjoint also involves a prosodic marking which specifically acts upon the element following a CJ verb form, by means of the tonological process called 'Predicative Lowering'. This marking can be observed throughout the whole section.

Note that, in many respects, the CJ/DJ system in Cuwabo is similar with Makhuwa, the main difference being the number of tenses displaying the alternation: whereas Makhuwa (at least Enahara) has four pairs of CJ/DJ verb forms, Cuwabo has seven.

11.3.1   Formal properties

The morphology of each Cuwabo CJ and DJ forms has already been introduced and exemplified in section 8.1 on TAM. For ease of reading, they are summarised in Table 60.

Table 60   Conjoint and Disjoint verb forms

	CJ	DJ
PRS IPFV	oṅgúlíhá nigagádda	ónógúlíha (nígágádda)
	'he is selling dry cassava'	'he is selling (dry cassava)'
PST IPFV	waágúla nyumba	wááṅgulá (nyúmba)
	'he was buying a house'	'he was buying (a house)'
PRS PFV	ofullé mútede	ohífulá (mutéde)
	'he washed the dress'	'he washed (the dress)'
PST PFV	waaveéttíle m̀buga	wahíveétta (m̀búga)
	'he had winnowed the rice'	'he had winnowed (the rice)'
FUT	onáábúddúgélé guluwe	oneelóóbuddugela (gulúwe)
	'he will attack the pig'	'he will attack (the pig)'
FUT IPFV	ogásákula kalruúnga	ogáṅsakula (kálrúúnga)
	'he will be choosing the hoe'	'he will be choosing (the hoe)'
HYP	ogaattukúĺle nyangaséra	ogahíttúkula (nyángaséra)
	'he would carry the fishing basket'	'who would carry (the fishing basket)'

As can be seen, CJ and DJ verb forms considerably differ with regard to their morphology, and the latter usually has a more complex TAM marking, as is often attested in Bantu languages which display the CJ/DJ variation. However, it is worth pointing out that specific TAM markers intervene in CJ verb forms, but not in DJ ones, and vice versa. It is the case of the perfective suffix *-ilé*, found exclusively in CJ forms, whereas the prefix *-hi-* occurs in DJ forms. It is thus possible to segmentalise (and gloss) a CJ morpheme on the one hand (the suffix *-ilé*) and a DJ morpheme on the other hand (the prefix *-hi-*). The imperfective prefix *-ni-* also tends to be used in DJ forms only. Compare CJ *waágúla* with DJ *wáá-**ni**-gulá* for the past imperfective and CJ *ogásákula* with DJ *ogá-**ní**-sakula* for the future imperfective). However, the present tense constitutes an exception since both CJ *o-**ní**-gúlíhá* and DJ *ó-**ni**-ógúlíha* make use of *-ni-*. This last case prevents us to consider *-ni-* as a fully DJ morpheme.

Note that the addition of the postverbal object in Table 60 is not carried out at random. This issue of sentence-final distribution is discussed in the next subsection.

In addition to the seven CJ/DJ pairs listed in Table 60, the subjunctive tense constitutes a single form which displays both CJ and DJ features. Like CJ forms, this tense can be used in *wh*-question (11.106), but it can also appear sentence-finally (11.107), which is only attested in DJ forms as will be shown in the next section.

(11.106) *baahito ddidhów' úuvi ?*   {maria.57}

    baahí = tó   ddi-dhów-é   **uuvi**

    enough = then   1SG-go-SBJ   where

    'but then, where shall I go?'

(11.107) *mudhé ! ókûno. muwííwá: ?*   {maria.74}

      mu-dh-é   ókû = no   mu-hí-íwá

      2PL-go-SBJ   17.DEM.I = INT   2PL-PFV.DJ-hear

      'Come! Right here. Did you hear?'

The distinction between CJ and DJ forms is likely to have existed with the negative verb forms but has since then neutralised in favour of the DJ forms, whereas the CJ forms have fallen into disuse. This means that any negative SVO order, be it either a topic-comment construction or a postverbal focus construction, will always exhibit a single form built upon the pre-initial negative marker *ka-*. Nowhere in my database could I find a corresponding form with the negative marker *-hi-*, and obtaining elicited forms from my main consultant Sérgio was not successful, although he acknowledges a possible former existence (involving morphological similarity with negative relative forms). These *-hi-* negative forms have thus specialised exclusively toward a relative interpretation, and the CJ/DJ alternation is synchronically only relevant for an assertive piece of information.

11.3.2 Distribution characteristics

A further distinction between CJ and DJ verb forms deals with syntactic coding and more particularly with their final distribution in the sentence. Consider first the DJ verb forms. The examples provided in section 11.2.1 on SVO as topic-comment sentences, show that DJ forms can be followed by different kinds of constituents. The following examples show that they can occur sentence-finally.

(11.108) *míyó ǹnowúsápela ddinosápá: , wéy' óonoójá*   {body.8}

      míyó   **ni-ni-o-ú-sápela**   **ddi-ni-osápá**   wéyó   **o-ni-ójá**

      1SG.PRO   1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-feed   1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt 2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat

      'I feed you. I bring food, you eat'

(11.109) *eǹtáwú émperegádó oóvírá owííyéla*   {mbílri.28}

      eǹtáwú   émperegádó   **o-hí-vírá**   **o-hí-íyéla**

      then   1a.employee   1-PFV.DJ-pass   1-PFV.DJ-go.back

      'there the employee passed through and went back.'

(11.110) *"míyó munóddíziwá: ?" [...] "kanuwíídhi"*   {maria.86}

      míyó   **mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwá**   ka-ni-ú-ídhi

      1SG.PRO   2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-1-know   NEG-1PL-2SG-know

      'Do you know who I am? […] (No,) we don't know you'

In contrast to DJ forms, CJ verb forms are excluded from prepausal contexts and are necessarily followed by some element. In this case, different constituents or phrases are allowed to occur in postverbal position. Each is discussed and exemplified in turn.

CJ + (pro)nominal phrases

Very commonly, an object in its full form (11.111) follows a CJ verb.

(11.111) *ddabunó wíibilé jíbweyé: , m̀mál̀lííy' óom̀sasanyilé víyoólá*   {ddingí.9}

      ddabunó **ó-ib-ilé**   **jíbo = ye**   [mu-mál-el-é = íye]_{REL}

        then   1-sing-PFV.CJ   9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL   18-finish-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

      o-mu-sasany-ilé   **víyoólá**

      1-OM1-fix-PFV.CJ   1a.guitar.PL

      'Then, he practiced his song. Having done, he fixed the guitar'

If we compare the aforementioned example with equivalent clause types using disjoint verbs (as in (11.87) but repeated here in (11.112)), the tonal distinction between the postverbal noun phrases becomes apparent. The first primary H tone of the noun following a CJ is removed (by the PL process). Note that in (11.111), the first H on *jíbweye* and *víyoólá* is a surface H resulting from doubling. On the other hand, the tone pattern of the element following a DJ form remains unchanged, as seen with *masárápitto* in (11.112).

(11.112) *múlóbwan' oókosá: masárápittw' aábále*   {mbílri.16}

      múlóbwana   **o-hí-kosá**   **masárápitto**   ábále

      1.man   1-PFV.DJ-do   6.magic   6.DEM.III

      'The man made that magic.'

However PL after CJ verbs does not occur with all kinds of nouns: proper names (11.113)a and certain nouns with a particular status in the language (usually loans) (11.114) do not undergo any tone alteration.

(11.113) *eetéén' aáb' wáám̀magyedha Namárógolo*   {ddingí.5}

      a-eté = êne ábo   **a-á-mú-magyedha**   namárógolo

      2-all = INT   2.DEM.II   2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-slander   1a.hare

      'all of them were slandering Mr.Hare'

(11.114) a. *anímwáangána sagámpira ókó dhińkósííye*   {maria.155}

a-ní-mú-angána   sagámpira   ókó   [dhi-ní-kósá = iye]ᴿᴱᴸ

2-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look   1.artist   17.DEM.II   10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO

'They are looking at the artist there, at what he is doing.'

　　b. *onímóoná baárúk' uúnóttámága*   {maria.169}

o-ní-mú-oná   baárúku   ó-ni-óttámága

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see 1a.boat   1-IPFV.DJ-15.run

'He sees the boat running'

Further note that no PL occurs after the verb *okáâna* 'have', as shown in (11.115).

(11.115) a. *Maríyá baáhi waákáana m̀páddó dháaye*   {maria.99}

maríyá   baáhi   o-á-káana   m̀páddó   dháaye

maria   only   1-PST.IPFV.CJ-have 4.chair   4.POSS.3SG

'Maria only had her confortable chairs'

　　b. *āwééne aákáana mákán' ááwa mudíla*   {body.1}

áwééne   a-á-káana   mákání = áwa   mu-díla

3PL.PRO 2-PST.IPFV.CJ-have 6.talk = POSS.3PL 18-9a.dila

'They were having an argument on the way.'

(11.116) provides an example of an infinitive form following a CJ verb. The nominal status of the infinitive implies it undergoes PL too.

(11.116) *ddaadhowíl' óom̀vahá mwán[áy]e ńzíná viínágúwa*   {paaká.15}

ddi-a-dhow-ílé   o-mu-vahá   mwánáye   ńzíná   viíná-gúwa

1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ 15-OM1-give.PL 1.child.POSS.3SG 5.name   too-again

'I went and gave his child a name again'

Finally, a demonstrative pronoun may also follow a CJ verb form as a noun substitute, as shown in (11.117).

(11.117) *ddińfúná ìtágíyó omáálro Pááká na Mwánâbwa. ddiǹtágíy' eéji :*   {paaká.1}
　　　　Pááká na Mwánábw' ookung' oomáálro.

ddi-ní-fúná   ddi-tágíy-é   omáálro   pááká na   mwánâbwa

1SG-IPFV.CJ-want   1SG-tell-SBJ   14.friendship   1a.cat and   1.dog

ddi-ni-tágíya   éji   pááká na   mwánábwa   o-kunga   omáálro

1SG-IPFV.CJ-tell 9.DEM.I   1a.cat and   1.dog   NAR-build   14.friendship

'I want to tell about Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog's friendship. Here it is (lit. 'I am telling this') :
Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog built friendship.'

CJ + connective constructions

(11.118) *gáhálá: eńlógá: ya óddûle: oǹtóta náma vaddíddi*   {mbílri.2}

gáhâlá **e-ní-lógá**   **ya**   **óddûle**   [o-ni-tóta   náma   vaddíddi]_{REL}

9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-tell 9.CON 1.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-hunt 9a.game much

'The story tells about a great hunter.' (lit. 'tells about that one who hunts a lot of game')

CJ + prepositional phrase

Following is an example in which the postverbal element consists of a phrase introduced by the preposition *na* 'and, with' in (11.119).

(11.119) *īyééné: waaddamaǹlé: na íyo*   {elic.}

īyééné   **o-addaman-ilé**   **na**   íyo

3SG.PRO   1-be.neighbour-PFV.CJ   with   1PL.PRO

'you are seated next to us'

In case of an instrumental prepositional phrase, the oblique object is affected by PL, as illustrated in (11.120) with *koolríyo* 'hoe.sp', uttered as *kóólríyo* in citation form.

(11.120) *múrí ddigwaddilé na koolríyo*   {elic.}

múrí   **ddi-gwadd-ilé**   **na**   **koolríyo**

3.tree 1SG-cut-PFV.CJ   with   1a.hoe.sp.PL

'I cut the tree with a hoe.sp'

CJ + adjunct

Adjuncts include both adverbs and locative NPs. Several examples are provided below, comprising manner (11.121), temporal (11.122) and locative (11.123) meanings. Unlike nouns, none of these adjuncts undergoes PL.

(11.121) *[ji gáhál' ééńfúnééh' úutágíha íyó ddabuno vénêva.] eromilé dhááyi*   {mbílri.6}

e-rom-ilé   **dhááyi**

9-start-PFV.CJ   like.this.I

'[This is the story we want to tell here today.] It starts this way.'

(11.122) *ábále aǹvádíle Arítáma naafwanyilé ńzílo*   {elic.}

ábále   [a-mu-vád-íle   Arítáma]_{REL} **ni-a-fwany-ilé**   **ńzílo**

2.DEM.III   2-OM1-hit-PFV.REL   Aritama   1PL-OM2-find-PFV.CJ   yesterday

'we met those who hit Aritama yesterday'

(11.123) a. *jíbó dhińdá m̀bára*   {ddingí.14}

         jíbó   **dhi-ní-dhá**   **mu-bára**

         10a.song   10-IPFV.CJ-come   18-9a.sea

         'the songs come from the beach'

      b. *ńzáyí nimottelé vamúsólró wa mwáánā*   {elic.}

         ńzáyí   **ni-mott-el-é**   **va-músólró**   wa   mwáánā

         5.egg   5-fall-APPL-PFV.CJ   16-3.head   3.CON   1.child

         'the egg fell on the child's head'

     The adjunct following a CJ verb may also have the form of a headless locative relative clause as in (11.124).

(11.124) *m̀fíyedhííyé, odhowilé vaáréla mwánákū́ː, ottúkúla ńzáyíː, ótwa*   {semi-elic.}

         mu-fíy-edh-e=íyé   **o-dhow-ilé**   [va-á-réla   **mwánákú**]REL

         18-arrive-APPL-PFV.CJ=3SG.PRO   1-go-PFV.CJ   16-PST.IPFV.CJ-lay   1.chicken

         ottúkúla   ńzáyí   ótwa

         15.take   5.egg   15.break

         'when he arrived, he went where the laying hen was, he took an egg, and broke it'

     A noun with an inherent locative meaning may appear as an adjunct without being added a locative prefix as seen (11.125). Interestingly, in this case, no PL occurs.

(11.125) *kurúmáanje: odhowilé diléén' eéjíle y' oonyákûwa*   {maria.31}

         kurúmáanje   o-dhow-ilé   dilá=éne   éjíle   ya   onyákûwa

         1a.bee.sp   1-go-PFV.CJ   9a.path=INT   9.DEM.III   9.CON   15.be.dirty

         'The bee.sp went into that dirty path.'

CJ + interrogatives

Wh-question words (extensively discussed in section 10.2) always appear immediately after the verb form (IAV), which is necessarily conjoint. Examples are provided below with *uuví* 'where' and *dhaaví* 'how'. Note that section 11.3.3.1 below gives further details on *wh*-elements and IAV position.

(11.126) *ogullé úuví mágágádda?*   {elic.}

         o-gul-ilé   úuví   mágágádda

         2SG-buy-PFV.CJ   where   6.dry.cassava

(11.127) *oṁbáálá dháaví ?*   {páaká.17}

       o-ní-báálá   dháavi

       1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth   how

       'how does it give birth?'

CJ + complement clauses

Complement clauses are often introduced by CJ verb forms. As already discussed in section 7.6.2.1, the complementisers *wíílá* or *wí* 'that' (11.128) and *sábwa* 'because' (11.129) are usually optional in this context.

(11.128) a. *oṅjéédhel' áákwááy' aageelá: aṁmálâ mabásâ*   {maria.150}

       o-ni-jéédh-el-a   [ákwé=áye   a-ga-elá   a-hi-málâ   mabásâ]_{CMP}

       1-IPFV-wait-APPL-Fi.CJ   2.friend=POSS.3SG   2-SIT-say   6-PFV.DJ-finish   6.work

       'he is waiting for his friends to say : "the work is done" '

     b. *īyééne ologilé óṅdhówá mángwáâna*   {elic.}

       īyééne   **o-log-ilé**   [ó-ní-dhówá   mángwáâna]_{CMP}

       3SG.PRO   1-say-PFV.CJ   1-IPFV.CJ-go   tomorrow

       'He said he's coming tomorrow'

(11.129) a. *waaddikúwéÌle oná mwánayé: , [bel' óódh' óóṁváhe ṅzína]*   {páaká.10}

       o-a-ddi-kúwél-el-e   [o-ná   mwánayé]_{CMP}

       1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ   1-have   1.child.POSS.3SG

       'He called me because he has a son, [he asked me to come and give him a name.]'

     b. *muṅddííddêla míy' óokálá dda mwaaná*   {ddingí.7}

       mu-ni-ddí-ídd-êla   míyó   okálá ddi-a   mwaaná

       2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL   1SG.PRO   15.be   1SG.COP-CON   1.child.PL

       'you hate me because I am a child'

Another example of complementation with the conjunction *nínga* 'as, like' is provided below.

(11.130) *muṅddóoná ṅngá muttengú: dda táduwéényu*   {ddingí.8}

       mu-ní-ddí-oná   níngá   muttengú ddi-a   táduwá=ényu

       2PL-IPFV.CJ-1SG-see   as   mistakenly 1SG.COP-CON   1a.fool=POSS.2PL

       'you see me as your fool'

CJ forms may also be completed by direct reported speech, as shown in (11.131) and (11.132).

(11.131) *kádda mútt' úuńdh' óóńńla : "míyo kaddiḿvódhá waaméla"*   {ddingí.4}

kádda	múttú	[o-ní-dhá]REL	**o-ní-íla**	míyo	ka-ddi-ní-vódhá	waaméla
each	1.man	1-IPFV.CJ-come	1-IPFV.CJ-say	1SG.PRO	NEG-1SG-IPFV-can	15.chase.PL

'Everyone who comes says : "I cannot protect it" (lit. 'I cannot chase').

(11.132) *oníílá : "móoyá: , míyó ǹnófún' óódhów' óomúnddá na nyúwo*
mángwáána na námwâli"   {mute.10}

o-ní-ílá	móoyá	míyó	ni-ni-ófúna	ódhówa	o-múnddá
1-IPFV.CJ-say	1.father.in.law.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.want	15.go	17-3.field

na	nyúwo	mángwáána	na	námwâli
with	2PL.PRO	tomorrow	with	1a.girl

'he is saying : "father-in-law, I want to go to the field tomorrow with you and with the girl"'

CJ + certain tenses

The verbs *ófuná* 'want' (11.133) and *ódhowá* 'go' (11.134) may function as modal verbs expressing a wish or a prospective action. In this case, they are inflected for the CJ present tense and followed by the (itive) subjunctive form of the main lexical verb.

(11.133) *míyó ddiḿfúná: ddittíye owūsápela*   {body.5}

míyó	**ddi-ní-fúná**	**ddi-ttíy-e**	o-ū-sáp-el-a
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-stop-SBJ	15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi

'I am going to stop feeding you'

(11.134) *nińdhówá nágwâdde kúnî waáddámana yiíko*   {elic.}

ni-ní-dhówá	**ni-á-gwâdd-e**	kúnî	waáddám-an-a	yiíko
1PL-PRS.CJ-go	1PL-IT-cut-SBJ	5a.firewood	15.be.close-REC-Fi	9.river

'we are going to cut firewood at the river'

CJ verbs may also be followed by sequential subordinate clauses, which can in turn be a bare sequential form (11.135) or further marked for either situative (11.136) or perfective (11.137).

(11.135) *ehíb' ééjó ddivahiwé báddilí músuńzi*   {elic.}

ehíbá	éjó	**ddi-vah-iw-é**	**bá-ddi-lí**	músuńzi
9.hoe	9.DEM.II	1SG-give-PASS-PFV.CJ	SEQ-1SG-be	3.apprentice.PL

'I was given this black hoe when I was an apprentice'

(11.136) *odhilé bágáttamága*   {semi-elic.}

      o-dh-ilé   **bá-gá-ttamága**

      1-come-PFV.CJ   SEQ.1-SIT-run

      'he came running'

(11.137) *ddirurumuwilé báddiruddilé vâkúgúlúní*   {semi-elic.}

      ddi-rurumuw-ilé   **bá-ddi-rudd-ilé**   vâ-kúgúlú＝ní

      1SG-wake.up-PFV.CJ   SEQ-1SG-urinate-PFV   16-9a.bed＝LOC

      'I woke up while I had already urinated in bed'

Finally, CJ verbs may be followed by a subordinate temporal clause making use of a counterexpectational verb, as in (11.138).

(11.138) *afiyilé múyaná aǹnámâriy' oopíya*   {elic.}

      a-fiy-ilé   múyaná   **a-hi-ná-mâriya**   opíya

      2-arrive-PFV.CJ   1.woman   1-NEG-CE-finish   15.cook

      'they arrived before the woman had finished cooking'

All the aforementioned examples show that a conjoint verb form is not restricted in the type of constituent it controls. We thus conclude that the argument structure is not a vector of distinction between conjoint and disjoint verb forms.

11.3.3   Difference in information coding

Despite their different segmental morphology, CJ and DJ verb forms work in pairs, which encode the same tense/aspect semantics as was illustrated in section 8.1. In this section, I show that CJ/DJ forms differ in their relation with what follows the verb, and more particularly, their conditioning is exclusively determined by information structure.

11.3.3.1   CJ and IAV focus

In Cuwabo, the "Immediate After Verb" (IAV) position is closely associated with a focus interpretation. By IAV position, it is understood that nothing may intervene between the verb and the focused element. For instance, the questioned element in interrogative clauses is a good illustration of this tight relationship. A *wh*-element is indeed usually assumed to be inherently focused, and as such is always questioned IAV (except for the subject as discussed below). Two examples are given below.

(11.139) a. *oguÌlé úuví mágágádda?*   {elic.}

       o-gul-ilé   **úuví**   mágágádda

       2SG-buy-PFV.CJ   where 6.dry.cassava

       'WHERE did you buy dry cassava?'

    b. *ámákaákó eeyiléení*   {elic.}

       ámákaákó   **a-iy-ilé=ní**

       2.monkey   2-steal-PFV.CJ=what

       'WHAT did the monkeys steal?'

The same questions are ungrammatical with DJ verb forms, as the following examples show.

(11.140) a. **oógúlá úuví mágágádda?*   {elic.}

       o-hí-gúlá   **úuví**   mágágádda

       2SG-PFV.DJ-buy   where 6.dry.cassava

       'WHERE did you buy dry cassava?'

    b. **ámákaákó ahííyáani*   {elic.}

       ámákaákó   **a-hí-íyá=ni**

       2.monkey   2-PFV.DJ-steal=what

       'WHAT did the monkeys steal?'

This suggests that IAV focus position is only relevant after a CJ verb form. Now, and as already pointed out on several occasions, the IAV questioning is not worth for subjects, which typically appear in the preverbal domain. In this initial position, it cannot be questioned, as shown in (11.141)a. Instead, a cleft construction accompanied by a relative clause is required (11.141)b, for both questioning and answering (see section 10.2 for a more detailed discussion).

(11.141) Question: 'WHO is taking this girl to the hospital?'

    a. **námwál' uúddu aani onimuttúkúlel' osímítélî ?*   {elic.}

       námwáli óddu   aani   o-ni-mu-ttúkúl-el-a   o-símítélî

       1a.girl   1.DEM.I who   1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-take-APPL-Fi 17-9a.hospital

    b. *námwál' uúddu onimuttúkúlel' osímítélî ba aani ?*   {elic.}

       námwáli óddu   [o-ni-mu-ttúkúl-el-a   o-símítélî]_{REL}   ba   aani

       1a.girl   1.DEM.I 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-take-APPL-Fi 17-9a.hospital 2.COP who

But, interestingly, an exception arises with the quantifier *oté/eté* 'all', which cannot be introduced in a cleft construction (11.142)b when answering the subject question given in (11.142)a. Instead, it occupies the postverbal position, as shown in (11.142)c. Whereas there

is no apparent reason for such a restriction, it turns out to be attested in many languages of the world (Creissels p.c.).

(11.142) a. *wíibilé bá aaní ?*   {elic.}

       [ó-ib-ilé]_{REL}   bá   aani

       1-sing-PFV.REL   2.COP   who

       'who sang?'

   b. **wíibilé bá eetééne*   {elic.}

       [ó-ib-ilé]_{REL}   bá   a-eté = éne

       1-sing-PFV.REL   2.COP   2-all = INT

       'everyone sang'

   c. *wiibilé eetééne*   {elic.}

       o-ib-ilé   a-eté = éne

       1-sing-PFV.CJ   2-all = INT

       'everyone sang'

This inversion structure reminds of thetic constructions discussed in section 11.2.2, which are usually used to express new information. Here, the semantics of the quantifier *eetééne* 'all = INT', inherently definite, indicates an emphatic focus, rather than new information. Note that thetic sentences with the postverbal subject *oté/eté* 'all' are the only one in my database which make use of a CJ verb. VS constructions are normally built upon DJ verb forms. An example of VS structure extracted from a story is provided in (11.143) where *eetééne* 'all = INT' does not refer to new participants, but rather emphasises that *all* the participants died.

(11.143) *eǹtã̌wú mukwéliíyé: , akwilé eetééne*   {body.17}

     eǹtáwú   [mu-kw-él-e = iye]_{REL}   **a-kw-ilé**   **a-eté = éne**

     then   18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO   2-die-PFV.CJ   2-all = INT

     'Then when he died, all died.'

So far, I only discussed the IAV position in the context of *wh*-questions. As expected, answering these questions involves the same CJ + IAV focus combination, as illustrated in (11.144)a-b which respectively match with the questions in (11.139).

(11.144) a. Answer: *mágágáddá: niguǹ' óómusíka*   {elic.}

       mágágáddá   **ni-gul-ilé**   ó-musíka

       6.dry.cassava   1PL-buy-PFV.CJ   17-3.market

       'the dry cassava, we bought it AT THE MARKET'

b. Answer: *ámákaákó eeyilé m̀paddo*   {elic.}

ámákaákó	**a-iy-ilé**	**m̀paddo**
2.monkey	2-steal-PFV.CJ	3.bench

the monkeys stole THE BENCH'

In the question-answer pairs observed in (11.139) and (11.144), the new element present in the answer is easily detectable, since it comes in replacement of the *wh*-word in the question. It thus occupies the IAV position and is interpreted as new information, therefore as the focus. In the same context, the use of a DJ form is grammatically correct but pragmatically unfelicitous, since it does not emphasises the questioned element and thus does not properly answer the question. This is shown with *nineelóógulíhâ* 'we will buy (DJ)' in (11.145)a, which makes perfect sense on its own as a simple assertion, but is infelicitous in the context of a *wh*-question, which demands a CJ form as in (11.145)b.

(11.145) Question: 'what will you sell at the market?'

Answer: a. #*vamusíka nineelóógulíhâ mázâyi*   {elic.}

va-musíka	**ni-naa-ilá-ógulíhâ**	mázâyi
16-3.market	1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.sell.PL	6.egg

b. *vamusíka nináágúlíhe mazayi*   {elic.}

va-musíka	**ni-náá-gúlíh-e**	mazayi
16-3.market	1PL-FUT.CJ-sell-IRR	6.egg.PL

As a matter of fact, in example (11.145)a, *mázâyi* 'eggs', introduced by a DJ form, is neither considered as a topic, nor as a focus. Instead, it associates to the verb to form a comment on the preverbal topic *vamusíka* 'at the market'. The speaker asserts that the given action or event took place, as a mere information (see section 11.2.1 on topic-comment sentences). Inversely, introducing *mázâyi* 'eggs' as a new information necessarily implies the use of a CJ form as in (11.145)b. Note that a topic-comment sentence (with a DJ verb) may also come as an answer a question, which necessarily involves a CJ verb. An example of such a pairing is provided below.

(11.146) a. Question: *mír' íísó dhinúúnúwa dháavi ?*   {elic.}

mírí	ésó	dhi-ní-únúwa	dháavi
4.tree	4.DEM.II	4-IPFV.CJ-grow	how

'how do these trees grow?'

b. Answer: *ēsó dhínófúná máánjé méénji na múrúńtí vañgóóno*   {elic.}

ēsó	dhí-ni-ófúná	máánjé	méénji	na	múrúńtî	vangóóno
4.DEM.II	4-IPFV.DJ-15.want	6.water	6.a.lot	and	3.shadow	16.little

'these need a lot of water and a little shadow'

In (11.146)b, no specific postverbal element receives a focus reading. Instead, the whole predicate is interpreted as a comment on the topical pronominal subject *ēso* 'these', referring to the aforementioned *mírí* 'trees'. But this is in fact explained by the semantics of *how*-questions, which usually query a whole comment rather a specific constituent in the sentence. The same is true with *why*-questions.

On the other hand, focused elements in IAV position do not necessarily occur as an answer to a question. Assertive clauses may also imply an IAV focus position, if the speaker is willing to refer to some new element in the discourse or to emphasise on a specific constituent. A few examples extracted from stories are provided below. In (11.147), *ósalu* 'thread' (whose H on the class prefix results from HTD), is a new relevant element introduced in the story. In (11.148), *viyoólá* 'guitar' does not bear a new information interpretation, since it has already been mentioned in the story. Instead, the use of a CJ verb here seems to bring emphasis on the following constituent.

(11.147) *mákága áayé: ottukul̀lé ósalu, [ovir̀há kobélá ya muńji]*   {mbílri.12}

mákága	áayé	**o-ttukul-ilé**	**ósalu**
6.oracle	6.POSS.3SG	1-take-PFV.CJ	14.thread.PL

'For his oracle, he took A THREAD, [made it go till the opposite river bank].'

(11.148) *namárógol' oomusemilé: viyoólááyé:*   {ddingí.11}

namárógolo	**o-mu-sem-ilé**	**viyoólá = áyé**
1a.hare	1-OM1-work.wood-PFV.CJ	1a.guitar = POSS.3SG.PL

'Mr.Hare fixed HIS GUITAR'

In case of assertive clauses displaying CJ verbs with more than one postverbal phrase, only the IAV one can be interpreted as the focus. Consider the following double object construction with the underived verb *óvahá* 'give'. (11.149)a questions the recipient, i.e the one who was given a bicycle. In the answer in (11.149)b, the patient object is in the topic preverbal domain, and the new information indicating the recipient is given right after the verb. In both the question and the answer, nothing may intervene between the CJ verb and the focused constituent.

(11.149) a. Question: *wéyó om̀vahil' ááni síkáléta ?*   {elic.}

wéyó	**o-mu-váh-ilé**	áani	síkáléta
2SG.PRO	2SG-OM1-give-PFV.CJ	who	9a.bicycle

'WHOM did you give the bicycle to?'

b. Answer: *síkélétáyá ddimvahilé mwáana*   {elic.}

[síkeléta = ya]_{PATIENT}   **ddi-mu_i-vah-ilé**   [mwáana_i]_{RECIP}

9a.bicycle = DEF   1SG-OM1-give-PFV.CJ   1.child.PL

'I gave the bicycle TO THE CHILD'

Interestingly, the focused recipient *mwáana* 'child' is object-marked on the verb. Whereas in many Bantu languages such a co-indexation is considered ungrammatical in a focalisation context, this example brings evidence that in Cuwabo object agreement is fully grammatical.

In (11.150)a, the CJ applicative verb questions the patient object. Two answers are possible which differ in the constituent ordering. The preferred option (11.150)b consists in placing the two topics (both the subject and the benefactive) in the preverbal domain and then introducing the focused patient immediately after the CJ verb. In the second option in (11.150)c, the benefactive object is right-dislocated, suggesting an afterthought. The resulting sentence would probably be best translated as 'the visitors bought them A DOG, (I mean) to their families'. What is important in each sentence is that the patient, as new information, is placed IAV and thus acquires a focus interpretation, confirmed by PL. In contrast, in (11.150)c the right-dislocated object appears as in citation form.

(11.150) a. Question: *áléddo aaguleléení ámúdhaáwa ?*   {elic.}

áléddo   **a-a-gul-el-é = ní**   ámúdhaáwa

2.guest   2-OM2-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ = what   2.parent.POSS.3PL

'WHAT did the visitors buy for their families?'

b. Answer: *áléddo ámúdhaáwa aagulelé mwánabwa*   {elic.}

áléddo   [ámúdhaáwa]_{BENEF}   **a-a-gul-el-é**   [mwánabwa]_{PATIENT}

2.guest   2.parent.POSS.3PL   2-OM2-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ   1a.dog.PL

'the visitors bought A DOG for their families'

c. Answer: *áléddo aagulelé mwánabwa ámúdhaáwa*   {elic.}

áléddo   **a-a-gul-el-é**   [mwánabwa]_{PATIENT}   [ámúdhaáwa]_{BENEF}

2.visitors   2-OM2-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ   1a.dog.PL   2.parent.POSS.3PL

'the visitors bought A DOG for their families'

The same bond between CJ and IAV focus occurs in the causative construction provided in (11.151). The preverbal causee occupies a topic status, whereas the patient object is newly introduced in IAV position.

(11.151) a. Question: *ápáaká waajihilééni ?*   {elic}

      ápáaká   **o-a-j-ih-ilé=ni**

      2.cat   2SG-OM2-eat-CAUS-PFV.CJ=what

      'WHAT did you cause the cats to eat?'

    b. Answer: *ápáaká ddaajihilé náambedde*   {elic}

      [ápáaká]~CAUSEE~   **ddi-a-j-ih-ilé**   [**náambedde**]~PATIENT~

      2.cat   1SG-OM2-eat-CAUS-PFV.CJ   1a.maize.PL

      'I made the cats eat MAIZE'

Note that in both applicative and causative constructions, object marking on the verb has a co-referential function *vis-à-vis* the topicalised objects (the benefactive in (11.150)b and the causee in (11.151)b), which constitute the *primary objects* in Dryer (1986)'s terms.

All these examples convincingly show that IAV position linked to a CJ verb is occupied by the focus. Note that IAV, first referred to by Watters (1979) and Hyman and Watters (1984) for the Grassfields Bantu language called Aghem, is a very common focus position among Bantu languages. But Cuwabo, as Makhuwa (van der Wal 2006, 2009) has the specificity to exclusively associate IAV focus with CJ verb forms. In other words, CJ verbs necessarily encode a focus interpretation for the constituent immediately following.

As already pointed out, nouns occupying the IAV focus position are affected by a tonal modification known as PL. This means that PL participates alongside CJ verbal morphology to focus marking. In this respect, Cuwabo functions as Makhuwa.

11.3.3.2 Different types of focus

A distinction is traditionally made between two types of focalisation: informational focalisation and contrastive focalisation.

Informational focus

Informational focalisation usually responds to missing information in the discourse-context, hence it is directly associated with *wh*-questions, which ask for an informational lacuna, and their corresponding answers, which fulfill this lacuna. Most focused constituents exemplified so far in this section can be interpreted as informational, either conveying new information or expressing emphasis on the IAV element. Further examples are provided below. In (11.152), *nyumba* 'house' is given as new information. It does not exist yet but is an object

of desire from the protagonist. In (11.153), the IAV focused constituent *kovaaye* 'her face' represents an emphasised piece of information in the sentence.

(11.152) *supeéyó supeéyo míyó ddiḿfúná nyumb' eénddímúwa*   {maria.59}

      supeéyo   míyó   **ddi-ní-fúná**   **nyumba**   é-nddímúwa

      9a.mirror.PL   1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 9a.house.PL 9-big

      'Mirror, mirror, I want a very big and beautiful house, with everything in it.'

(11.153) *agaañgána' nááñgána kovaaye*   {maria.55}

      a-gaa-añgána **o-ní-áñgána**   kove=aye

      1-SIT-look   1-IPFV.CJ-look   9a.face=POSS.3SG.PL

      'when she looks, she sees her face'

Note that the CJ may be part of the focus when answering questions like 'what happened?'. In this case, the whole predicate falls under the scope of focalisation, and the use of a DJ form would be considered ungrammatical. An illustrating example is provided below.

(11.154) Question: *okosilééni ?*   {elic.}

                o-kos-ilé=ni

                1-do-PFV.CJ=what

                'what did he do?'

      Answer: *olimilé ḿbuga*   {elic.}   **oolíma m̀búga*   {elic.}

             o-lim-ilé   ḿbuga   o-hi-líma   m̀búga

             1-cultivate-PFV.CJ 3.rice.PL   1-PFV.DJ cultivate 3.rice

             'he cultivated rice'

Contrastive focus

A contrastive focus sets in contrast two given pieces of information. The focused information is asserted in contrast with some alternative information, explicitly announced or only presupposed (Creissels 2006b: chapter 28). The cleft constructions typically constitute the contrastive focus device used in Cuwabo, in which the focused element is either introduced by a copula (11.155) or undergoes PL (11.156).

(11.155) *ddi naámbéddé: onáámúlimééyé ńsaká ńttí, ji fólá enáálíméeyé ńsaká ńtto*   {elic.}

ddi	naámbédde	[o-náá-mú-lim-é = éyé	ńsaká	ńttí]_{REL}
1.COP	1a.maize	1-FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR = 3SG.PRO	5.period.PL	5.DEM.I

ji	fólá	[e-náá-lím-é = eyé	ńsaká	ńtto]_{REL}
9.COP	9.tobacco	1-FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR = 3SG.PRO	5.period.PL	5.DEM.II

'it is maize that he will cultivate this season; tobacco, he will cultivate next season'

(11.156) *onáámúlimééyé ńsaká ńttí / naambedde, enáálíméeyé ńsaká ńtto / fola*   {elic.}

[o-náá-mú-lim-é = éye	ńsaká	ńttí]_{REL}	**naambedde**
1-FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR = 3SG.PRO	5.period.PL	5.DEM.I	1a.maize.PL

[e-náá-lím-é = eye	ńsaká	ńtto]_{REL}	**fola**
1-FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR = 3SG.PRO	5.period.PL	5.DEM.II	9.tobacco.PL

'what he will cultivate this season is maize; what he will cultivate next season is tobacco'

Still, the constrastive focus is not restricted to cleft constructions. (11.157) and (11.158) provide examples where the IAV focus following a CJ verb also bears a constrastive focus value. This is particularly clear in (11.157), which contradicts and corrects the information included in the question. In (11.158), it is said that whereas maize will be cultivated this season, in contrast, next season will be devoted to tobacco. Finally, in (11.159), a choice between the two recipient objects *áyimá* 'children' or *ábáabá* 'parents' is given in the question. Note that in this IAV coordinated NP, only the first constituent (*áyimá* 'children') is affected by PL. The answer to such a question implies a contrastive focus of selection.

(11.157) Question: 'did the teacher give the student flowers?'

Answer: *née, námásuǹzíha oǹvahilé níívuru námásuńza*   {elic.}

née	námásuǹzíha	**o-mu-vah-ilé**	**níívuru**	námásuńza
no	1a.teacher	1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ	5.book.PL	1a.student

'no, the teacher gave the student a book'

(11.158) *naámbéddé: anáámúlíme ǹsaká ńttí, ǹsaká ńttó: anáálíme fola*   {elic.}

naámbédde	a-náá-mú-lím-e	ǹsaká	ńttí
1a.maize	2-FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR	5.period.PL	5.DEM.I

ǹsaká	ńttó	**a-náá-lím-e**	**fola**
5.period.PL	5.DEM.II	2-FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR	9.tobacco.PL

'maize, they will cultivate this season; next season they will cultivate tobacco'

(11.159) Question: *Ōsáńzáyá maníívuru waaperengezelé áyimá óbe ábáabá?*   {elic.}

      ōsáńzáyá   maníívuru   o-a-perengez-el-é   áyimá   óbe ábáabá

      osanzaya   6.book   1-OM2-send-APPL-PFV.CJ   2.child.PL   or   2.parent

      'did Osanzaya send the books to the children or the parents?'

      Answer: *Ōsáńzáyá waaperengezelé ábáabá*   {elic.}

      ōsáńzáyá   **o-a-perengez-el-é**   ábaabá

      osanzaya   1-OM2-send-APPL-PFV.CJ   2.parent.PL

      'Osanzaya send (them) to the parents'

Restricted or exclusive focus

As already seen in section 7.1.2.1, the restrictive modifier =*vi*, translated as 'only', is used to restrict the referential scope of a category and focus exclusively on the designated constituent. In (11.160), the whole body is covered with pimples only. In (11.161), the character is complaining about her endless sufferings.

(11.160) *maníngw' áaye adhaaÌlé túguví, ńnga náándwe*   {maria.9}

      maníngo áaye   **a-dhaal-ilé**   **ttúgu=ví**   nínga   náándwe

      6.body   6.POSS.3SG   6-be.full-PFV.CJ   9a.pimple.PL=RESTR   like   1a.frog

      'Her body was full of pimples, like a frog'

(11.161) *míyó ddiinyákúwá ddiǹkál' óobulélávi*   {maria.41}

      míyó   ddi-hi-nyákúwá   **ddi-ni-kálá**   **obulélá=vi**

      1SG.PRO 1SG-PFV.DJ-be.dirty   1SG-IPFV.CJ-be   15.suffer.PL=RESTR

      'I am ugly and I keep falling sick'

    The adverb *baáhi* 'only' seems to attract a focus interpretation when used as a noun modifier. Consider the following example: in (11.162)a, I answer the question 'what did you give to Maria?'. My interlocutor then asks me in (11.162)b if I also gave her a book. Note here the use of a disjoint verb. I then indicate that I only gave her a dress in (11.162)c by means of a CJ verb. In this sentence, the focalised element *ombulrólro* 'dress' now has a restricted or exclusive interpretation. In the same context, a DJ verb form (11.162)d would be infelicitous.

(11.162) a. *Maríyá, ddiǹvahilé ombulrólro*   {elic.}

        maríyá   **ddi-mu-vah-ilé**   ombulrólro

        maria   1SG-OM1-give-PFV.CJ   3.dress.PL

        'I gave Maria A DRESS'

b. *oómvahá niívúru viíná ?*   {elic.}

   o-hí-mú-vahá   niívúru   viíná

   2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   5.book   also

   'Did you also give her a book?'

c. *nee ddimvahilé ombulrólro baáhi*   {elic.}

   nee **ddi-mu-vah-ilé**   **ombulrólro** **baáhi**

   no   1SG-OM1-give-PFV.CJ   3.dress.PL only

   'No, I ONLY gave her A DRESS'

d. *#nee ddiímvahá ómbúlrólró baáhi*   {elic.}

   nee ddi-hi-mu-vahá   ómbúlrólró baáhi

   no   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give   3.dress   only

The following sentences provide further examples of a restricted (or exclusive) focus on the IAV constituent, expressed through the modifier *baáhi* 'only'. Interestingly, in (11.164) and (11.165), the comparison between CJ and DJ verb forms in the same contexts reveals a difference in meaning: with CJ forms, *baáhi* applies exclusively to the IAV element with the aforementioned restricted reading. Thus in (11.164)a, bananas are the only thing I bought, and (11.165)a, Maria is the only one to receive a flower from Fernando. Now, with DJ forms, it seems that *baáhi* does no longer act as a noun modifier but as a clause adverb, usually bearing the somewhat pejorative meaning '(it's) enough!'. For instance, a possible context for the sentence in (11.164)b to occur could be one in which my mother is complaining about my being lazy, to which I reply that (at least) I bought bananas and that's enough, implying that I do not want to be bothered anymore.

(11.163) *oddivahilé míkátté míinddi baáhi, ddiītákúna*   {semi-elic.}

     o-ddi-vah-ilé   **míkátté**   **míinddi** **baáhi** ddi-hī-tákúna

     1-OM1SG-give-PFV.CJ   4.rice.cake 4.two   only   1SG-PFV.DJ-chew

     'he gave me two rice cakes and I have already eaten them'

(11.164) a. *ddigullé máfugi baáhi*   b. *ddiígúlá máfugi baáhi*   {elic.}

     ddi-gul-ilé   **máfugi**   **baáhi**   ddi-hí-gúlá   máfúgi   **baáhi**

     1SG-buy-PFV.CJ 6.banana.PL   only   1SG-PFV.CJ-buy 6.banana enough

     'I only bought bananas'   'I bought bananas, it's enough'

(11.165) a. *Férnáándo ìlrúwa omvahilé Maríyá baáhi*   {elic.}

     férnáándo   ìlrúwa   **o-mu-vah-ilé**   **maríyá**   **baáhi**

     fernando   5.flower 1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ maria   only

     'Fernando gave a flower to Maria only'

b. *Féŕnáándo ǹlrúwá oóḿvahá Máríyá baáhi*   {elic.}

Féŕnáándo	ǹlrúwá	o-hí-mú-vahá	máríyá	**baáhi**
fernando	5.flower	1-PFV.CJ-OM1-give	maria	enough

'Fernando gave a flower to Maria, it's enough'

Exclusivity has already been pointed out by van der Wal (2009) as the main reading of CJ-IAV constructions in Makhuwa-Enahara. In Cuwabo, it is undoubtedly an attested reading, but a more systematic research would be needed to determine whether this is the main one as in Makhuwa.

11.4 Summary

I conclude that information structure is manifested in different ways in Cuwabo: constituent order, morphological marking and prosody. A topical element thus occupies the preverbal position, whereas a non-topical element is tied to the postverbal domain. Within the postverbal domain, the focus interpretation is given to the IAV element, provided that the verb is morphologically marked in the conjoint form. This means that the IAV focus position is relevant only in tenses where the CJ/DJ alternation is attested. In this case, both the conjoint verb and the focused element are prosodically linked, in that the latter, depending on its grammatical nature, is affected by a tonal alteration, known as 'Predicative Lowering', whereby the first primary H tone is deleted. An element following a disjoint verb form is interpreted both as non-topic and non-focal. Instead, it associates with the verb to form the comment of the preverbal topic. We thus conclude that constituent order, morphological marking and prosody conjointly interact to define the intended semantic-discursive interpretation of the sentence.

12

Conclusion

This conclusion is intended to draw a brief overview of the primary typological features of the language, some of which are briefly addressed in a genetic and areal perspective. I will also briefly explore topics for future research that arise from this dissertation.

Phonological typology

As is common in Bantu languages, the syllable structure in Cuwabo is CV, in which the vowel constitutes the nucleus and the consonant is the initial onset. The nucleus is generally a vowel but can also be a syllabic sonorant (nasal or liquid). Cuwabo has a common 5-vowel system, which further distinguishes short and long vowels. There are a few morphophonological processes that affect vowels, including vowel coalescence, vowel deletion, and vowel harmony. The consonant system is about three times the size of the vowel system and includes voiced prenasalised consonants in its inventory.

Among the consonants, a striking feature shared by the P30 languages is the denasalisation of Proto-Bantu prenasalised clusters *mb, *nd, *ŋg, realised respectively /b/ /ɗ/ /g/ in Cuwabo and /p/ /ʈ/ /k/ in Makhuwa (where devoicing also occurs). This denasalisation shared by Cuwabo and Makhuwa is strongly divergent in relation to other Bantu languages and thus an argument in favor of a genetic relationship between both languages. Interestingly this phonological evolution is also displayed in the Sotho-Tswana

languages, numbered S30 by Guthrie. Shared correspondences between these two geographically distant linguistic groups have first been pointed by Janson (1991-92), and was further evidenced by Philippson and Guérois (2013), who examine further phonological issues. However, Cuwabo and certain Makhuwa dialects also comprise NÇ consonants in their phonological inventories, synchronically attested for many everyday words (e.g. in Cuwabo: *nyúmba* 'house, *mbúzi* 'goat', *kúnguní* 'bed bug', etc). The introduction of such sounds probably results from more recent periods of language contact with Sena or Nyanja (which retained the PB nasal clusters), with convergence effects on the sound inventory of the P30 languages in contact.

Cuwabo is also a tone language with a binary distinction between H and Ø tones, as often attested in eastern Bantu languages. Interestingly, it is the only P30 language which retained a lexical H tone contrast on nouns and verbs. In this respect, Cuwabo can be considered as more conservative than its neighbouring languages (recall that Sena is a toneless language). However, Cuwabo and Makhuwa both share the tone process known as 'Predicative Lowering', otherwise unattested across Bantu. PL applies in different environments and fulfils different functions accordingly, including non-verbal predication, focalisation, and vocative.

Grammatical typology

Nouns and verbs constitute the main word classes in Cuwabo. They have a lexical content and form an open system, i.e. they may easily enlarge their inventories. In contrast, a word class like adjectives is reduced to a handful of words and constitutes a closed word class. The expression of adjectival properties is in fact assumed by verbs, by means of connective constructions or through the stative reading of the perfective tense. Again, in this respect, Cuwabo patterns with most Bantu languages. Both nouns and verbs are typically realised through morphological processes applying to a root. The most productive is affixation. Reduplication is also attested but no longer in a productive way and compounding only applies with nouns.

Nouns are divided into different genders referred to as noun classes and shown by prefixation. The division into noun classes is to a certain extent made on semantic grounds. The noun class system productively interacts with other constituents in the sentence, within the NP as well as on the predicate, whose agreement is controlled by the head constituent (usually a noun). Regarding the NP structure, modifiers usually follow the head noun.

Cuwabo is also typically Bantu in its agglutinative verbal morphology. Verbs are built upon an extensive template with different slots potentially filled with inflectional markers

(negative, subject, object, TAM), derivational verbal extensions, and post-final clitics. Interestingly, the range of TAM prefixes in Cuwabo is much wider than in Makhuwa, and for some of them, Sena influence is easily recognisable. This is the case for the situative (Cuwabo *-gaa-* < Sena *-nga-*) and the sequential (Cuwabo pre-initial *ba-* < Sena *mba-*), as shown in chapter 8.

Cuwabo and Makhuwa share several grammatical features, not (or only sporadically) found in other Bantu languages. A first striking similarity deals with the formation of locative noun phrases, combining a locative prefix with the locative enclitics =*ni* (e.g. *o-mabásá*=*ni* 'at work' in Cuwabo and *o-ǹtéko*=*ni* 'at work' in Makhuwa). To the best of my knowledge, this combination is attested in no other Bantu language. In fact, in Eastern Bantu, locative NPs are formed either by the locative prefixes *pa-, *ku-, *mu-, or by the locative suffix *-(i)ni*. Interestingly, these two strategies are mutually exclusive, except in P30 languages which exhibit both. The uniqueness of this double-marking presumably results from a contact situation. Whereas =*ni* can be regarded as an inherited feature among P30, the addition of the locative prefixes was in all likelihood borrowed from neighbouring languages (P20 Yao group, N30 Chewa-Nyanja group, N40 Senga-Sena group), which exclusively display the first aforementioned strategy, namely the prefixation of locative prefixes.

Relative clauses are another construction which distinguishes P30 languages from the other eastern Bantu languages, in that the verb always agrees with the head noun, and not with the postverbal logical subject in case of non-subject relatives. In this structure, the relative marker occupies the slot of the subject marker. Interestingly, whereas the different neighbouring languages (P20, N30 and N40) do not display this relativisation strategy, the same construction is unexpectedly found in Sena as shown in section 10.1. This suggests that relative clauses in Sena were once different and that they gained their actual constructions under a longstanding contact with Makhuwa and Cuwabo languages. Relative constructions thus constitute an example of linguistic areal structure, with convergence effects.

Cuwabo has a SVO constituent order, like in most Bantu languages, with an accusative alignment, whereby the subject argument of an intransitive construction and the agent argument of a transitive construction are similarly encoded. In addition to transitive and intransitive, ditransitive clause types are also attested. There is no case marking in Cuwabo. Instead grammatical relations are encoded by constituent order and verbal morphological marking (through a system of grammatical agreement). Furthermore, several derivational extensions have the effect of modifying the verb valency. As expected, in double object or ditransitive constructions, Cuwabo exhibits both symmetrical and asymmetrical behaviour

with respects to constituent order, object marking (with or without object deletion) and passivisation.

Constituent order is also motivated by semantic-discursive factors. Whereas the preverbal domain is tied to topicality, the postverbal domain comprises non-topical constituents. In addition, information structure is also encoded by the conjoint/disjoint alternation. More particularly, the presence of a focused element is reflected by the conjoint form of a verb. This focused element always occupies the IAV position and, depending on its grammatical nature, is affected by a tonal alteration (known as Predicative Lowering), which thus participates in the focus marking. Interestingly, these co-occurring focus strategies, not commonly attested cross-linguistically, are also found in Makhuwa.

A fascinating phenomenon in Cuwabo syntax is locative inversion (LI), which applies both in formal and semantic constructions as seen in section 11.1.4. This suggests that formal LI and semantic LI are not exclusive of one another. Contrary to Cuwabo, locative inversion constructions are not attested in Makhuwa, which constitutes a major divergence in the locative system of both languages. It remains to be seen how Sena behaves with regard to locative inversion.

Topics for further research

Finally, this work represents the first detailed description of the Cuwabo language. By providing data that were so far non-existent, it is hoped that it can contribute to the current typological and comparative discussions within and beyond the Bantu area. Although it covers the most typical fields of grammar, a few relevant topics were left for further research. For example, the syntax-phonology interface is probably an issue worth examining in further details. Recall that penultimate lengthening, which is attested in many eastern Bantu languages, does not occur in Cuwabo. It would be interesting to analyse which strategy or strategies Cuwabo adopts to mark the relationship between prosodic structure and syntactic structure. The different cases of noun-modifier sequences discussed in section 3.3.2 constitute interesting examples of morphosyntactic structures in which specific tonal alternations operate, seemingly to indicate phrasal information. This interaction between nominal phrasal syntax and tonal phonology is probably a topic worth investigating in more details.

The dialectal variation among Cuwabo would also be a challenging project to embark on. Examining the structural properties which distinguish one dialect from another, and investigating how they are spread across space to potentially relate them to areal features

have become research topics which are increasingly acknowledged as contributing to linguistic typology.

Finally, on a slightly broader scale, the few elements of comparison between Cuwabo, Makhuwa and Sena mentioned throughout the dissertation show that a more systematic comparative analysis would be needed to establish which phonological and morphosyntactic features were commonly innovated among P30 languages, and which ones were more likely contact-induced. Such an investigation would refine the established genetic classification on the one hand and set the limits for areal features (i.e. isoglosses) on the other. This would thus shed light on the divergence and convergence processes in this region of the Bantu area. The data at my disposal already reveal interesting patterns, which will be more elaborately discussed in a separate publication.

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Appendix

This appendix contains seven glossed and translated folktales. Most were recorded in Macuse in July 2013. They were then transcribed and translated with the help of Sérgio.

Each sentence is identifed by a noun which evokes the title of the story, followed by a reference number. The timing is also specified so that the reader can easily track the sentence on the audio files, which accompany the thesis. As a reminder, the boundary H tones are indicated on the first line, but not on the second line, restricted to the primary H and their surface H tones resulting from tonological rules (H-tone doubling and long-distance spreading).

Text 1: The maize and the hare (by Fernanda)

ddingí.1_3.5'

ońlógá ddi míyo Féŕnáânda

[o-ní-lógá]_REL	ddi	míyo	Féŕnáânda
1-IPFV.CJ-speak	1.COP	1SG.PRO	Fernanda

It is me, Fernanda, who is speaking.

ddingí.2_6.5'

weéflegé kááy' ddo, weéflegé rápaás' ulima munddááyé: , omwaalámó naámbêdde.

[o-ér-ílegé]_REL	káhíye	oddo	[o-ér-íl-eg-é]_REL	rápaási
1-say-PFV.REL.HAB	NEG.COP	1.DEM.II.PL	1-say-PFV.REL. HAB	1a.boy.PL

o-lima	munddá = áye	o-mu-alá = mó	naámbêdde
NAR-cultivate	3.field = POSS.3SG	NAR-OM1-sow = 18.LOC	1a.maize

There once was a man. (lit. 'the one who said, it is not that one, the one who said, it is a boy') He cultivated his field and sowed maize.

ddingí.3_13'

nuúmwáalá náámbéddé: , waavedágá: áttú wíílá amwáámele naámbéedde.

na-ó-mú-alá	náámbéddé	o-a-ved-ág-á	áttú	wíílá	a-mú-ámel-e	naámbéedde
RES-15-OM1-sow	1a.maize	NAR-OM2-look.for-HAB-Fi	2.people	CMP	2-OM1-chase-SBJ	1a.maize

When he sowed maize, he looked for people to protect it (from thieves, like monkeys for instance)

ddingí.4_18'

kádda mútt' úuńdh' óóńíla : "míyó kaddiŕnvódhá waaméla" (x2)

kádda	múttú	[o-ní-dhá]_REL	o-ní-íla	míyó	ka-ddi-ní-vódhá	waaméla
each	1.man	1-IPFV.CJ-come	1-IPFV.CJ-say	1SG.PRO	NEG-1SG-IPFV-can	15.chase.PL

Everyone coming says : "I cannot protect it" (lit. 'I cannot chase').

ddingí.5_23'

eǹtãwó: , namárógóló: eetéén' aáb' wáárńmagyedha Namárógolo.

eǹtãwó	namárógóló	a-eté = êne	ábó	a-á-mú-magyedha	namárógolo
then	1.hare	2-all = INT	2.DEM.II	2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-slander	1a.hare

Then all of them were slandering Mr.Hare.

ddingí.6_27'

belúw' aáp' óonimújá (namáró) naámbédd' oóddú ddu wéé Namarogolo. Namárógolo belá : "nááda míyó omúnddáaw' oók' óóńlógíínyú, kaddiídhúwo kaǹnávíragáwo.

ba-il-úw-á	ápó	[o-ni-mú-já	naámbédde	óddú]_REL	ddi	wéyo
SEQ.2-say-PASS-Fi	16.DEM.II	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-eat	1a.maize	1.DEM.I	1.COP	2SG.PRO

namarogolo	N.	ba-ilá	náda	míyó	o-múnddá = wa	ókó	[ó-ní-lógá = ínyú]_REL
1a.hare.PL	H.	SEQ.1-say	no	1SG.PRO	17-3.field = 17.DEF	17.DEM.II	17-IPFV.CJ-say = 2PL.PRO

ka-ddi-ídhí = wo	ka-ni-ná-vír-ag-á = wo
NEG-OM1SG-know = 17.LOC	NEG-1PL-CE-go.by-HAB-Fi = 17.LOC

It was said: "the one who eats this maize, it is you Mr.Hare!" Mr.Hare said : "No, in this plantation you are referring to, I don't know it, I have never been through it.

ddingí.7_35'

ddigee só: , nyúwó múnóddíídda, áp' óoddííd' oók' únddíídda nyúwó, muǹddííddêla míy' óokálá dda mwaaná.

ddi-ga-elá	só	nyúwó	mú-ni-ó-ddí-ídda	ápó	o-ddí-ída	ókú
1SG-SIT-do	IDEO	2PL.PRO	2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-hate	16.DEM.II	15-OM1SG-hate	15.DEM.I

[o-ni-ddí-ídda	nyúwó]REL	mu-ni-ddí-ídd-êl-a	míyô
15-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate	2PL.PRO	2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL-Fi	1SG.PRO

okálá	ddi-a	mwaaná
15.be	1.COP-CON	1.child.PL

If I pay attention, you hate me, (lit. 'this hating me that you hate me') you hate me because I am a child

ddingí.8_41'

ńngá dda mwaaná múñgíníñgíní, muńddóoná ńngá muttengú: dda táduwéényu."

níngá	ddi-a	mwaaná	mú-ñgíní-ngíní	mu-ní-ddí-oná	níngá	muttengú
as	1SG.COP-CON	1.child.PL	1-little-RED	2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see	as	mistakenly

ddi-a	táduwá = ényu
1SG.COP-CON	1a.fool = POSS.2PL

Because I am small, you see me as your fool."

ddingí.9_45.5'

ddabunó wíibilé jíbweyé: , m̀mállííy' óom̀sasanyilé víyoolá, odhowáná m̀bárá, ...

ddabunó	ó-ib-ilé	jíbo = ye	[mu-mál-el-é = íyé]REL
then	1-sing-PFV.CJ	9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL	18-finish-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

o-mu-sasany-ilé	víyoólá	o-dhowá = ná	mu-bárá
1-OM1-fix-PFV.CJ	1a.guitar.PL	NAR-go = COM	18-9a.sea

Then, he practiced his song. Having done, he fixed the guitar, went to the beach with it,

ddingí.10_52'

... ovítómeya odhúlú wa muyéré na sábw' aálá eetéén' aánéénám' eetéén' apóddógom' aanyaárúgwe aaní, ééloóm̀peresegíri, ééloóm̀fwará wíílél' aam̀pe, wíílá namárógoló namapuja.

o-ví-tómeya	odhúlú wa	muyéré	na	sábwa	wíílá	a-eté = éne	áná-énáma
NAR-REFL-hang.up	17.top	17.CON	3.tree.sp	with	because	CMP	2-all = INT	2.child-9.animal

a-eté = éne	apóddógoma	anyárúgwe	aaní	a-á-íla-ó-mú-peresegíri
2-all = INT	2.lion	2.leopard	who	2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-chase

a-á-íla-ó-mú-fwará	wííléla	a-mú-p-e	wíílá	namárógolo	namapuja
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-follow	CMP	2-OM1-kill-SBJ	CMP	1a.hare	1a.joker.PL

climbed up the tree.sp because every animal, all of them, lions, leopards, and others were chasing him, they were following him to kill him, because the hare is a joker.

ddingí.11_63.8'

namárógol' oomusemilé: viyóólááyé: , odhowá wíítómeya m̀bár' oókúl' oomuyérêni, okomesáári wííbā, muddáákulegé. belá :

namárógolo	o-mu-sem-ilé	viyoólá = áyé	o-dhowá	o-ví-tómeya
1a.hare	1-OM1-work.wood-PFV.CJ	1a.guitar = POSS.3SG.PL	NAR-go	15-REFL-hung.up

mu-bára	ókúle	o-muyêrê = ni	o-komesáári	wííbā	mu-ddí-ákuleg-é	ba-ilá
18-9a.sea	17.DEM.III	17-3.tree.sp = LOC	NAR-start	15.sing	2PL-OM1SG-answer-SBJ	SEQ.1-say

Mr.Hare fixed his guitar, went and climbed up the tree sp. at the beach, he started to sing -answer me- , he said :

ddingí.12_72.5'

♪ ddingí muḿvírá míyó múnóddááganyedha ♪ (x4)

ddingí	[mu-ní-vírá	míyó]_{REL}	mú-ni-ó-ddí-áganyedha
IDEO	18-IPFV.CJ-go	1SG.PRO	2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-suspect

"[guitar sound] wherever I go by, you suspect me"

ddingí.13_89.5'

ddabun' áábál' aal' uúkúle muttémbá "shiíí! mas muúzík' oóbw' óoǹzívá dhaáyi, ońdá uuvi ? óddú wééyá bá aani ?

ddabunó	ábále	a-li	ókúle	mu-ttémbá	shiíí	mas	muúzíka	óbó
then	2.DEM.III	2-be	17.DEM.III	18-9a.village	INTER	but	3.music	3.DEM.II

[o-ni-zívá	dhaáyi]_{REL}	o-ní-dhá	uuvi	óddú	wé=yá	bá	aani
3-IPFV.CJ-be.nice	like.this.I	3-IPFV.CJ-come	where	1.DEM.I	2SG.PRO=DEF	2.CON	who

Then, those who are in the village (said) : "[excl.], such beautiful music, where does it come from? Who is this?'

ddingí.14_98'

okomesáár' oófwárá muúzík' oóbúl' oófwár' óófwâr' óófwâr' óófwâr' óófwárá jíbw' éésíle. ófwâr' óófwâr' óófwâr' óófwâr' óófwára. Jíbó dhińdá m̀bára.

o-komesáári	ófwárá	muúzíka	óbûle	ófwárá	ófwârá	jíbó	ésíle
NAR-start	15.follow	3.music	3.DEM.III	15.follow	15.follow	9a.song	9.DEM.III

ófwára	ófwâra	jíbó	dhi-ní-dá	mu-bára
15.follow	15.follow	10a.song	10-IPFV.CJ-come	18-9a.sea

They started to follow and follow that song (the direction from where it came). follow, follow… the songs come from the beach.

ddingí.15_107.5'

namárógol' oókúl' oónótáyêya : ♪ ddingí muḿvírá míyó múnóddááganyedha ♪ (x4)

namárógolo	ókúle	ó-ni-ótáy-êy-a	…
1a.hare	1.DEM.III	1-IPFV.DJ-15.tear-NTR-Fi	

That hare is torn (has his voice torn)

ddingí.16_126'

poddógóma꞉ , nyárúgwe꞉ , mútúlú꞉ , ápáaká꞉ , ba aaní éétén' aánéénáma a muddébe aafíya mbára.

poddógóma	nyárúgwe	mútúlú	ápáaká	ba	aaní	á-eté=éne	áná-énáma
1a.lion	1a.leopard	3.mongoose	2a.cat	2.COP	who	2-all=INT	2.child-9.animal

a	muddébe	a-hi-fíya	mu-bára
2.CON	3.wild.land	2-PFV.DJ-arrive	18-9a.sea

Lion, leopard, mongoose, cats, etc, every wild species of animals arrived at the beach.

ddingí.17_134'

agaamwaangán' oónííbá, kanímóonā. Ma óddíy' oónííbá ʷúuvi? óddíy' óónííbá ʷuuvi? óddíy' óónííbá ʷúuvi?

a-gaa-mu-angáná	[o-ní-íbá]_{REL}	ka-ní-mú-oná	mas	óddú=ya	o-ní-íbá	úuvi
2-SIT-OM1-watch	1-IPFV.CJ-sing	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1-see	but	1.DEM.I=DEF	1-IPFV.CJ-sing	where

When they watched in the direction of the one singing, they could not see him. "Where is he singing?"

ddingí.18_141.3'

namárógolo ol' úúdhúlú wa muyér' oónówííbá wénéwo : ♪ [song] ♪

namárógolo	o-lí	odhúlú	wa	muyére	ó-ni-ó-íbá	wénéwo
1a.hare	1-be	17.top	17.CON	3.tree.sp	1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing	17.EDEM.II

The hare is at the top of the tree sp., he is singing up there.

ddingí.19_159'

m̀modh' oońílá "sísi!, k' uúĺle, óĺlé ki namarogoló, k' úúĺle olí mudhúlú ḿpúle, kámúwelelenī

mu-modha	o-ní-íla	sísi	ku	óĺle	óĺle	ki	namarogolo
1-one	1-IPFV.CJ-say	INTER	17.COP	1.DEM.III	1.DEM.III	EMPH	1a.hare.PL

ku	óĺle	o-lí	mudhúlú	ḿpúle	ká-mú-wel-el-e = nī
17.COP	1.DEM.III	1-be	18.top	18.DEM.III	IMP-OM1-climb-APPL-Fi = PLA

Someone says : "Hey! Here it is, that one there is the hare, that one there is at the top of the tree sp.! Catch him! (lit. 'Climb after him!')

ddingí.20_166'

entãwú m̀módh' óokomesáári ówêla, ówéla mwíyér' óóbul' oówêla, ówél' emuweléla namárógolo.

entãwú	mu-módhá	o-komesáári	ówêla	ówéla	mwíyéri	óbule	ówéla
then	1-one	NAR-start	15.climb	15.climb	3.tree.sp	3.DEM.III	15.climb

o-mu-wel-él-a	namárógolo
NAR-OM1-climb-APPL-Fi	1a.hare

Then someone started to climb that tree sp., climb, climb, they climbed to the hare.

ddingí.21_171.5'

namárógolo moónêlííy' íílá "míyó m̀nówélélúwa", okomesáár' uúkúl' ookíta. okitag' ookitag' ookitag' ookitaga.

namárógolo	[mu-ón-êl-é = íye	wíílá	míyó	ni-ni-ówél-él-úw-a]REL
1a.hare	18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	CMP	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.climb-APPL-PASS-Fi

o-komesáári	ókúle	okíta	o-kit-ag-a
NAR-start	17.DEM.III	15.go.down	NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi

The hare, when he saw he was being chased. He started to go down. He went down, went down…

ddingí.22_178.5'

moónelííyé ddiḿfún' óógumana n' oóĺl' oońddífwará, olóólúpa, namárógol' oottamága. Ottawá.

[mu-ón-el-é = íyé	ddi-ní-fúná	ógum-an-a	na	óĺle
18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	15.bump.into-REC-Fi.PL	with	1.DEM.III

[o-ní-ddí-fwará]REL]REL	o-lé-ólúpa	namárógolo	o-ttamága	o-ttawá
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-follow	1-CE-15.jump	1a.hare	NAR-run	NAR-flee

When he realised "I am going to bump into the one who is following me", he jumped, ran and fled.

ddingí.23_185'

áwéén' óomutamelá omutamelá, namárógolo kamfwányílé: , kamfwányílé: , kamfwányîle

áwééne	o-mu-tamelá	o-mu-tamelá	namárógolo	ka-mu-fwány-île
3PL.PRO	NAR-OM1-look.for	NAR-OM1-look.for	1a.hare	NEG.2-OM1-find-PFV

They looked for the hare, but did not find him.

ddingí.24_190.5'

óĺle mulíb' áamulímílé naámbêddé: : "naámbédd' oónójúwáávi, ma namárógolo kaawó!"

óĺle	mulíbá	[o-a-mu-lím-ílé	naámbêddé]REL
1.DEM.III	1.owner	1-PST-OM1-cultivate-PFV.CJ	1a.maize

naámbédde	ó-ni-ój-úw-á = vi	mas	namárógolo	kaa = wó
1a.maize	1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi = RESTR	but	1a.hare	NEG.COP = 16.LOC

The one who had cultivated the maize : "maize keeps being eaten, but the hare is not here!"

ddingí.25_196'

ddabunó p' eélleeyé: : "umm, namárógol' oóddó kámttiyenī ! ǹnóóná ńng' aámbáva animújá nambéddáag' oóddu [> naámbéddaag' oóddu], awíínjíva!

ddabunó	pa	[va-íl-íle = iyé]ᵣₑₗ		N.	óddó	ká-mú-ttiy-e = nī	ni-ni-ó-óna
then	16.COP	16-say-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		H.	1.DEM.II	IMP-OM1-leave-Fi = PLA	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-see

nínga	ámbáva	[a-ni-mú-já	naámbédde = aga	óddu]ᵣₑₗ	a-hí-ínjíva
as	2.thief	2-IPFV.CJ-OM1-eat	1a.maize = POSS.1SG	1.DEM.I	2-PFV.DJ-abound

Then (came the moment when) he said : "Leave that hare! I see that the thieves who eat my maize are many!

ddingí.26_203'

naámbéddaaga m̀múnddáni wawaalléemú [▸ wawaalléemó], om̀málámw' aagórá namárógol' oóddú ddi onímúttamagíhéenyú. k' úúnimújá naámbédde ba aani ?"

naámbédde = aga	[mu-múnddá = ni	o-a-al-ílé = mó]ᵣₑₗ		o-hi-mála = mo
1a.maize = POSS.1SG	18-3.field = LOC	1-PST-sow-PFV.CJ = 18.LOC		1-PFV.DJ-finish = 18.LOC

agórá	namárógolo	óddú	ddi	[o-ní-mú-ttamag-íh-á = inyú]ᵣₑₗ
now	1a.hare	1.DEM.I	1.COP	1-PRS.CJ-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi = 2PL.PRO

kí	[o-ni-mú-já	naámbédde]ᵣₑₗ	ba	aani
EMPH	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-eat	1a.maize	2.COP	who

My maize which was sowed in the fields has gone, now the hare is the one you are making run!? Who is eating my maize?"

ddingí.27_209'

kamuttíddíle ba aaní o(ni)mújíle naámbêdde.

ka-mu-ttídd-íle		ba	aaní	[o-mú-j-íle	naámbêdde]ᵣₑₗ
NEG.2-OM1-catch-PFV		2.COP	who	1-OM1-eat-PFV.REL	1a.maize

They did not find out who ate the maize.

ddingí.48_212'

tutútú, yeéflege.

tutútú	[e-ér-él-eg-e]ᵣₑₗ
IDEO	9-do-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL

'end of the story: this is what it did/said'

Text 2: Ddoolrinddo (by Fernanda)

ddoo.1_0'

weéŕlé kááy' ddo, weéŕlé râpaasi oṁtelá mwââdhi.

[o-ér-ílé	kááye	oddo]REL	[o-ér-ílé]REL	râpaasi	o-mu-telá	mwââdhi
1-do-PFV.REL	NEG.COP	1.DEM.II.PL	1-do-PFV.REL	1a.boy.PL	NAR-OM1-marry	1.wife

'There once was a man. He married a woman.' (lit. 'Who did it is not that one, who did it is a boy')

ddoo.2_7'

waabaál' aánááwá eel' aánááyanā : m̀modha ńzínáné waálí Maríyá: m̀modha waáli Ddóólrínddo.

o-a-baála	áná=áwá	a-ilí	áná-áyanā	mu-modha	ńziná=né
NAR-OM2-give.birth	2.child=POSS.3PL	2-two	2.child-2.woman	1-one	5.name=5.POSS.3SG

o-á-lí	Maríyá	mu-modha	o-á-li	Ddóólrínddo
1-PST.IPFV-be	Maria	1-one	1-PST.IPFV-be	Ddoolrinddo

'They had two children, both girls: one was called Maria, the other was Ddoolrinddo.'

ddoo.3_14'

agóra nuwáábaála ánááw' aábalé: , áttú bagéélúwa : "síí! Ddóólríndd' oókóddéla mas." (x4)

agóra	na-ó-á-baála	ánááwa	ábalé	áttú	ba-gá-él-úw-a
then	RES-15-OM2-give.birth	2.child	2.DEM.III	2.people	SEQ.2-SIT-say-PASS-Fi

síí	D.	o-hí-kóddéla	mas
INTER	D.	1-PFV.DJ-be.beautiful	more

'Then, after having those girls, people kept saying : "Oh! Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful." '

ddoo.4_25.5'

ddabunó Máríy' óodhow' óógul' ééśhpeélyu. odhana vatákûlu.

ddabunó	Máríyá	o-dhowá	o-gulá	éśhpeélyu	o-dha=na	va-tákûlu
then	Maria	NAR-go	NAR-buy	9.mirror	NAR-go=COM	16-9a.house

'Then Maria went and bought a mirror, and brought it at home.'

ddoo.5_29.3'

nuúdh' óóm̀vuuzága éśpeélyu : "supeéyó supeéyo, míyó na Ddóólrínddo okoddéĺlé bá aaní ?"

na-ódhá	o-mu-vuuz-ág-a	éśpeélyu	supeéyó	míyó	na	D.
RES-15.come	NAR-OM1-ask-HAB-Fi	9.mirror	9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	and	D.

[o-koddél-ílé	bá	aaní]REL
1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL	2.COP	who

'Once she came, she asked the mirror : "Mirror, mirror, who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoolrinddo?" '

ddoo.6_34.5'

śhpééyo : "síí, okoddéĺlé (ki) ki Ddoolrínddo." otwa śhpéély' iíjîle, odhow' óógulá yíína, odhana.

súpééyo	síí	[o-koddél-ílé]REL	ki	ddoolrínddo	o-twa	śhpéélyo	éjîle
9a.mirror	INTER	1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL	EMPH	ddoolrinddo.PL	NAR-break	9a.mirror	9.DEM.III

o-dhowá	o-gulá	é-ína	o-dha=na
NAR-go	NAR-buy	9-other	NAR-go=COM

'The mirror : "[excl.], Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful." She broke that mirror, went and bought another one, and brought it.'

ddoo.7_41'

"supeéyó supeéyo, míyó na Ddóólrínddó okoddéĺlé bá aani?" "sií, okoddéĺlé ki Ddoolrínddo". otwa.

supeéyo	míyó	na	D.	[o-koddél-ílé	bá	aani]REL
9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	and	D.	1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL	2.COP	who

sií	[o-koddél-ílé]REL	ki	D.	o-twa
INTER	1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL	EMPH	D.PL	NAR-break

"Mirror, mirror, who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoolrinddo? [excl.], Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful." She broke it.

ddoo.8_46.5'

orayíla. odhow' óógulá íína, odhana.

o-rayíla	o-dhowá	ó-gulá	é-ína	o-dha=na
NAR-throw	NAR-go	NAR-buy	9-other	NAR-go=COM

She threw it away, went and bought another one, and took it home.

ddoo.9_49.5'

"supeéyó supeéyo, míyó na Ddóólrínddó okoddéĺlé bá aani?" "okoddéĺlé kí Ddoolrínddo". otwa.

supeéyo	míyó	na	D.	[o-koddél-ílé	bá	aani]REL
9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	and	D.	1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL	2.COP	who

[o-koddél-ílé]REL	kí	D.	o-twa
1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL	EMPH	D.PL	NAR-break

"Mirror, mirror, who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoolrinddo? Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful." She broke it.

ddoo.10_54.5'

ókwééné "Sií, Ddoolrínddo, ǹdhów' óóttólóni ǹdhówé náfûle."

ókú=éné	sií	D.	ni-dhów-é	o-ttóló=ni	ni-dhów-é	ni-á-fûl-e
1.DEM.I=INT	INTER	D.PL	1PL-go-SBJ	17-well=LOC	1PL-go-SBJ	1PL-IT-wash-SBJ

At this very moment (she said): "Sii, Ddoolrinddo, let's go to the well, let's go and wash (do the laundry)."

ddoo.11_59'

aavényá n' Ddóólrínddó aádhów' óóttólôni. ófúlā. ánófúlá, ánófúlá, ánófúlá.

a-hi-vénya	na	D.	a-hí-dhówá	o-ttólô=ni	ófúlā	á-ni-ófúlá
2-PFV.DJ-go.out	with	D.	2-PFV.DJ-go	17-well=LOC	15.wash	2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash

They left with Ddoolrinddo and went to the well, to wash. They are washing.

ddoo.12_65'

óĺlé Maríy' óomurumá Ddóólrínddo : "(kadhówála va) kadhówá vatákûlu!" Ddóólrínddó odhowá vatákûlu.

óĺlé	Maríya	o-mu-rumá	D.	ka-dhówá	va-tákûlu	D.	o-dhowá	va-tákûlu
1.DEM.III	Maria	NAR-OM1-order	D.	IMP-go	16-9a.house	D.	NAR.go	16-9a.house

That Maria ordered Ddoolrinddo : "Go home!" Doolrinddo went back home.

ddoo.13_69.1'

"odhoólé leńsó ǹlí mb' óodhén' owííwá: ?" Ddóólrínddó : "ddiwííwa."

o-dhoól-é	leńsó	[ni-lí	mbá]REL	o-dh-é=na	o-hí-íwá	D.	ddi-hí-íwa
2SG-fetch-SBJ	5.tissue	5-be	18.into	2SG-go-SBJ=COM	2SG-PFV.DJ-hear	D.	1SG-PFV.DJ-hear

"Fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it, did you hear?" Ddoolrinddo : "I did."

ddoo.14_72.2'

Ddóólríndd' óottamág' óodhowá vátákûlu. ottukula leńso.

D.	o-ttamágá	o-dhowá	vá-tákûlu	o-ttukula	leńso
D.	NAR-run	NAR-go	16-9a.house	NAR-take	5.tissue

'Ddoolrinddo ran, went back home and took the tissue.'

ddoo.15_74.7'

ōdháán' oodhíléena Ddóólríndó leńsó ńttíleé, m̀fíyedhííy' aápále vaáli m̀báalí Maríyaá, Maríy' óolóóm̀túkúma Ddóólrínddo.

ōdhá = na	[o-dh-ílé = na		D.	leńsó	ńttíle]_{REL}	[mu-fíy-edh-é = íye
15.come = COM	15-go-PFV.REL = COM		D.	5.tissue	5.DEM.III	18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

ápále	va-á-li	m̀báalí	Maríya]_{REL}	Maríya	o-lé-ó-mú-túkúma	D.
16.DEM.III	16-PST-be	1.sister	Maria	Maria	1-CE-15-OM1-push	D.

'Hardly had Ddoolrinddo brought that tissue, and when she arrived at the place her sister Maria was, Maria pushed Ddoolrinddo with all her strength.'

ddoo.16_81.9'

Ddóólríndd' óomottela vattólôni (vam) m̀máánjéni. obwina. m̀bwínéle Ddóólríndd' oóĺlé: , Maríy' óomál' oófúl' óottúkúla guwódh' óódhówa vatákûlu.

D.	o-mottela	va-ttólô = ni	mu-máánjé = ni	o-bwina	[mu-bwín-él-e		D.	óĺlé]_{REL}
D.	NAR-fall	16-well = LOC	18-6.water = LOC	NAR-sink	18-sink-APPL-PFV.REL		D.	1.DEM.III

Maríyá	o-hi-mála		ófúlá	o-hi-ttúkúla	guwó = dhé
Maria	1-PFV.DJ-finish		15.wash	1-PFV.DJ-take	10a.cloth = 10.POSS.3SG

o-hí-dhówa	va-tákûlu
1-PFV.DJ-go	16-9a.house

'Ddoolrinddo fell into the well, in the water. She sank. When Ddoolrinddo sank, Maria finished to wash, took her clothes, and went home.'

ddoo.17_90'

m̀dhówelííy' ówáándála guwódh' óm̀málá: ,

[mu-dhów-el-é = íye]_{REL}		o-hí-ándála	guwó = dhé		o-hi-málá
18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		1-PFV.DJ-extend	10a.clothe = 10.POSS.1		1-PFV.DJ-finish

'When she went, she extended her clothes, and then was finished.'

ddoo.18_92.3'

ora y' aárímoós' éefíyá: , árímoós' óopíyíwá, ovuuzúwá : "Maríyá míímw' ool' úúvi ?"

ora	ya	árímoósó	e-hi-fíyá		árímoósó	o-hi-píy-íw-á
9.hour	9.CON	1a.lunch	9-PFV.DJ-arrive		1a.lunch	1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi

o-vuuz-úw-á		M.	mííma	o-lí	uuvi
NAR-ask-PASS-Fi		M.	1.child	1-be	where

'Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked, she was asked : "Maria, where is that child?" '

ddoo.19_97.7'

"áá, peénóto, míyó ddiímwóoná: kamúnódhowá mwám̀tamele. íyééné kaál' úuttolon' úkó kééloofulá."

áá	peénó = to	míyó	ddi-hí-mú-oná		ka-mú-ni-ódhowá	mu-á-mú-tamel-e
INTER	WOND = then	1SG.PRO	1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-see		NEG-2PL-IPFV-15.go	2PL-IT-OM1-look.for-SBJ

íyééné	ka-á-lí		o-ttolo = ni	ókó	ka-á-ila-ofulá
3SG.PRO	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-be		17-well.PL = LOC	17.DEM.II	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.wash.PL

"Ahh, I do not know, was I supposed to see her? Are you not going to go and fetch her! Wasn't she there at the well? Wasn't she washing?!"

ddoo.20_104'

"agórá (ttwelá??) kamwaadhowíléwo vamodhá kí míímw' ool' úúvi ?"

agórá	o-ttoló=ni	ka-mu-a-dhow-ílé=wo	va-modhá	kí	mííma	o-lí	úuvi
now	17-well=LOC	NEG-2PL-PST-go-PFV=17.LOC	16-one	EMPH	1.child	1-be	where

"Now, did not you go there together ? Where is the child?"

ddoo.21_107'

"íhi ! paddí kamútamaarí míyó kaddimóóni." áttú aṁmáála.

íhi	paddí	ka-mú-tamaarí	míyó	ka-ddi-mú-ón-ile	áttú	a-hí-máála
INTER	I.said	NEG-2PL-provoke.SBJ	1SG.PRO	NEG-1SG-OM1-see-PFV	2.people	2-PFV.DJ-shut.up

"Ihí, I said don't annoy me, I have not seen her!" People shut up.

ddoo.22_111.7'

oṁmála súmáána súmáána bilí: , mwáán' óotáméluwá koonéyîle.

o-hi-mála	súmáána	súmáána	biilí	mwááná	o-hi-támél-uw-á	ka-on-éy-île
17-PFV.DJ-complete	9a.week	10a.week	10.two	1.child	1-PFV.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi	NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV

'One week passed away, two weeks, and the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible).'

ddoo.23_115.5'

ddabun' óókwééné: , vattólóní vâmeĺlé foloóri énddímúwá vaddíddí yoókóddéla vaddíddi. fólóór' iíjíl' ookomesáári wííbā :

ddabunó	ókú=éné	va-ttóló=ní	vâ-mel-ilé	foloóri	é-nddímúwá
then	17.DEM.I=INT	16-well=LOC	16-blossom-PFV.CJ	9a.flower.PL	9-big

vaddíddí	ya	ókóddéla	vaddíddi	fólóóri	éjíle	o-komesáári	wííbā
much	9.CON	15.be.beautiful	much	9a.flower	9.DEM.III	NAR-start	15.sing

'Then, there at the well a flower blossomed, a very big and very beautiful flower. That flower began to sing'

ddoo.24_124'

♪ "Ddóólrínddo:, ddi míyó vórógónya-ya-ya, Ddóólrínddo:, Maríy' óólóóddirumá-ya-ya. Ddóólrínddo: , kadhówéla leńso:-ya-ya, Ddóólrínddo odhówén' oottólóni:-ya-ya" ♪

D.	ddi	míyó	vórógónya	D.	Maríyá	o-lé-ó-ddi-rumá
D.	1.COP	1SG.PRO	9a.shame	D.	Maria	1-CE-15-OM1SG-order

D.	ka-dhów-él-a	leńso	D.	o-dhów-é=na	o-ttóló=ni
D.	IMP-go-APPL-Fi	9a.tissue	D.	2SG-go-SBJ=COM	17-well=LOC

"Ddoolrinddo, it is me, shame, Ddoolrinddo, Maria sent me, Ddoolrinddo, go and fetch the tissue, Ddoolrinddo bring it to the well."

ddoo.25_148'

"saá, alobwána, ottólón' uúkúl' ookálá fúlóór' iinííbá vacélâni.

saá	alobwána	o-ttóló=ni	ókúlé	o-hi-kálá	fúlóóri	[e-ní-íbá	va-célâ=ni]REL
INTER	2.man.PL	17-well=LOC	17.DEM.III	17-PFV.CJ -be	9a.flower	9-IPFV.CJ-sing	16-well=LOC

"Ooh, men! There at the well there is a flower which sings at the well.

ddoo.26_155'

k' ííkosilé dháavi?" "fúlóóri?" "ããã̄ŋ eńlógá : "Ddóólríndo Maríy' óolóóddúrumá, belá "kadhówéla leńs' óodhówén' oottólôni." " "

kí	e-kos-ilé	dháavi	fúlóóri	ããã̄ŋ	[e-ní-logá]REL	D.	M.	o-lé-ó-ddí-rumá
EMPH	9-do-PFV.CJ	how	9a.flower	INTER	9-IPFV.CJ-say	D.	M.	1-CE-15-OM1SG-order

ba-ilá	ka-dhów-él-a	leńsó	o-dhów-é=na	o-ttólô=ni
SEQ.1-say	IMP-go-APPL-Fi	9a.tissue	2SG-go-SBJ=COM	17-well=LOC

'How is it possible?" "Flower?" "Yes, which says "Ddoolrinddo, Maria is the one whe sent me, she said "go and fetch the tissue, bring it to the well." " '

ddoo.27_164.5'

"akále Ddoolríndo, peénóto!" "sií, nááda nyúwó múnózívâla."

a-kál-e	D.	peénó=to	sií	náda	nyúwó	mú-ni-ózívâla
1-be-SBJ	D.PL	maybe=then	INTER	no	2RESP.PRO	2RESP-IPFV.DJ-15.lie

"Is it Ddoolrinddo?!" "I don't know!" "[excl.], no! You are lying."

ddoo.28_170.5'

áttú kahíy' oódhów' óottólon' uúkúle kahíy' óópítáála. Ddólríndd' óónówííba : ♪ [song] ♪

áttú	kahíyo	ódhówá	o-ttóló=ni	ókúle	kahíyo	ópítáála	D.	ó-ni-ó-íba
2.people	NEG.COP	15.go	17-well=LOC	17.DEM.III	NEG.COP	15.hide	D.	1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing

People went to the well and hid themselves around. Ddoolrinddo is singing : "[…]"

ddoo.29_200'

"ǹngá máriya" "papá" "míím' óol' úuví ?"

ningá	máriya	papá	míímá	o-lí	uuvi
VOC	maria.PL	dad.PL	1.child	1-be	where

"Maria!" "Father." "Where is the child?"

ddoo.30_204.2'

"paddí kamúúshateyaari waál' úuttólón' úkú wééloófúl' aakal' olóóbwín' óobwína muúńshateyaaréléeni ?"

paddí	ka-múú-shateyaari	o-á-lí	o-ttóló=ní	óko	o-á-ila-ófúla
I.said	NEG-2PL.OM1SG-bother	1-PST.IPFV-be	17-well=LOC	17.DEM.II	1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.wash

akala	o-lé-óbwíná	o-hi-bwína	muú-ní-shateyaar-él-á	eni
if	1-CE-15.sink	1-PFV.DJ-sink	2PL.OM1SG-IPFV.CJ-bother -APPL-Fi	what

"I said to not bother me, she was there at the well, to wash, if she sank, she sank, why are you bothering me!"

ddoo.31_210'

"vattólóní maánj' áawíínjívâvo. kí níńkóséénáavó dháavi ?"

va-ttóló=ní	maánjé	a-hí-ínjívâ=vo	kí	ní-ní-kósá=ná=vó	dháavi
16-well=LOC	6.water	6-PFV.DJ-abound=16.LOC	EMPH	1PL-IPFV.CJ-do=COM=16.LOC	how

"There is a lot of water in the well. What shall we do with it?"

ddoo.32_214.5'

tinyá k' áavedúw' aátt' uudhow' óóttólón' úk' úupuwavo máánjé váttolón' áápálé maánjé wúuma.

tinyá ké	a-ved-úw-e	áttu	o-dhowá	ó-ttóló=ní	ókú
had.to	2-look.for-PASS-SBJ	2.people	NAR-go	17-well=LOC	17.DEM.I

o-kup-uw-a=vo	máánjé	vá-ttóló=ní	ápálé	máánjé	ó-uma
NAR-fish.sp-PASS-Fi=16.LOC	6.water	16-well=LOC	16.DEM.III	6.water	NAR-dry

They had to look for people. They went to the well, took the water out of that well. The water dried.

ddoo.33_219'

otibuwa n' aahíba. otíbúw' ootíbúw' ootíbúw' ootíbúw' ootíbúwa (x7). Ddóólríndd' óónówííbávi : ♪ [song] ♪

o-tib-uw-a		na	ehíba	otíb-úw-a	D.	ó-ni-ó-íbá = vi
NAR-dig.out-PASS-Fi		with	9.hoe	15.dig.out-PASS-Fi	D.	1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing = RESTR

It was dug out with a hoe. Dug out, dug out… Ddoolrinddo still singing : [song]

ddoo.34_250.5'

áttw' áánótíba, ánótíba, ánótíba. cibaaréén' ahírńfwanyā Ddóólrínddo.

áttu	á-ni-ótíba	cibaarééne	a-hí-mú-fwanyā	D.
2.people	2-IPFV.DJ-15.dig.out	really.INT	2-PFV.DJ-OM1-meet	D.

People dug out, dug out. And really they met Ddoolrinddo.

ddoo.35_257'

oóyév' óólí múkíttíkittíkittíkittíkítt' orǹmála wóódda. só kanákwa.

o-hí-yévá	o-lí	mú-kíttí-kítti-kíttí-kítti	o-hi-mála	wóódda	só	ka-ná-kwa
1-PFV.DJ-be.small	1-be	3-unripe-RED	1-PFV.DJ-finish	15.be.thin	but	NEG.1-CE-die

She was small, very thin, she had turned thin, but she had not died yet.

ddoo.36_263'

olóóttúkúluwavo Ddóólrínddó: , olóódhówána vatákúlu. nuúdhówána vatákúl' úuvéduwé ñgangá: ,

o-lé-óttúkúl-uw-a = vo	D.	o-lé-ódhówá = na	va-tákúlu
1-CE-15.take-PASS-Fi = 16.LOC	D.	1-CE-15.go = COM	16-house

na-ódhówá = na	va-tákúlu	[o-véd-uw-é]REL	ñgangá
RES-15.go = COM	16-9a.house	1-look.for-PASS-PFV.REL	1a.healer.PL

They took Ddoolrinddo there and went home with her. After taking her home, a traditional healer was looked for.' (lit. 'the one who was looked for, it is a traditional healer')

ddoo.37_268.3'

olóódhá: , olóómúsasanyedha Ddóólríndd' óóĺlé: , Ddóólríndd' óolóókálá muttu.

o-lé-ódhá	o-lé-ó-mú-sasany-edh-a	D.	óĺlé	D.	o-lé-ókálá	muttu
1-CE-15.come	1-CE-15-OM1-fix-APPL-Fi	D.	1.DEM.III	D.	1-CE-15.be	1.person.PL

He came, cured that Ddoolrinddo, she became a person (again).

ddoo.38_272.7'

tutútú yeéflêge. ááná aabaálíiwé eelí bagáwanél' oókóddêla.

tutútú	[e-ér-ilêge]REL	ááná	[a-a-baál-íw-é	a-ilí]REL
IDEO	9-do-PFV.REL.HAB	2.child	2-PST-give.birth-PASS-PFV.REL	2-two

ba-gá-wan-él-a	ókóddêla
SEQ.2-SIT-fight-APPL-Fi	14.beauty

(That was the story of) children who were born in the same house (lit. 'who were born two') and fighting for beauty.

Text 3: The hands, the belly and the feet (by Guilherme)

body.1_0'

weeflégé keeflége dhaweene, waáli Mádá: Ērúgúlú: na Manyálo. āwéénê: aákáana mákán' áawa mudíla.

[o-er-él-ég-e]~REL~	ka-er-él-ég-e	dhaawo = ene	o-á-li	mádá	érúgúlú
1-do-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL	NEG.1-do-APPL-HAB-PFV	like.this.II.PL = INT	1-PST-be	6.hand	9.belly

na	manyálo	áwéénê	a-á-káana	mákání = áwa	mu-díla
and	6.foot	3PL.PRO	2-PST.IPFV-have	6.talk = POSS.3PL	18-9a.dila

'(lit. 'the one who did did not do like this') Once upon a time, there were Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet. They were having an argument on the way.'

body.2_15'

entǎwú Érúgulu na Máda orómíle onyóónyeyá: ddi Máda.

entáwú	érúgulu	na	máda	[o-róm-île	onyóóny-ey-á]~REL~	ddi	máda
then	9.belly	and	6.hand	1-start-PFV.REL	15.annoy-NTR-Fi	1.COP	6.hand

'Between Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, the one who got annoyed first is Mr.Hands.'

body.3_23.5'

Mádá baalogá na érúgulu, belá : "ńngá wěyo onoddípúja vaddíddi. dhiǹlábá míyó dheetědhêne, ońjá ddi wéyo. kuńddívahámo.

mádá	ba-a-logá	na	érúgulu	ba-ilá	ningá	wéyo	o-ni-o-ddí-púja
6.hand	SEQ-1-speak	with	9.belly	SEQ.1-say	VOC	2SG.PRO	2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-om1SG-despise

vaddíddi	[dhi-ni-lábá	míyó	dhi-eté = dhêne]~REL~	[o-ní-já]~REL~	ddi	wéyo
much	10-IPFV.CJ-work	1SG.PRO	10-all = 10.INT	1-IPFV.CJ-eat	1.COP	2SG.PRO

ku-ní-ddí-vahá = mo
NEG.2SG-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

'Mr.Hands spoke to Mr.Belly and said : You are making a fool of me. Everything I produce, the one who enjoys is you. You do not give me anything.'

body.4_34.5'

míyó ddinolímâ: bámbááya, ddinolímâ: kókô:, dinolíma máfúgí: , mazhi wéyó (ono…) oǹkálél' oójá wééne, kuńddívahámo.

míyó	ddi-ni-olímâ	bámbááya	...	kókô	...	máfúgi
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate	1a.sweet.potato	...	9.coconut	...	6.banana

mazhi	wéyó	o-ni-kál-él-a	ójá	wééne	ku-ní-ddí-vahá = mo
but	2SG.PRO	2-IPFV.CJ-be-APPL-Fi	15.eat	15.INT	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

'I cultivate sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas. But you keep eating, you do not give me anything.'

body.5_45.5'

ońjá weeká párani ? entǎwú órómáná ddabunó pár' oosongólro, míyó ddiḿfúná: ddittíye owūsápela."

o-ní-já	weeká	pára = ni	entáwú	órómá = ná	ddabunó	pára	osongólro
2SG-IPFV.CJ-eat	2SG.alone	for = what	then	15.start = COM	today	until	17.front

míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-ttíy-e	o-ū-sáp-el-a
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-stop-SBJ	15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi

'Why do you eat on your own? Then, from now on, I am going to stop feeding you.'

590

body.6_54'

agórá Manyálo beewá mákáníya belá : "ǹngáni nyúwó eelí Érúgulu, na Máda:, odhúl' úúkó muńlógáwóoní ?"

agórá	manyálo	ba-iwá	mákání = ya	ba-ilá	ningá = ni	nyúwó	a-ilí	érúgulu	na
now	6.foot	SEQ.1-listen	6.talk = DEF	SEQ.1-say	VOC = PLA	2PL.PRO	2-two	7.belly	and

máda	odhúlú	ókó	mu-ní-lógá = wó = ni
6.hand	17.top	17.DEM.II	2PL-IPFV.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what

'Now, Mr.Feet listened to their talk and said : 'Hey! You two, Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, what are you talking about up there?'

body.7_63'

(baa..., baa..., baakosá) baatagíha dílá biili, wííl' : "óókúnó niíwánéláawo: ósápélíwa."

ba-a-tagíha	dílá	biili	wiílá	ókú = nó	ni-hí-wánéla = wo	ósápél-íw-a
SEQ-1-repeat	10a.time	10.two	CMP	17.DEM.I = PROX	1PL-PFV.DJ-fight.for = 17.LOC	15.feed-PASS-Fi

'He said again : we are fighting here about food supply.'

body.8_70.5'

mūkwáága belá : "míyó ǹnówúsapelá. [▸ ǹnowúsápela] ddinosápá̋ , wéy' óonoójá kuńddívahámo."

mūkwé = ága	ba-ilá	míyó	ni-ni-o-ú-sápela	ddi-ni-osápá	wéyó
1.friend = POSS.1SG	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-feed	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt	2SG.PRO

o-ni-ójá	ku-ní-ddí-vahá = mo
2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat	NEG.2SG-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

'My friend said : I feed you. I bring food, you eat, and do not give me anything.'

body.9_78.5'

agórá belá : "táabe, agórá akala j' iíjú wééné: , míyó víína órómáná ddabunó: , par' oosogólro kaddinuúttébaani víína.

agórá	ba-ilá	táabe	agórá	akala	ji	éjó	wééné	míyó	víína	órómá = ná
then	SEQ.1-say	ok	then	if	9.COP	9.DEM.II	INT	1SG.PRO	too	15.start = COM

ddabunó	para	osogólro	ka-ddi-ni-ú-ttéba = ni	víína
today	to	17.future	NEG-1SG-IPFV-OM2SG-carry = PLA	também

'Then he said : ok, if it is like this, me too, from now on, I am not carrying you anymore.'

body.10_88'

puruk' óónuúttébaní: , ddi míyô. óddó Ǹládá kagaye. par' ódhówá osápa, onimúttúkulelaawó: ddi míyo.

puruké	[ó-ni-ú-ttéba = ní]REL	ddi	míyô	óddó	ǹládá	ka-gay-e
because	1-IPFV.CJ-OM2SG-carry = PLA	1.COP	1SG.PRO	1.DEM.II	5.hand	NEG.1-balance-SBJ

para	ódhówá	osápa	[o-ni-mú-ttúkulela = wó]REL	ddi	míyo
to	15.go	15.hunt	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-hold = 17.LOC	1.COP	1SG.PRO

'Because, it is me who lifts you! That Mr.Hand cannot balance itself. I am the one who carries him (Hand) to go hunting.'

body.11_96'

(baddíḿfǐ) omáfúgín' úúkó ońlógííyé:, omúnddá:, omabásání: , oṁvírééye, onimúttébá ddi míyo. kanééddá
yéeka.

o-máfúgí = ni	ókó	[o-ní-lógá = íyé]_REL		o-múnddá	o-mabásá = ní
17-6.banana = LOC	17.DEM.II	17-IPFV.CJ-say = 3SG.PRO		17-3.field	17-6.work = LOC

[o-ní-vírá = íye]_REL		[o-ni-mú-tteba]_REL	ddi	míyo	ka-ní-éddá	yéeka
17-IPFV.CJ-go.through = 3SG.PRO		1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-carry	1.COP	1SG.PRO	NEG.1-IPFV-walk	1.alone

'At the bananas (plantation), where he (Mr.Hand) refers to, on the field, at work... wherever he goes through,
I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.'

body.12_106'

agórá akala aṁfúná awúpúttuleě: , míyó viíná ddabunó ddiḿfúná [ddi…] dduúpúttulení mwéetééne. míyó
kannuúttébani viina !

agórá	akala	a-ní-fúná	a-ú-púttul-e		míyó	viíná	ddabunó	ddi-ní-fúná
then	if	1-IPFV.CJ-want	1-OM2SG-despise-SBJ		1SG.PRO	too	today	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want

ddi-ú-púttul-e = ní		mú-eté = ene	míyó	ka-ni-ni-ú-ttéba = ni		viina
1SG-OM2SG-despise-SBJ = PLA		2PL-all = INT	1SG.PRO	NEG-1PL-IPFV-OM2SG-carry = PLA		too

'Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you. I no longer carry you!'

body.13_114'

ōrómáná ddabunó pár' oosogólro, (kaniṁ) kaddiḿfúná omutteba ǹné Érúgúlú: , ǹné víínagwíya máda.
ddínógíláatī.

ōrómá = ná	ddabunó	pára	osogólro	ka-ddi-ní-fúná		o-mu-tteba
15.start = COM	today	to	17.future.PL	NEG-OM1SG-IPFV-want		15-OM1-carry.PL

ǹné	érúgúlú	ǹné	víína-gwíya	máda	ddí-ni-ógíláatī
nor	9.belly	nor	too-again	6.hand	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.sit

'From now on, I do not want to carry Mr.Belly, nor Mr.Hand. I am sitting down.'

body.14_123'

eǹtáw' óórómáánâ labónéne ńttílěe: jaǎ ǹníngó neetééne kaneéddíle víína, ǹlógúnáǹtī.

eǹtáwó	órómá = nâ	labó = néne	ńttíle	ja	ǹníngó	ni-eté = êne
then	15.start = COM	5.day = 5.INT	5.DEM.III	no.longer	5.body	5-all = INT

ka-ni-édd-íle	víína	ni-ló-ógúnáǹtī
NEG-5-walk-PFV	too	5-CE-15.lie.down

'Then, from that day on, the whole body no longer worked (walked), it kept on sleeping.'

body.15_130.5'

puǹké: Manyáló waákóódda omúttêba, Mádá waákóódd' oomúsápela.

puǹke	manyáló	o-a-hí-kóódda	o-mú-ttêba	mádá	o-a-hí-kóódda	o-mú-sáp-el-a
because	6.foot	1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse	15-OM1-carry	6.hand	1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse	15-OM1-hunt-APPL-Fi

'Because Mr.Feet refused to carry him (Mr.Hands), Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.'

body.16_136'

Ērúgúlú: oromó: okááná dála. já káája. lábó na ńtééró: , malábó meelí, malábó maraarú. olóókála mureddá: , olóókwá na dála.

érúgúlú	o-romá	okááná	dála	já	ká-á-ja	lábó	na	ńtééró
9.belly	NAR-start	15.have	9a.hunger	no.longer	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-eat	5.day	5.CON	whole

malábó	ma-ilí	malábó	ma-raarú	o-lé-ókála	mu-reddá	o-lé-ókwá	na	dála
6.day	6-two	6.day	6-three	1-CE-15.stay	1-sick.PL	1-CE-15.die	with	9a.hunger

'Mr. Belly began to feel hunger. He was no longer eating. A whole day, two days, three days. He got sick, and died of hunger.'

body.17_149'

eǹtã̄wú mukwélíiyé: , akwilé eetéêne. Mádá víín' óokwá: , Érúgul' uukwá: , Manyál' óokwa.

eǹtáwú	[mu-kw-él-e = iye]REL	a-kw-ilé	a-eté = éne	mádá	vííná	o-kwa
then	18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	2-die-PFV.CJ	2-all = INT	6.hand	too	NAR-die

érúgulu	o-kwá	manyáló	o-kwa
9.belly	NAR-die	6.foot	NAR-die

'Then when he died, all died. Mr. Hands died too, Mr. Belly died, Mr. Feet died.'

body.18_156'

alóóttébéluwa mukásháwúúní: , óóraáru, mwaáwáneláâni.

a-lá-óttébél-uw-a	mu-kásháwú = ní	á-ó-raáru	[mu-á-wán-elá = âni]REL
2-CE-15.carry-PASS-Fi	18-9a.box = LOC	2-14-2-three	18-PST.IPFV.CJ-fight-APPL = 3PL.PRO

'They were carried in the coffin, the three of them, who were fighting there'

body.19_161'

entã̄wú: , tutútú s' eéflégáani. (kadd' amú) kadd' eélóbó: , akála ettongélíwééye: [▸ eekál' éettongéluwáâni]

entáwú	tutútú	si	[dhi-ér-ílégé = ani]REL
then	IDEO	10.COP	10-do-PFV.HAB.Fi = 3PL.PRO

kadda	élóbo	e-hi-kála	[e-ttong-él-uw-é = âni]REL
each	9.thing	9-PFV.DJ-remain	9-order-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO

'Then, this is how it happened. Every part of the body has its function.'

body.20_168.5'

nigaagumanihá: , entã̄wú, p' aaǹkáláaní [ba…] p' aaṁváháaní égûmi.

ni-gaa-guman-ih-a	entáwú	pa	[va-ni-kálá = ani]REL
5-SIT-assemble-CAUS-Fi	then	16.COP	16-IPFV.CJ-stay = 3PL.PRO

pa	[va-ni-váhá = ani]REL	égûmi
16.COP	16-IPFV.CJ-give = 3PL.PRO	9.health

'When unified, it works, it brings health.'

body.21_176'

nã̀ṁ pódúgu okála múttú[60] yááyeyááye. (mulúgú oló) ddíma, ogáwílé ddi mulúgu.

nãm	pódúgu	okála	múttú	yááye-yááye	ddíma	[o-gáw-ílé]REL	ddi	mulúgu
no	can.HAB	15.be	1.man	9.POSS.3SG-RED	9a.task	1-share-PFV.REL	1.COP	1.god

'They cannot be on their own (body parts). Work, god is the one who divided it.'

---

[60] *múttu* is optional here

body.22_182.5'

ǹnyálo ddíma yááhé: , y' oottébá: , máda (ddíba) ddíma yááhe, y' oosápá: , érúgúlú ddíma yááhe, y' oójá: , bagaágáwela: mwaarimwáári.

ǹnyálo	ddíma	yááhe	ya	ottébá	máda	ddímá	yááhe	ya	osápá
5.foot	9a.task	9.POSS.3SG	9.CON	15.carry	6.hand	9a.task	9.POSS.3SG	9.CON	15.hunt

érúgulu	ddíma	yááhe	ya	ójá	ba-gaá-gáw-el-a	mwaari-mwáári
9.belly	9a.task	9.POSS.3SG	9.CON	15.eat	SEQ.1-SIT-share-APPL-Fi	18.inside-RED

'Mr.Feet's task is to carry, Mr.Hands' task is to work, Mr.Belly's task is to eat and share inside.' (for the organs)

body.23_197.5'

tutútú s' eéflágáani, (ōvípáne) opánêla. oṁpánélá: onóvítotóca, onótótówa, onórímééla mwiilábôni

tutútú	si	[dhi-ér-ílégé = ani]REL	opánêla	[o-ni-pánélá]REL	o-ni-ó-ví-totóca
IDEO	10.COP	10.do-PFV.HAB.Fi = 3PL.PRO	15.pride	1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud	1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy

o-ni-ótótówa	o-ni-órímééla	mu-elábô = ni
1-IPFV.DJ-15.be.destroyed	1-IPFV.DJ-15.disappear	18-9.society = LOC

'Then, this is how it happened. Pride. Whoever is proud destroys himself, is detroyed, disappears from society.'

body.24_208'

agórâ, ñttó nikokomézo, ǹnaákókoméza íyó, alí b' óopánêla.

agórâ	ñttó	nikokomézo	[ni-ni-á-kókoméza	íyó	[a-lí	ba-a	opánêla]REL]REL
now	5.DEM.II	5.advice.PL	5-IPFV.DJ-OM2-advise	1PL.PRO	2-be	2.COP-CON	15.be.proud

'This is the advice we want to give to the proud people.'

Text 4: The mute girl (by Guilherme)

mute.1

ñsáká nimodhá naákálawo [▶ waákálawo] mwánámwíyaná mwánánámwáli, woonúwíle vatákúlu vaábáabé.

ñsáká	ni-modhá	o-á-kála = wo		mwáná-mwíyaná	mwáná-námwáli
5.time	5-one	1-PST.IPFV-be = 17.LOC		1.child-1.woman	1.child-1a.girl

[o-unúw-íle	va-tákúlu	va	ábáabé]REL
1-grow-PFV.REL	16-9a.house	16.CON	2.parent

once upon a time, there was a girl who grew up in her parent's house

mute.2_10'

mwáán' óóĺle kaádhówa omundda. (báábé na mááyé:) waáfíya ńsáká: n' oótélíwá: , mas íyéénéyá mwáán' óóĺle kaálóga. kaaziwíl' óologā.

mwááná	óĺle	ka-á-dhówa	o-mundda	o-a-hí-fíya	ńsáká	na	ótél-íw-á
1.child	1.DEM.III	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-go	17-3.field.PL	1-PST-PFV.DJ-arrive	5.time	5.CON	15.marry-PASS-Fi

mas	íyééné = yá	mwááná	óĺle	ka-á-lóga	ka-a-ziw-íĺé	ologā
but	3SG.PRO = DEF	1.child	1.DEM.III	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-speak	NEG.1-PST-know-PFV	15.speak.PL

that child did not go to the field. she had reached the age to get married, but she, that child, did not speak. She was not able to speak.

mute.3_24.5'

ató waáfíya yúúmó énddímúwéêne.

até	o-á-fíya	yúúmó	é-nddímúwá = êne
until	1-PST.IPFV.DJ-arrive	9.age	9-big = INT

she eventually got older

mute.4_28.5'

ākwááye abaálíwe na íyééne ahímâla ótélíwa (m̀mu m̀muruddání mwá: , m̀muruddá) m̀muruddani mpúlé: , ma íyééne baahalá dhawééné s' óótelíwa.

ākwé = áye	[a-baál-íw-e		na	íyééne]REL	a-hí-mâla	ótél-íw-a
2.friend.POSS.3SG	2-give.birth-PASS-PFV.REL		with	3SG.PRO	2-PFV.DJ-complete	15.marry-PASS-Fi

mu-murudda = ni	mpúlé	mas	íyééne	ba-a-halá	dhaawó = éne	sé	ótel-íw-a
18-3.village.PL = LOC	18.DEM.III	but	3SG.PRO	SEQ-1-stay	PRO.DEM.II = INT	without	15.marry-PASS-Fi.PL

the friends who were born at the same time were already married in the village but she remained like this, without getting married

mute.5_39.5'

eǹtãwú: , báábé: na ḿmá ááye: baalogá dhááyi na ápáli

eǹtáwú	báábe	na	ḿmá	ááye	ba-a-logá	dhááyi	na	ápáli
then	1a.father	and	1.mother	2.POSS.1	SEQ-2-say	like this.I	with	2.boy

then, the parents spoke like this to the young men

mute.6_48.5'

belá: "mwánâg' oốdd' ûnófún' óótêlíwa, mazhi kańlôgā, keédh' úulogā. agóra óddu n' óótéyá: né éní ńbaáléliwéêye

ba-ilá	mwánâga	óddû	o-ni-ófúná	ótêl-íw-a	mazhi	ka-ní-lôgā
SEQ.2-say	1.child.POSS.1SG	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV-15.want	15.marry-PASS-Fi	but	NEG.1-IPFV-speak

ka-ídhí	ologá	agóra	óddu	né	otéya	né	éní
NEG.1-know	15.speak.PL	now	1.DEM.I	no	15.laugh	no	what

[mu-baál-él-iw-é = îye]_{REL}
18-give.birth-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

they said: "this daughter of mine wants to get married, but she does not speak, she can not speak. she does not smile, nothing! Since she has been born.

mute.7_60'

agóra óĺle onimútéyiha mwánâgaá: , onómútelā

agóra	óĺle	[o-ni-mú-téy-ih-a	mwánâga]_{REL}	o-ni-ó-mú-telā
now	1.DEM.III	1-IPFV-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi	1.child.POSS.1SG	1-IPFV-15-OM1-marry

now, whoever makes my daughter laugh will marry her

mute.8_65.5'

eǹtã́wú, odhagavo afúmú (namárógoló waal… cíbánto) afúmu báalá: , afúmû: dówuú: , afúmu ttéboó: eetééne kawódhíle omútéyiha námwál' uúĺle

eǹtáwú	o-dh-ag-a = vo	afúmú	báalá	afúmu	dówu	afúmu	ttébo
then	NAR-come-HAB-Fi = 16.LOC	2.mister	1a.bushbuck	2.mister	9a.elephant	2.mister	9a.elephant

a-eté = ene	ka-wódh-íle	o-mú-téy-ih-a	námwáli	óĺle
2-all = INT	NEG.2-succeed-PFV	15-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi	1a.girl	1.DEM.III

then came mister Bushbuck, mister Elephant, etc, none succeeded in making that girl laugh

mute.9_81'

eǹtã́wú, omamálélowa oofíyîlé ddí fúmú Namárógolo

eǹtáwú	o-mamálélo = wa	[o-fíy-îlé]_{REL}	ddí	fúmú	namárógolo
then	17-6.end = 17.DEF	1-arrive-PFV.REL	1.COP	1a.mister	1a.hare

finally the one who came is (was) mister Hare

mute.10_86'

oníílá : "móoyá: , míyó ǹnófún' óódhów' óomúnddá na nyúwo mángwáána (nam) na námwâli"

o-ní-ílá	móoyá	míyó	ni-ni-ófúna	ódhówa	o-múnddá
1-IPFV.CJ-say	1.father.in.law.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.want	15.go	17-3.field

na	nyúwo	mángwáána	na	námwâli
with	2PL.PRO	tomorrow	with	1a.girl

he is saying : "father-in-law, I want to go to the field tomorrow with you and with the girl"

mute.11_92'

ok, belá : "ddiḿfúná nácéye ǹbúga" naálí ǹsaká n' oócéyá ńbúga

ok	ba-ilá	ddi-ní-fúná	ni-á-céy-e	ǹbúga	ni-á-lí	ǹsaká	na	ócéyá	ńbúga
ok	SEQ.1-say	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1PL-IT-sow-SBJ	3.rice	5-PST.IPFV-be	5.time.PL	5.CON	15.sow	3.rice

ok, he said : "I want us to go and sow rice". It was (indeed) the season to sow rice.

mute.12_98'

eǹtã̌wú, (āwéén' ábále,) yéén' éélóbwéyá kalógíle, sabwáyá (yaakumbílrelíí) yaakumbílrelííye ejúwêne wí ddídhów' omúnddá na námwâli

eǹtáwú	íyééné	élóbó = yá	ka-lóg-íle	sabwáyá	[e-a-kumbílr-el-é = íye
then	3SG.PRO	9.thing = DEF	NEG.1-say-PFV	because = DEF	9-PST-ask-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

ejó = wêne	wí	ddí-dhów-e	o-múnddá	na	námwâli]REL
9.DEM.II = INT	CMP	1SG-go-SBJ	17-3.field	with	1a.girl

then, he did not explain why he had asked to go to the plantation with the girl

mute.13_107'

mudhówelííy' oókúl' oomúnddá: , aárómá: ocákácá: , ōcéyá m̀búgá: …

[mu-dhów-el-é = íye	ókúle	o-múnddá]REL	a-hí-róma	ocákácá	ōcéyá	m̀búga
18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	17.DEM.III	17-3.field	2-PFV.DJ-begin	15.cultivate.sp	15.sow	3.rice

when he went there at the plantation, they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice

mute.14_114.5'

eǹtã̌wú fúmú Namárógolo ottukula m̀búgá: , ozugunuca ókúlé oǹttúkúniwá: , ottiyil' óódhúlu kugaambéélruwa

eǹtáwú	fúmú	namárógolo	o-ttukula	m̀búgá	o-zugunuca	ókúlé
then	1a.sir	1a.hare	NAR-hand	3.rice	NAR-turn	17.DEM.III

o-ǹttúkú = ni = wá	o-ttiy-ilé	ódhúlu	ku-gaa-mbéélruwa
17-5.stump = LOC = 17.DEF	1-leave-PFV.CJ	17.top	NEG.17-SIT-float

then mister Hare took the rice and turned down the root, and left it floating at the top

mute.15_126'

agóra, ókúle oméńtóníwâ: oceyága, at' óóceyá: ddíma (vañg...) énddímúwéene na ńcíbani (mm) mícícídha otákûlu

agóra	ókúle	o-méńtó = ní = wa	o-cey-ág-a	até	ó-ceyá	ddíma
now	17.DEM.III	17-eye = LOC = 17.DEF	NAR-sow-HAB-Fi	even	NAR-sow	9a.plot

é-nddímúwá = ene	na	ńcíbani	mícící = dha	o-tákûlu
9-big = INT	with	9a.something	4.root = 4.DEF	17-outside

and then the outside visible part in sowing position; he even sowed a big plot of land that way, with the (things…) roots upside down.

mute.16_139'

eǹtã̌wú námwál' úúĺle moonéĺíiyé: mánééra aácéya namárógolo m̀búga, bagazúgúnuca [▶ bagázúgúnúca] mícíc' uudhúlú: (wo... ńcíbání) mááníya vatí, olóótéya vaddídí vééne.

eǹtáwú	námwáli	óĺle	[mu-on-él-é = íye	mánééra	[a-á-céya	namárógolo
then	1a.girl	1.DEM.III	18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	6.way	6-PST.IPFV.CJ-sow	1a.hare

m̀búga]REL	ba-gá-zúgúnúca	mícíci	odhúlú	máání = ya	vatí]REL	o-lé-ótéya	vaddídí	vééne
3.rice	SEQ.1-SIT-turn	4.root	17.top	6.herb = DEF	16.soil	1-CE-15.laugh	much	16.INT

then that girl, when she noticed the way the hare was sowing rice, turning the roots up and the leaves down the soil, she laughed a lot.

mute.17_154.5'

baátéyá : "hééé! wulrú:!   …namárógolo keédh' úceyá m̀búga

ba-á-téyá	hééé	wulrú	namárógolo	ka-ídhi	oceyá	m̀búga
SEQ.1-OM2-laugh	INTER	IDEO	1a.hare	NEG.1-know	15.sow.PL	3.rice

she laughed (at them): "[excl. + laugh], Mr.Hare does not know how to sow rice!"

mute.18_160.5'

eǹtã̌wú, mwánámwíyan' óóĺle (mumumm…) mutéyéĺíýé dhayi lééne (báábí na mááye) eǹtáwú: ókúle omúnddá obudduwilé ttúngulrú: , báábe na mááy' éézᵘívéliwǎ:

eǹtáwú	mwáná-mwíyaná	óĺle	[mu-téy-él-é = íyé		dhaayi	lééne]ᴿᴱᴸ	eǹtáwú
then	1.child-1.woman	1.DEM.III	18-laugh-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		PRO.DEM.I	?.INT	then

ókúle	o-múndda	o-budduw-ilé	ttúngurú	báábe	na	máaye	a-hi-zívéliwa
17.DEM.III	17-3.field	17-go.out-PFV.CJ	9a.trill.PL	1a.father	and	1.mother	2-PFV.DJ-like

then that girl, when she laughed that way, (the parents…) (then) trilling went out in the plantation, the parents were pleased.

mute.19_174'

órómáná labónén' ńttíle par' oosongólro, mwánámwíyaná ólle olóórómá: ōsúúz' óloga

órómá = ná	labó = néne	ńttíle	para	osongólro	mwáná-mwíyaná	ólle
15.start = COM	5.day.PL = 5.INT	5.DEM.III	to	17.future.PL	1.child-1.woman	1.DEM.III

o-lé-órómá	ósúúzá	ologa
1-CE-15.start	15-learn	15.speak.PL

from that day on, that girl began to learn how to speak

mute.20_181'

namárógolo olóómú:ttúkúla (mwá), olóóváhíwa múyan' óóĺle baamútêla

namárógolo	o-lá-ó-mú-ttúkúla	o-lé-óváh-íw-a	múyaná	óĺle	ba-a-mú-têla
1a.rabbit	1-CE-15-OM1-take	1-CE-15.give-PASS.Fi	1.woman	1.DEM.III	SEQ-1-OM1-marry

the rabbit took her, he was offered that woman and married her

mute.21_185.5'

belá : "pořke mwánág' oóddu olóófíýé dhaav' uúbáálíwá: , kaálóga. wéyó níng' oómúwodhá ómúlogíha omútéyiha mwánágá: , oneelóómutelá mwánâga.

ba-ilá	pořke	mwánága	óddu	o-lé-ófíýá	dhaavi	ō-báál-íw-á
SEQ.1-say	because	1.child.POSS.1SG	1.DEM.I	1-CE-15.arrive	like.this.I	15-give.birth-PASS-Fi

ka-á-lóga		wéyó	nínga	o-hí-mú-wodhá		ó-mú-log-íh-a
NEG.1-PST.IPFV-speak		2SG.PRO	as	2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-succeed		15-OM1-speak-CAUS-Fi

o-mú-téy-ih-a		mwánága	o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-telá		mwánâga
15-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi		1.child.POSS.1SG	1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-marry.PL		1.child.POSS.1SG

(the father) said : "since my daughter has not spoken since she was born, and you succeeded in making her speak and laugh, you will marry my daughter.

mute.22_196'

namárógolo olóómútúkúla mwánámwíyan' óóĺlé: , olóódhówána vatákúlúvahe. tutútú s' eéflágáani

namárógolo	o-lé-ó-mú-túkúla	mwáná-mwíyaná	óĺlé	o-lé-ódhówá = na
1a.hare	1-CE-15-OM1-take	1.child-1.woman	1.DEM.III	1-CE-15.go = COM

va-tákúlú = vahe		tutútú	si	[dhi-ér-ílégé = ani]ᴿᴱᴸ
16-9a.home = 16.POSS.1		IDEO	10.COP	10-do-PFV.HAB.Fi = 3PL.PRO

Mr.Hare took that girl and went home with her.

mute.23_205'

purtáńtu, díla dhííń' dhéené: , oshága onoṁpémbelríha múttu, mwiilábôni,

purtáńtu	díla	dhí-ínjí	dhéené	oshága	o-ni-o-mú-pémbelr-íh-a
therefore	10a.time	10-many	10.INT	14.smartness	14-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-be.fair-CAUS-Fi

múttu	mu-elábô=ni
1.people	18-9.society=LOC

therefore, cleverness often benefits man in our society

mute.24_213'

pòrtáń' íyééne lábó ńttíle, namárógolo n' ooshágá waahé: oómútelá mwánámwíyaná sé kóobilri.

pòrtáńto	íyééne	lábó	ńttíle	namárógolo	na	oshágá	waahé
therefore	3SG.PRO	5.day	5.DEM.III	1a.hare	with	14.smartness	14.POSS.3SG

o-hí-mú-tela	mwáná-mwíyaná	sé	kóobilri
1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry	1.child-1.woman	without	9a.money.PL

therefore, on that day, Mr.Hare, thanks to his cleverness, married that girl with no money.

mute.25_220'

eǹkwáńtu ábále arééli aáná koóbílridhawa dhíínjídhené: , kawódhíl' oomutelá námwáli óĺle

enquanto	ábále	arééli	[a-á-ná	koóbílri=dhawa	dhí-ínjí=dhené]REL
whereas	2.DEM.III	2.rich	2-PST.IPFV-have	10a.money=10.POSS.3PL	10-many=10.INT

ka-wódh-íle	o-mu-telá	námwáli	óĺle
NEG.2-succeed-PFV	15-OM1-marry.PL	1a.girl	1.DEM.III

whereas those rich people who had money, did not succeed in marrying that girl.

Text 5: The fish thief (by Frederico)

mbílri.1_1'

gáhálá: eḿfúnéém' uutágiyá: oǹtágiyá ddi míyó Féréderíku, m̀punó m̀Makúúzi, omáttíy' upuno. [better: okuno]

gáhálá	[e-ní-fúná = ími	otágiyá]REL	[o-ni-tágiyá]REL	ddi	míyô	féréderíku
9a.story	9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1SG.PRO	15.tell	1-IPFV.CJ-tell	1.COP	1SG.PRO	fredérico

m̀pu = nó	mú-makúúzi	o-máttíyu	oku = no
18.DEM.I = PROX	18-Macuse	17-6.night	17.DEM.I = PROX

'The story I want to tell, who is telling is Frederico here in Macuse, at night.'

mbílri.2_14.5'

gáhálá: eńlógá: ya óddûle: oǹtóta náma vaddíddi.

gáhâlá	e-ní-lógá	ya	óddûle	[o-ni-tóta	náma	vaddíddi]REL
9a.story	9-IPFV.CJ-tell	9.CON	1.DEM.III	1-IPFV.CJ-hunt	9a.game	much

'The story tells about a great hunter.' (lit. 'tells about that one who hunts a lot of game')

mbílri.3_23'

agaamal' ootóta nám' áagaadhowáná vatákúlűve, mwáádhíye ojagámó namáy' ééjíle agaamal' oopíya.

a-gaa-mala	otóta	náma	a-gaa-dhowá = ná	va-tákúlú = ve
1-SIT-finish	15.hunt	9a.game	1-SIT-go = COM	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

mwáádhí = ye	o-j-ag-á = mó	namá = yá	éjíle	a-gaa-mala	opíya
1.wife = POSS.3SG	NAR-eat-HAB-Fi = 18.LOC	9a.game = DEF	9.DEM.III	1-SIT-finish	15.cook

'After hunting game and bringing it home, his wife used to eat that meat after cooking it.'

mbílri.4_31.5'

aamal' oójámő: , om̀magyédhá namálába.

a-a-mala	ójá = mó	o-mu-magyédhá	namálába
1-SIT-finish	15.eat = 18.LOC	NAR-OM1-slander	1a.working-man

'After eating, she accused the employee.'

mbílri.5_36'

(mwa) mwámún' óósilidhúwa. agaasilidhűwắ: , okaanámwí ya: wíílá anónê ba aaní oǹjésáámw' iísáv' iíjíle.

mwámúné	o-silidh-úw-a	a-gaa-silidh-úw-á	o-hi-kaaná = mó
1.husband.POSS.3SG	NAR-annoy-PASS-Fi	1-SIT-annoy-PASS-Fi	1-PFV.DJ-have = 18.LOC

ya	wíílá	a-nón-ê	ba	aani	[o-ni-j-és-á = mo	ésávi	éjíle]REL
9.CON	CMP	1-know-SBJ	2.COP	who	1-IPFV.CJ-eat-DUR-Fi = 18.LOC	9.relish	9.DEM.III

'The husband got angry. When he gets angry, he wants to know who keeps eating that relish.'

mbílri.6_43'

ji gáhál' ééḿfúnééh' úutágíha íyó ddabuno vénêva. eromilé dhááyi :

ji	gáhálá	[e-ní-fúná = íhu	otágíha	íyó	ddabuno	vénêva]REL
9.COP	9a.story	9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1PL.PRO	15.tell	1PL.PRO	today	16.EDEM.I

e-rom-ilé	dhááyi
9-start-PFV.CJ	like.this.I

'This is the story we want to tell here today. It starts this way.'

mbílri.7_45.5'

múttú oovényá: , oómútelá mwáádhíyé: , waabaál' áánááyé: , oṁvedá namálábááyé: , alí vátákúlúvawa.

múttú	o-hi-vényá	o-hí-mú-tela	mwáádhí = yé	o-a-baála
1.person	1-PFV.DJ-rise.up	1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry	1.wife = POSS.3SG	NAR-OM2-give.birth

áná = áyé	o-mu-vedá	namálábá = áyé	a-lí	vá-tákúlú = vawa
2.child = POSS.3SG	NAR-OM1-look.for	1a.worker = POSS.1	2-be	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3PL

'A man grew up, married a woman, had his children, looked for an employee, all are in the same house.'

mbílri.8_66'

mabása ááye aálí opeŝkadoóri, ótáddā, osápa.

mabása	ááye	a-á-lí	opeŝkadoóri	óttáddā	osápa
6.work	6.POSS.3SG	6-PST.IPFV-be	14.fisherman.PL	15.fish	15.fish

'He was a fisherman.'

mbílri.9_74'

muṅsápíiyé: , dhiṅdéeyíná dha déréétúdh' áágamal' oopíya mwáádhíye kaáṁvaha mwámúni, mwámúní kadhaáṁfiya.

[mu-ni-sápá = iyé]REL	[dhi-ní-dhá = iyé = ná	dha	déréétú = dhá]REL	a-gaa-mala	opíya
18-IPFV.CJ-fish = 3SG.PRO	10-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO = COM	10.CON	good = 10.DEF	1-SIT-finish	15.cook

mwáádhí = ye	ka-á-mú-vaha	mwámúni	mwámúní	ka-dhi-á-mú-fiya
1.wife = POSS.3SG	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-OM1-give	1.husband	1.husband	NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-arrive

'Wherever he fishes, the good things he brings, after she cooks them, his wife did not give them to the husband, they did not reach him.'

mbílri.10_84'

íyééne s' óóziveliwagá. entáwú bagáfuná wííl' áaziwé bá aaní oṅjá dha paámâdha.

íyééne	sé	o-ziveliw-ag-á	entáwú	ba-gá-funá	wíílá	a-ziw-é	ba	aani
3SG.PRO	without	NAR-like-HAB-Fi	then	SEQ.1-SIT-want	CMP	1-know-SBJ	2.COP	who

[o-ní-já	dha	paámâ = dha]REL
1-IPFV.CJ-eat	10.CON	good = DEF

'He did not like this. Therefore he started investigating to know who keeps eating the tasty part.'

mbílri.11_92.5'

oóvédá wíílá amóóne ba aaní oṅkós' éésílêdha.

o-hí-védá	wíílá	a-mú-ón-e	ba	aní	[o-ní-kósá	ésílê = dha]REL
1-PFV.DJ-look.for	CMP	1-OM1-see-SBJ	2.COP	who	1-IPFV.CJ-do	10.DEM.III = 10.DEF

'He investigated to know who is that person who does this.'

mbílri.12_99'

owúúbúwéla ókósá mákága. mákága ááyé: ottukuÌlé ósalu, oviríhá kobélá ya muṅji.

o-hí-úbúwéla	ókósá	mákága	mákága	ááyé	o-ttukul-ilé	ósalu
1-PFV.DJ-think	15.do	6.oracle	6.oracle	6.POSS.3SG	1-take-PFV.CJ	14.thread.PL

o-vir-íh-á	kobélá	ya	muṅji
NAR-go.by-CAUS-Fi	9a.bank	9.CON	3.river

'He thought of consulting an oracle. For his oracular trial, he took a thread, made it go till the opposite river bank.'

mbílri.13_110.5'

eǹtáwú wiilá : "nootééne íy' óoḿvívéérí vatákûl' aápa, nivíré voósálún' aápá: até kóbel' eéjílé ya mwínji.

eǹtáwú	o-ilá	ni-oté = éne	íyó	[o-ní-vívéérí	va-tákûlu	ápa]_{REL}
then	NAR-say	1PL-all = INT	1PL.PRO	1-IPFV.CJ-live	16-9a.house	16.DEM.I

ni-vír-é	va-ósálú = ni	ápá	até	kóbela	éjílé	ya	mwínji
1PL-go.by-SBJ	16-14.thread = LOC	16.DEM.I	until	9a.bank.PL	9.DEM.III	9.CON	3.river

'Then he said : all of us who live in this house, let's go on this thread to the other bank of the river.'

mbílri.14_120'

óĺlééne, ojíl' éésáv' iíjí́ oneelóómuttidda vénêva.

óĺlé = éne	[o-j-ílé	ésávi	éjí]_{REL}	o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-ttidda	vénêva
1.DEM.III = INT	1-eat-PFV.REL	9.relish	9.DEM.I	1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-catch.PL	16.EDEM.I

'The very one who ate the relish, it will catch him straight away.'

mbílri.15_124.5'

eǹtáwú, múlóbwana oorúméela. áyaná na ánááye na éḿperegádo aamálo wííwánánéla, aarúméela.

eǹtáwú	múlóbwana	o-hi-rúméela	áyaná	na	ánááye	na	éḿperegádo
then	1.man	1-PFV.DJ-agree	2.woman	and	2.child.POSS.1	and	1a.worker

a-hi-mála	wííwánán-él-a	a-hi-rúméela
2-PFV.DJ-finish	15.come.to.agreement-APPL-Fi	2-PFV.DJ-agree

'Then, the man accepted, the women with the children and the working-man came to an agreement, they accepted.'

mbílri.16_134'

múlóbwan' oókosá: masárápittw' aábále. odhow' óókúlo wiíkǒ: , otapuul' oósálú wááyě: , oórómá íyééne múúnyéné: ówélâvo.

múlóbwana	o-hí-kosá	masárápitto	ábále	o-dhowá	ókúle	o-íkó
1.man	1-PFV.DJ-do	6.magic	6.DEM.III	NAR-go	17.DEM.III	17-river

o-tapuula	ósálú	wááyé	o-hí-rómá	íyééne	múúnyá = éné	ówélâ = vo
NAR-untie	14.thread	14.POSS.3SG	1-PFV.DJ-start	3SG.PRO	1.owner = INT	15.climb = 16.LOC

'The man made that magic. He went to the river, untied his thread and, as the boss, started to climb onto it.'

mbílri.17_146.5'

sikúnéne ńttó: , óbá yaapíléeyé: yaácémbelruwa mbílri. mbílr' ij' aánúna vaddíddi.

sikú = néne	ńttó	óbá	[e-a-p-ílé = iyé]_{REL}	e-á-cémbelr-uw-a	mbílri
5.day = 5.INT	5.DEM.I	9a.fish	9-PST-kill-PFV.CJ = 3SG.PRO	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi	9a.fish.sp

mbílri	éjó	e-a-hí-núna	vaddíddi
9a.fish.sp	9.DEM.I	9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat	much

'This day, the fish that he had caught was called 'mbílri' fish. That fish was very fat (i.e. healthy).'

mbílri.18_155.5'

eǹtáwú: , ńngá kaajíle pi [*pi > pa] vénéw' óokosííyé masárápitt' ááyeén' áábo.

eǹtáwú	níngá	ka-a-j-íle	pa	vénéwó
then	as	NEG.1-PST-eat-PFV	16.COP	16.EDEM.II

[va-á-kosá = íyé	masárápitto	ááye = éné	ábo]_{REL}
16-PST.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO	6.magic	6.POSS.3SG = INT	6.DEM.II

'Then, as he had not eaten, it is there that he decided to make that magic of his.'

mbílri.19_161'

noomál' oókósá wakweélá eetééné: , odhow' óókúl' owiíkó: , okomesáárig' uúɱviríhámo m̀modha ɱmôdha.

na-omála	ókósá	o-a-kweélá	a-eté=éné	o-dhowá	ókúle	o-íkó
RES-15.finish	15.do	NAR-OM2-call	2-all=INT	NAR-go	17.DEM.III	17-river

o-komesáár-ig-i	ó-mú-vir-íh-á=mo	mu-modha	mú-môdha
NAR-start-HAB-Fi	15-OM1-pass-CAUS-Fi=18.LOC	1-one	1-one

'After doing it, he called them all, they went there to the river, and he began to make them go through, one by one.'

mbílri.20_167'

mazhíya aromíléeyé óvírá voósálún' aápále. bagávirávó: , bagééba. weééba dhááyi - muddáákulelegé:

mazhíya	[a-rom-ílé=iyé	óvírá	va-ósálú=ní	ápále]REL
6.magic	6-start-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO	15.pass	16-14.thread=LOC	16.DEM.III

ba-gá-virá=vó	ba-gá-íba	o-á-íba	dhááyi	mu-ddí-ákul-el-eg-é
SEQ.1-SIT-pass=16.LOC	SEQ.1-SIT-sing	1-PST.IPFV.CJ-sing	like.this.I	2PL-OM1SG-answer-APPL-HAB-SBJ

'The magic which he started to pass on that thread... As he was going, he was singing. He was singing this way - answer me'

mbílri.21_176'

♪ **"ojíle mbílrí ya fúmu, ojíle mbílrí ya fúmu: ? mbílrí yaánúná: , mbílrí yaánúnā: akala ddi míyéene ósál' uúb' úupatúw' opatúwéle mwiíko. mbílrí yaánúná: , mbílrí yaánúnā:." ♪ (x2)**

[o-j-íle	mbílrí	ya	fúmu]REL	mbílrí	e-a-hí-núná
1-eat-PFV.REL	9a.fish.sp	9.CON	1a.mister	9a.fish.sp	9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat

akala	ddi	míyó=ene	ósálu	óbú	o-patúw-e	o-patúw-él-e	mu-íko
if	1.COP	1SG.PRO=INT	14.thread	14.DEM.I	14-break-SBJ	14-break-APPL-SBJ	18-river

'The one who ate mister's 'mbílri' fish, the fat 'mbílri' fish, the fat 'mbílri' fish. If it is me, may this thread break, break into the river. The fat 'mbílri' fish, the fat 'mbílri' fish.' (lit. 'the 'mbílri' fish was fat')

mbílri.22_203'

rāpáási oovény' óokobélâ: , oofíy' óokobếlâ:. ósálu kupatúwîle.

rāpáási	o-hi-vényá	o-kobéla	o-hi-fíya	o-kobéla	ósálu	ku-patúw-íle
1a.boy	1-PFV.DJ-leave	17-9a.bank	1-PFV.DJ-arrive	17-9a.bank	14.thread	NEG.14-break-PFV

'The boy (man) left the river bank and reached the other one. The thread did not break.'

mbílri.23_208'

eǹtáwú, owáávuúz' áábál' aálîvo. "ósál' uúb' úupắtűwa?" múkwááye : "náda". "eǹtáwú, neetééne nikósén' éjíl' eekósíle míyo.

eǹtáwú	o-hí-á-vuúzá	ábálé	[a-á-lî=vo]REL	ósálu	óbu	o-hi-pátúwa
then	1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask	2.DEM.III	2-PST-be=16.LOC	14.thread	14.DEM.I	14-PFV.DJ-break

múkwé=áye	náda	eǹtáwú	ni-eté=éne	ni-kós-é=ni	éjíle	[e-kós-íle	míyo]REL
1.friend=POSS.1	no	then	1PL-all=INT	1PL-do-SBJ=PLA	9.DEM.III	9-do-PFV.REL	1SG.PRO

'Then, he asked those who were there : did this thread break? His friend : no.' Then, let's all do what I did.'

mbílri.24_215'

óĺééné oɱfún' óópatúla ósalú dd' iijíl' óobáága."

óĺé=éné	[o-ní-fúná	ópátúla	ósalú]REL	ddi	[o-j-íle	obá=ága]REL
1.DEM.III=INT	1-IPFV.CJ-want	15.break	14.thread	1.COP	1-eat-PFV.REL	9a.fish=POSS.1SG

'The one who will break the thread is the one who ate my fish.'

mbílri.25_220'

oódhówávo múyaná: múyaná balogá : "nááda, (mí) ddikáló w' oomáríha."

o-hí-dhówá = vo	múyaná	múyaná	ba-logá	náda	ddi-kál-é	wa	omáríha
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC	1.woman	1.woman	SEQ.1-say	no	1SG-be-SBJ	1.CON	15.finish

'The woman went there. She said : No, may I be the last one.'

mbílri.26_226.5'

waakukuselá: ánáayé, mwááná w' oómúrom' óódhówa : [song]

o-a-kukus-el-á	áná = ayé	mwááná	wa	ó-mú-romá	o-hí-dhówa
NAR-OM2-gather-APPL-Fi	2.child = POSS.3SG	1.child	1.CON	15-OM1-start	1-PFV.DJ-go

'He invited the children, the first went.'

mbílri.27_256.5'

míma oovénya oofíy' óokobélá, owííyéla.

míma	o-hi-vénya	o-hi-fíya	o-kobélá	o-hí-íyéla
1.child	1-PFV.DJ-leave	1-PFV.DJ-arrive	17-9a.bank	1-PFV.DJ-go.back

'The child left, reached the other bank and went back.'

mbílri.28_260'

oódhówávó émperegádo. oókós' áákakéêne, owííba : ♪ [song] ♪ eǹtáwú émperegádó oóvírá owííyéla.

o-hí-dhówá = vó	émperegádo	o-hí-kósá	ya	aka-ká = êne	o-hí-íba
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC	1a.employee	1-PFV.DJ-do	9.CON	same-RED = INT	9-PFV.DJ-sing

eǹtáwú	émperegádó	o-hí-vírá	o-hí-íyéla
then	1a.employee	1-PFV.DJ-pass	1-PFV.DJ-go.back

'Then went the employee. He did the same and sang. There the employee passed through and went back.'

mbílri.29_294.5'

eefíya vézhi ya ddóónawa, mulíbá vatákúlú vawa. odhowávo : ♪ [song] ♪

e-hi-fíya	vézhi	ya	ddóónawa	mulíbá	va-tákúlú = vawa	o-dhowá = vo
9-PFV.DJ-arrive	9a.time	9.CON	1a.miss.POSS.3PL	1.owner	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3PL	NAR-go = 16.LOC

'Then came the turn of their mistress, the housekeeper. She went there.'

mbílri.30_326'

ddabun' óósál' uúkómésáar' oodéba. oofíyá vaárí: va yiíkó, ósálu oókómésáar' oodéba.

ddabunó	ósálu	o-hí-kómésáari	odéba	o-hi-fíyá	vaárí	va	9.river
then	14.thread	14-PFV.DJ-begin	15.weaken	1-PFV.DJ-arrive	16.middle	16.CON	yiíkó

'Then the thread began to weaken. She reached the middle of the river, the thread began to weaken.'

mbílri.31_331.5'

oókómésáár' uúkúwā : "mamunagá! sitíy' óolóóñlémela, oddíjé ddirúlé sitíya." (oddíjé = oddíjéedhe)

o-hí-kómésáari	ókúwā	mamunaga	sitíyá	e-lé-ó-ní-léméla
1-PFV.DJ-begin	15.shout	1a.husband.POSS.1SG.PL	9a.bra	9-CE-15-OM1PL-be.heavy

o-ddí-jéedh-e	ddi-rúl-é	sitíya
2SG-OM1SG-wait-SBJ	1SG-undress-SBJ	9a.bra

'She began to shout : my husband, my bra is heavy, wait for me so that I take it off.'

mbílri.32_337.5'

owííyéla tawúla orulá sitíya. oōdhówá va kakávêne. ♪ [song] ♪

o-hí-íyéla	tawúla	orulá	sitíya	o-hí-dhówá	va	kaká = vêne
1-PFV.DJ-go.back	IDEO	15.undress	9a.bra	1-PFV.DJ-go	16.CON	same = 16.INT

'She went back and took off her bra. She then went to the same place (on the thread).'

mbílri.33_367.5'

ōsál' uúkómésáar' ooddéba : "mamunagá: ! bíríńkú ! bíríńkw' iísí dhiddigúlélle wóó: , kaa' dha wóóru?

ósálu	o-hí-kómésáari	oddéba	mamunaga	bíríńku
14.thread	14-PFV.DJ-begin	15.weaken	1a.husband.POSS.1SG.PL	10.earring

bíríńku	ésí	[dhi-ddi-gúl-él-ile	wéyo]REL	kayíye	dha	wóóru
10.earring	10.DEM.I	10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL	2SG.PRO	NEG.COP	10.CON	14.gold

'The thread began to weaken. My husband! The earrings! These earrings you bought me, aren't they made of gold?'

mbílri.34_374.5'

tém que ddivenyíhéwo!" mwámúni belagá : "ófúná wááwo."

tém que	ddi-veny-íh-é=wo	mwámúni	ba-logá	ófúná	wááwo
have.to	1SG-go.out-CAUS-SBJ=16.LOC	1a.husband	SEQ.1-say	15.want	15.POSS.2SG

'I have to take them off! The husband said : as you wish.'

mbílri.35_378.5'

oódhów' óókúcáwo bíríńku. oókósá vakávêne, owííba, ósál' uuddéba.

o-hí-dhówá	ókúcá=wo	bíríńku	o-hí-kósá	va	ká=vêne
1-PFV.DJ-go	15.take.off=17.LOC	10a.earring	1-PFV.DJ-do	16.CON	same=16.INT

o-hí-íba	ósálu	o-hi-ddéba
1-PFV.DJ-sing	14.tread	1-PFV.DJ-weaken

'She went and took off the earrings. She went back at the same place and sang. The thread weakened.'

mbílri.36_384.5'

"agórá tém que ddirúle gúwo!" "ófúná wááwo! íyó niḿfúná noón' éebáríbari."

agórá	tém que	ddi-rúl-e	gúwo	ófúná	wááwo	íyó	ni-ní-fúná
now	have.to	1SG-undress-SBJ	9a.cloth	15.want	15.POSS.2SG	1PL.PRO	1PL-IPFV.CJ-want

ni-ón-e	ebáríbari
1PL-see-SBJ	9.truth

'Now, I have to take my clothes off.' 'As you wish! We want to see the truth.'

mbílri.37_389.5'

rapáríga (kahíy' óottukula okaká) ddabunó kayíy' óokálá dhiidho: ddabunó:. ddabunó já dhiidhó.

rapáríga	ddabuno	kahíyó	okálá	dhiidho	ddabuno	ddabuno	já	dhiidho
1a.girl	then	NEG.COP	15.be	naked	then	then	already	naked

'Then the mistress remained naked. Now she is already naked.'

mbílri.38_393.8'

balogá : "iiii, náadat' óonwaáláv' aánááyíma."

ba-logá	hiii	náda=tó	o-ni-á-láva	áná-áyíma
SEQ.1-say	INTER	no=then	2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM2-curse	2.child-2.child

'He said : [excl.], then not this way, you are going to bring curse on the children.'

mbílri.39_396.5'

já oódhówá owaábála já sáyóóta, oódhówa vakakávêne. ♪ [song] ♪

já	o-hí-dhówá	o-hi-ábála	já	sáyóóta	o-hí-dhówa	va	same=16.INT
already	1-PFV.DJ-go	1-PFV.DJ-dress	already	9a.underskirt	1-PFV.DJ-go	16.CON	kaká=vêne

'She went, put on the underskirt, and went back to the same place.'

mbílri.40_424'

ddabun' óósál' uūkómésáár' uuddébá: , yéén' uúkómésááru wuúndda ya déréétwééne vaddíddi.

ddabunó	ósálu	o-hí-kómésáári	oddébá	íyééne	o-hí-kómésáári	wuúndda
then	14.thread	14-PFV.DJ-begin	15.weaken	3SG.PRO	14-PFV.DJ-begin	15.cry

ya	déréétú = éne	vaddíddi
9.CON	well = INT	much

'Then, the thread began to weaken, she began to cry for real.'

mbílri.41_427.5'

múlóbwana oówárááríhávi, íyé: jíb' uúkúl' eénówííbúwavi, ddabunó: ósál' uúpátúwawene verdáádi.

múlóbwana	o-hí-wáráár-íh-á = vi		íyééne	jíbó	ókúle
1.man	1-PFV.DJ-be.strong-CAUS-Fi = RESTR		3SG.PRO	9a.song	17.DEM.III

é-ni-ó-íb-úw-a = vi		ddabunó	ósálu	o-hí-pátúwa = wene		verdáádi
9-IPFV.DJ-15-sing-PASS-Fi = RESTR		then	14.thread	14-PFV.DJ-break = 14.INT		really

'The man intensified his singing, the song is now being intensely sung, and then the thread broke for real.'

mbílri.42_435.5'

(opá) ósál' uúpátúwá: , mwíyaná vaárí va yiíkó: , oṁmóttéla ṁmáánjéní "kíbííí:".

ósálu	o-hí-pátúwa	mwíyaná	vaárí	va	yiíko	o-hi-mótt-él-a
14.thread	1-PFV.DJ-break	1.woman	16.middle	16.CON	9.river	1-PFV.DJ-fall-APPL-Fi

mu-máánjé = ní	kíbiiii
18-6.water = LOC	IDEO

'The thread broke, the woman was half way over the river, she fell into the water "splash!" '

mbílri.43_441'

ṁmottélíiyé ṁmáánjéni osadduw' ookala mbilri viínagúwa.

[mu-mott-él-é = iye		mu-máánjé = ni]REL	o-sadduwa	o-kala	mbilri	viínagúwa
18-fall-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		18-6.water = LOC	NAR-change	NAR-be	9a.fish.sp.PL	too

'When she fell into the water, she got transformed, she became a 'mbilri' fish too.'

mbílri.44_445'

ddabunó: múlóbwana okala sé muyaná: , sábwa y' oómútelá múyáná w' oorúúca.

ddabuno	múlóbwana	o-kala	sé	muyaná	sábwa	ya	ó-mú-telá
then	1.man	NAR-be	without	1.woman.PL	because	9.CON	15-OM1-marry

múyáná	wa	orúûca
1.woman	1.CON	15.steal

'Then the man remained without any woman because of his marrying a woman who steals (off the stove).'

mbílri.45_450'

áyímá: okala sé ṁmayiíwá: oóṁperedééré ṁmáyííwa sábwá yoorúúca, waámágyedhuwagááni, anamálába vatákúlú n' aáyímáya vatákûlu.

áyímá	o-kala	sé	ṁmayiíwa	o-hí-mú-peredééré	ṁmáyííwa	sábwá	ya
2.child	NAR-be	without	1.mother.POSS.2.PL	1-PFV.DJ-OM1-lose	1.mother.POSS.2	because	9.CON

orúúca	[o-á-mágyedh-uw-ag-á = áni]REL		anamálába	va-tákúlú	na	áyímá = ya
15.steal	15-PST.IPFV.CJ-accuse-PASS-HAB-Fi = 3PL.PRO		2a.employee	16-9a.house	and	2.child = DEF

va-tákûlu
16-9a.house

'The children remained motherless, they lost their mother because of her stealing (off the stove), (stealing) that they had being blamed for, the working-men and the children of the house.'

mbílri.46_456'

ttuttúttú: , j' eeflêge. rápáásí w' oómútelá múyaná w' oórúúca.

ttuttúttú	ji	[e-eŕ-ilêge]REL	rápáásí	wa	ó-mú-telá	múyaná	wa	órúúca
IDEO	9.COP	9-do-PFV.REL.HAB	1a.man	1.CON	15-OM1-marry	1.woman	1.CON	15.steal

'End of the story: this is what did the husband of a thief woman.'

Text 6: The story of Maria (by Sérgio)

maria.1_2.7'

weéflé keéflé dhaawo. weéflé: ˈddí fúmu Juwắwú.

[o-ér-íle]REL	ka-ér-íle	dhaawo	[o-ér-ílé]REL	ddí	fúmu	juwáwú
1-say-PFV.REL	NEG.1-say-PFV	like.this.II.PL	1-say-PFV.REL	1.COP	1a.mister	joão

'Once upon a time (lit. 'who did it did not do that way'), there was a gentleman called João.'

maria.2_9.5'

baatelá: baakalá vatákúlu vááye na mwáádhíye.

ba-a-telá	ba-a-kalá	va-tákúlu	vááye	na	mwáádhí=ye
SEQ-1-marry	SEQ-1-stay	16-9a.house	16.POSS.3SG	with	1.wife=POSS.1

'He got married and lived in his house with his wife.'

maria.3_14.5'

vélêvố: áwééne baakaána gárí y' oóbáálávố: , baakaána áyím' aaraarú ánáyanā.

vélêvó	áwééne	ba-a-kaána	gárí	ya	óbáálá=vó
16.EDEM.II	3PL.PRO	SEQ-2-have	9a.luck	9.CON	15.give.birth=16.LOC

ba-a-kaána	áyíma	a-raarú	ánáyaná
SEQ-2-have	2.child	2-three	2.child.woman

'There, they had the luck to become parents, they had three daughters.'

maria.4_24'

áyím' aábá: awúúnúwa vañgónó vañgónó n' aabaabá: vatákúluvawắ: va fúmú Juwáw' úúddo.

áyíma	ábá	a-hí-únúwa	vañgónó	vañgónó	na	abaaba
2.child	2.DEM.I	2-PFV.DJ-grow	16.little	16.little	with	2.parents.PL

va-tákúlu=vawa	va	fúmú	juwáwú	óddo
16-9a.house=16.POSS.3PL	16.CON	1a.mister	joão	1.DEM.II

'These children grew up little by little in their parents' house (at that mister João's).'

maria.5_30.5'

omóónúwél' oóku m̀modha waákáanáávó' ǹtówa. m̀modha waákáanáávó' ǹtówá: ;

omóónúwélo	óku	mu-modha	o-a-hí-káaná=vó	ǹtówa
17.growing.fase	17.DEM.I	1-one	1-PST-PFV.DJ-have=16.LOC	5.curse

'As they grew, one of them got cursed. One of them got cursed.'

maria.6_37'

baakalá: w' oonyákúwaya, waábulélá vaddíddí, musébweé: , pélé kadhaáḿmalá: …

ba-a-kalá	wa	onyákúwa=ya	o-a-hí-bulélá	vaddíddí
SEQ.1-be	1.CON	15.be.dirty=DEF	1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.sick	much

musébwe	pélé	ka-dhi-á-mú-mala
3.measles	10a.scabies	NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-stop

'She was dirty (pale/weak) and always got sick : measles, scabies never stopped (with her).'

maria.7_43.5

eǹtãwu... vēléval' aápále moonélíiyé wíì: íyééne ónóbúléla vaddíddí: , kaávódh' oott(i)dda mabas' aápále vatákúlú: sabw' eela waákála mureddáví: , ábále: , ábáalé éenâ: áánimunyapwaaríya.

eǹtãwu	vélévale	ápále	[mu-on-él-é = iyé		wíí	íyééne	ó-ni-óbúléla
then	16.EDEM.III	16.DEM.III	18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		CMP	3SG.PRO	1-IPFV.DJ-15.get.sick

vaddíddí	ka-á-vódha	ottidda	mabasa	ápále	va-tákúlu	sabwa	wiila
much	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-be.able	15.hold.PL	6.work.PL	6.DEM.III	16-9a.house	because	CMP

o-á-kála	mu-reddá = ví]REL	ábále	ábáalé	á-inâ	á-á-ni-mu-nyapwaaríya
1-PST.IPFV-be	1-doente.PL = RESTR	2.DEM.III	2.sister	2.other	2-PST-IPFV.DJ-OM1-despise

'Then, when she saw that she was always getting ill, (that) she was not able to clean the house because she was always sick, those ones, the other sisters, despised her.'

maria.8_62'

kaázíveluwána sabw' éélá: ḿbáalááw' oonyákûwa.

ka-á-zíveluw-án-a		sabwa	wíílá	ḿbáalí = awa	o-hi-nyákûwa
NEG.2-PST.IPFV-like-REC-Fi		because	CMP	1.sister = POSS.3PL	1-PFV.DJ-be.dirty

'They did not like her because she was pale/weak.'

maria.9_66'

maníngw' áaye adhaaÌlé túguví, ḿnga náándwe, (anyá...) maníngw' áaye b' oonyákûwa.

maníngo	áaye	a-dhaal-ilé	ttúgu = ví		nínga	náándwe
6.body	6.POSS.3SG	6-be.full-PFV.CJ	9a.pimple.PL = RESTR		like	1a.frog

maníngo	áaye	ba	onyákûwa
6.body	6.POSS.3SG	6.CON	15.be.dirty

'Her body was full of pimples, like a frog, her body was pale/weak.'

maria.10_73'

ḿmalélâ:ní: ǹǹfíyá ḿsáká na wúúnúwá: , awúúnúw' eetéén' aábále.

mu-mal-él-á = ní		ni-hi-fíyá	ḿsáká	na	wúúnúwá	a-hí-únúwá	a-eté = éne	ábâle
18-finish-APPL-Fi = LOC		5-PFV.DJ-arrive	5.time	5.CON	15.grow	2-PFV.DJ-grow	2-all = INT	2.DEM.III

'Then came the growing phase : all these grew up.'

maria.11_78.5'

ábá eelī: aakoddéÌlé oonúwíle dereétú muúgúmíní, aátélúwa.

ábá	a-ilī	[a-a-koddél-ilé]REL		[a-a-unúw-íle	dereétú	mu-égúmí = ní]REL
2.DEM.II	2-two	2-PST-be.beautiful-PFV.CJ		2-PST-grow-PFV.CJ	well	18-9.health = LOC

a-hí-tél-úw-a
2-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi

'Those two, who were beautiful, who had grown up well and in health, got married.'

maria.12_83'

aádhówá ḿmátákulu mwááwá: , ámwámunawa dereétú, aakáána jwááwá: [= dhááwa]

a-hí-dhówá	mu-mátákulu	mwááwá	ámwámunawa	dereétú
2-PFV.DJ-go	18-6.home	18.POSS.3PL	2a.husband.POSS.3PL	well

a-hi-káána	ji	yááwa
2-PFV.DJ-have	9.COP	9.POSS.3PL

'They lived in their houses, their husbands are well, and they have their properties.'

maria.13_87'

vatákúlúvaw' aánója dereétú ʷǎnóómwá: , ánókosá dhootédhéné:.

va-tákúlú = vawa	á-ni-oja	dereétú	á-ni-ómwá	á-ni-ókosá
16-9a.home = 16.POSS.3PL	2-IPFV.DJ-15.eat	well	2-IPFV.DJ-15.drink	2-IPFV.DJ-15.do

dhi- oté = dhéné
10-all = 10.INT

'At home, they eat well, drink and do whatever they want.'

maria.14_90'

ábáabá viín' áagaadhow' óókúle m̀mátákúlu mwáánáwa m̀pó: , ááǹziw' éélá : "cibarééne mwáánág' oótélúwa, mwáán' ág' ookáána múrâla."

ábáabá	viíná	á-gaa-dhowá	ókúle	mu-mátákúlu	mwáánáwa	m̀pó	á-á-ni-ziwá
2.parent	too	2-SIT-go	17.DEM.III	18-6.house	1.child.POSS.2	18.DEM.II	2-PST-IPFV.DJ-know

wíílá	cibarééne	mwáánága	o-hí-tél-úw-a	mwáánága	o-hi-káána	múrâla
CMP	really	1.child.POSS.1SG	1-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi	1.child.POSS.1SG	1-PFV.DJ-have	3.home

'the parents too, when they go to their daughter's houses there, they recognise that : for real, my daughter is married, my daughter has a home.'

maria.15_97'

óddú múkwáága w'oonyákúw' aakál' óobuléláví: na pélé: olí vátákúlu va ábáabe. kaná y'oókósa, oóségédhêya.

óddú	múkwé = ága	wa	onyákúwa	[o-á-kála	obulélá = ví		na	pélé]REL
1.DEM.I	1.friend = POSS.1SG	1.CON	15.be.dirty	1-PST.IPFV-be	15.suffer.PL = RESTR		with	10a.scabies

o-lí	vá-tákúlu	va	ábáabe	ka-ná	ya	ókósa	o-hí-ségédh-êy-a
1-be	16-9a.house	16.CON	2.parent	NEG.1-have	9.CON	15.do	1-PFV.DJ-cause.trouble-NTR-Fi

'This ugly friend of mine, who kept suffering from scabies, remains in the parents' house. She has nothing to do, she experiences difficulties.'

maria.16_106'

yuubúwéle íyééne cííni ? síkú nimodh' oolóóvénya, múkwáág' ódd' úna péle.

[e-ubúwél-e	íyééne]REL	cííni	síkú	ni-modha	o-lé-óvénya
9-think-PFV.REL	3SG.PRO	7.COP.what	5.day	5-one	1-CE-15.leave

múkwé = ága	óddú	[o-na	péle]REL
1.friend = POSS.1SG	1.DEM.I	1-have	10a.scabies

'What is it she thought? One day she left, this friend of mine who has scabies.'

maria.17_113.5'

olóóvényá belá : "míyó ddínóvólówa mutákwáni dhawééne burebúre. ddidhówe ddéédde. vańgómédhíimí ddiígóma.

o-lé-óvényá	belá	míyó	ddí-ni-óvólówa	mu-tákwá = ni	dhaawó = éne
1-CE-15.leave	SEQ.1.say	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.enter	18-9a.forest = LOC	EDEM.II = INT

burebúre	ddi-dhów-e	ddi-á-edd-e	[va-ní-góm-édh-á = imí]REL	ddi-hí-góma
at.random	1SG-go-SBJ	1SG-IT-walk-SBJ	16-IPFV.CJ-stop-APPL-Fi = 1SG.PRO	1SG-PFV.DJ-stop

'She left and said : I am going into the forest anyhow, at random. I will go and walk. Where I stop, I stop.'

maria.18_121'

ddávéde ddoón' áakala ǹneel' óókaana mikállo dhiíná dh'oóttíyán' eési. kí dhaáyí ǹnáákálé dhaavi ?

ddi-á-véd-e	ddi-ón-é	akala	ni-naa-ilá-ókaana	mikálélo	dhi-íná
1SG-IT-look.for-SBJ	1SG-see-SBJ	if	1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.have.PL	4.way.of.life	4-other

dha	óttíyáná	na	ési	kí	dhaáyí	ni-náá-kál-é	dhaavi
4.CON	15.be.different	with	4.DEM.I	EMPH	like.this.I	1PL-FUT.CJ-be-IRR	how

'I will go and see if I can have another way of life, different from this one. How will I be then?'

maria.19_125.5'

ábáal' ágǎ: ánóddínyapwaaríyá kańddífuná: , ddigaadhowá ǹmátakúlú mwaaw' aanóddíttamagíhá: ,

abáalágá	á-ni-ó-ddí-nyapwaaríyá	ka-ní-ddí-funá	ddi-gaa-dhowá	mu-mátakúlú
2.sister.POSS.1SG	2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-despise	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want	1SG-SIT-go	18-6.house

mwaawa	a-ni-ó-ddí-ttamag-íh-á
18.POSS.3PL	2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi

'My sisters despise me, they do not want me. When I go to their home, they make me run all around.'

maria.20_130.5'

ábábaáni viína (kańddífwanyá:) kańddífuná: sabwa ddinkálá mureddáví:.

ábábaáni	viína	ka-ní-ddí-funá	sabwa	ddi-ni-kálá	mu-reddá=ví
2.my.parents	too	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want	because	1SG-IPFV.CJ-be	1-sick.PL=RESTR

'My parents too do not want me because I am always sick.'

maria.21_134.5'

ki ddikósé dhaavi ?" baáh' óolóóvénya. weeddaga dhawééné burebúre waádhówííyé: kańzíwaawo.

ki	ddi-kós-é	dhaavi	baáhí	o-lé-óvénya	o-edd-ag-a	dhaawó=éné
EMPH	1SG-do-SBJ	how	enough!	1-CE-15.stand.up	NAR-walk-HAB-Fi	like.this.II=INT

burebúre	[o-á-dhówá=íye]REL	ka-ní-zíwa=wo
at.random	17-PST.IPFV.CJ-go=3SG.PRO	NEG.1-IPFV-know=17.LOC

'What shall I do? Enough is enough, she stood up. She walked like this at random, she did not know where she was going.'

maria.22_141'

íyéén' waalogílé : "ddińdhówá ddéédde baáhí burebúre."

íyééne	o-a-log-ílé	ddi-ní-dhówá	ddi-á-édd-e	baáhí	burebúre
3SG.PRO	1-PST-say-PFV.CJ	1SG-IPFV.CJ-go	1SG-IT-walk-SBJ	only	at.random

'She had said : I am going to walk, at random.'

maria.23_143.5'

mwénémwalé ǹpúle muweéddááni bagáádhowá, dil' ééjíl' aádhowííyé: , odhíl' óoǹpádduwel' oosogóró waayé kúrumaanje.

mwénémwalé	ǹpúle	mu-weéddá=ni	ba-gáá-dhowá	dilá	éjíle	[e-á-dhowá=íyé]REL
18.EDEM.III	18.DEM.III	18-15.walk=LOC	SEQ.1-SIT-go	9a.way	9.DEM.III	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-go=3SG.PRO

[o-dh-ílé	o-mú-pádduw-el-a	osogólró	waaye]REL	kúrumaanje
1-come-PFV.REL	15-OM1-show.up-APPL-Fi	17.front	17.POSS.3SG	1a.bee.sp.PL

'There while going on this walking path, that way she was following, a bee.sp came and showed up in front of her.' (lit. 'who came and … was a bee.sp')

maria.24_151'

kurúmáanj' oódha wolololooo bagákála nínga múttú w' oóṁvuuzédha. íyééne ologá : "cáá ! kurúmáanj' oóddu ĥáá ! (admiração)

kurúmáanje	o-hí-dha	wolololooo	ba-gá-kála	nínga	múttú	wa	ó-mú-vuuz-édh-a
1a.bee.sp	1-PFV.DJ-come	IDEO	SEQ.1-SIT-be	like	1.people	1.CON	15-OM1-ask-APPL-Fi

íyééne	o-logá	cáá	kurúmáanje	óddu	ĥáá
3SG.PRO	NAR-say	INTER	1a.bee.sp	1.DEM.I	INTER

'The bee.sp came 'bzzbzzbzzzz', he looked like he was giving her a greeting. She said: this bee.sp, wow!'

maria.25_163.5'

niídha: ńzu nińlógá wíílá : : "wéyő: oṁfwárege kurúmáanjen' oóddo".

ni-hí-dha	ńzu	[ni-ní-lógá]ᵣₑₗ	wíílá
5-PFV.DJ-come	5.voice	5-IPFV.CJ-say	CMP

wéyó	o-mú-fwár-eg-e	kurúmáanje = éne	óddo
2SG.PRO	2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ	1a.bee.sp = INT	1.DEM.II

'A voice came, which says : do follow this very bee.sp.'

maria.26_171.5'

ñzú ńttíl' oońdháaní íyééne keédhûwo.

ñzú	ńttíle	[o-ní-dhá = aní]ᵣₑₗ	íyééne	ka-ídhî = wo
5.voice	5.DEM.III	17-IPFV.CJ-come = 3PL.PRO	3SG.PRO	NEG.1-know = 17.LOC

'She does not know where that voice came from.'

maria.27_174.5'

vēnéval' óóróm' óóṁfwará kurúmáanje. kurúmáanj' oosogóró íyééne munddúni, kurúmáanj' oosogólró íyééne munddún' ánódhówa.

vēnévalé	o-hí-rómá	ó-mú-fwará	kurúmáanje
16.EDEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-start	15-OM1-follow	1a.bee.sp

kurúmáanje	osogólró	íyééne	munddúni	á-ni-ódhówa
1a.bee.sp	17.front	3SG.PRO	18.back	2-IPFV.DJ-15.go

'There she started to follow the bee.sp : the bee.sp at the front, she at the back, the bee.sp at the front, she at the back, both going on.'

maria.28_180'

díl' ééjíle yaádhówaání aafíyá vapambánóoni.

dílá	éjíle	[e-á-dhówa = ání]ᵣₑₗ	a-hi-fíyá	va-pambánó = ni
9a.way	9.DEM.III	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-go = 3PL.PRO	2-PFV.DJ-arrive	16-9a.crossroads = LOC

'On this way, which they were going by, they arrived at a crossroads.'

maria.29_183'

vapambánón' aápálẽ: , aáfwánya dílá eńdhów' óókú ya: déréétu y' oońgánímela y' oókóddéla vaddíddi.

va-pambánó = ni	ápálé	a-hí-fwánya	dílá	[e-ní-dhówá ókú]ᵣₑₗ
16-9a.crossroads = LOC	16.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-meet	9a.way	9-IPFV.CJ-go 17.DEM.I

ya	déréétu	ya	oñgánímela	ya	ókóddéla	vaddíddi
9.CON	good	9.CON	15.shine	9.CON	15.be.beautiful	much

'At this crossroads, they found a path which goes here, a good, clean and very beautiful path.'

maria.30_190'

díla yíína: yaálí dila yaávír' aánéénám' oóttíyánóttíyâna, waákála maánddáakú: gwée vaddíddíí: , márîí: , yaálí dila y' oonyákúwa viína.

díla	é-ína	e-á-lí	dila	[e-á-víra	áná-énáma	a
9a.way	9-other	9-PST.IPFV-be	9a.way.PL	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-pass	2.child-9.animal	2.CON

óttíyán-óttíyâna]REL	o-á-kála	maánddáakú	gwé	vaddíddi	mári
15.be.different-RED	17-PST.IPFV-be	10a.excrement	much	much	6.excrement

e-á-lí	dila	ya	onyákúwa	viína
9-PST.IPFV-be	9a.way.PL	9.CON	15.be.dirty	too

'The other path was a path used by many different animals, there were on it a lot of excrements, it was a dirty path.'

maria.31_199'

kurúmáanje: odhowilé diléén' eéjíle y' oonyákûwa. íyééne : "cá: ! míy' éelogíwé ddiḿfwáré kurúmáanje.

kurúmáanje	o-dhow-ilé	dilá = éne	éjíle	ya	onyákûwa
1a.bee.sp	1-go-PFV.CJ	9a.path.PL = INT	9.DEM.III	9.CON	15.be.dirty

íyééne	cá	míyó	[e-log-íw-é]REL	ddi-mú-fwár-é	kurúmáanje
3SG.PRO	INTER	1SG.PRO	9-tell-PASS-PFV.REL	1SG-OM1-follow-SBJ	1a.bee.sp

'The bee.sp went into that dirty path. She : [excl.] Me, what I was told was to follow the bee.sp.'

maria.32_206.5'

agór' óókúw' óók' uuńdówííyé: , dila y' oonyákúwa vaddíddi. ddikósé dhaavi ? ddinóḿfwará."

agóra	ókú = wo	óku	[o-ní-dhówá = íyé]REL	dila	ya	onyákúwa
now	17.DEM.I = 17.LOC	17.DEM.I	17-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO	9a.way.PL	9.CON	15.be.dirty

vaddíddi	ddi-kós-é	dhaavi	ddi-ni-ó-mú-fwará
much	1SG-do-SBJ	how	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-follow

'Now there where he is going, the way is very dirty. What shall I do ? I will follow him."

maria.33_212.5'

oḿfwará kurúmáanj' oóĺle. odhow' óódhow' óódhow' óódhow' óódhowá:. kurúmáanj' oóĺle: ofwanyá: múri, waabaáĺle dhílóbódhá dh' oóbúrúnga, ńnga máttíyéelé.

o-mu-fwará	kurúmáanje	ólle	o-dhowá	kurúmáanje	óĺle	o-fwanyá	múri
NAR-OM1-follow	1a.bee.sp	1.DEM.III	NAR-go	1a.bee.sp	1.DEM.III	NAR-meet	3.tree

[o-a-baál-íle	dhílóbó = dhá	dha	óbúlrúnga	nínga	máttíyéelé]REL
3-PST-give.birth-PFV.CJ	10.thing = 10.DEF	10.CON	15.make.round	like	6.fruit.sp

'She followed that be.sp. She went, went, went… That bee.sp met a tree which bore (lit. 'had borne') round fruits, like the fruits.sp.'

maria.34_224.5'

omweerela vaǹttíyéelén' áápâle. íyéén' ówaapa, múyan' óóĺle waapa.

o-mweerela	va-ǹttíyéelé = ni	ápâle	íyééné	o-apa	múyaná	óĺle	o-apa
NAR-land	16-5.fruit.sp = LOC	2.DEM.III	3SG.PRO	NAR-pluck	1.woman	1.DEM.III	NAR-pluck

'He landed on those fruits. She plucked, that woman plucked.'

maria.35_231'

mwaapélíiyéː , kurúmáanj' oónósógóra ónódhówávi, íyééné ónómfwarávi.

[mu-ap-él-é = iye]_{REL}	kurúmáanje	ó-ni-ósógólra	ó-ni-ódhówá = vi
18-pluck-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	1a.bee.sp	1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.on	1-IPFV.DJ-15.go = RESTR

íyééné	ó-ni-ó-mú-fwará = vi
3SG.PRO	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-follow = RESTR

'Now she plucked it, the bee.sp is going on, he going, she following him.'

maria.36_235.5'

aafíyá vatákúlu va múnddímúwá dhaayi, vaádhówaː omútóonyedha kurúmáanj' oóddo.

a-hi-fíyá	va-tákúlu	va	múnddímúwá	dhaayi
2-PFV.DJ-arrive	16-9a.house	16.CON	1.old.man	like.this.I

[va-á-dhówa	o-mú-tóony-edh-a	kurúmáanje	óddo]_{REL}
16-PST.IPFV.CJ-go	15-OM1-show-APPL-Fi	1a.bee.sp	1.DEM.II

'They arrived at an old man's place, where that bee.sp was going to show her.'

maria.37_242'

mfíyedhááníː , múyan' óóĺl' oókópééláː , na kurúmáanj' aay' oóĺl' aafíyáː ,

[mu-fíy-edh-é = ání]_{REL}	múyaná	óĺle	o-hí-kópéélá
18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO	1.woman	1.DEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-ask.permission

na	kurúmáanje	wáaye	óĺle	a-hi-fíyá
with	1a.bee.sp	1.POSS.3SG	1.DEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-arrive

'When they arrived, that woman asked to be admitted, together with her bee.sp they arrived.'

maria.38_250'

oóbúddúwa múnddímúwa mwánákálâba. omwaañgánáː ologá : "cíí ! wéyo kayíye wa Maríya ?"

o-hí-búddúwa	múnddímúwa	mwáná-kálâba	o-mu-añgáná	o-logá
1-PFV.DJ-go.out	1.old.man	1.child-1a.senior	NAR-OM1-watch	NAR-say

cíí	wéyo	kayíye	wa	maríya
INTER	2SG.PRO	NEG.COP	1.CON	maria

'An old man came out. He looked at her and said : '[excl.], are you not Maria?''

maria.39_259'

"see, míyó ddili Maríya. muńzíwáː dháav' íílá míyó ddili Maríya ?" "míyó dduúwóoná wiila wéyó oli Maríya. omfúnááni ?"

see	míyó	ddi-li	maríya	mu-ní-zíwá	dháaví	wíílá	míyó	ddi-li	maríya
yes	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	maria	2RESP-IPFV.CJ-know	how	CMP	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	maria

míyó	ddi-hí-ú-oná	wiila	wéyó	o-li	maríya	o-ní-fúná = ni
1SG.PRO	1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2SG-see	CMP	2SG.PRO	2SG-be	maria	2-IPFV.CJ-want = what

'Yes, I am Maria. How do you know I am Maria?' 'I saw (you) that you are Maria. What do you want?'

maria.40_268.5'

Maríyá balogá : "míyó m̀lóségédhéya. ńnga muńddóonélíinyú, maníngw' ááb' aágá: ōrōmán' oóyím' waága m̀páká dhaayeéné: , vańddóonélíínyú ddabunó, maníngw' áága alí dháyééne.

maríyá	ba-logá	míyó	ni-ló-ségédh-éy-a	[nínga	mu-ní-ddí-on-él-á = inyú]REL
maria	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1PL-CE-offend-NTR-Fi	as	18-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-Fi = 2RESP.PRO

maníngó	ába	áaga	órómá = na	óyíma	wáaga	m̀páká	dhaayi = éné
6.body	6.DEM.I	6.POSS.1SG	15.start = COM	14.childhood	14.POSS.1SG	until	like.this.I = INT

[va-ní-ddí-on-él-á = ínyú		ddabunó]REL	maníngó	áága	a-lí	dhááyí = éne
16-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-Fi = 2RESP.PRO	today		6.body	6.POSS	6-be	like.this.I = INT

'Maria said : I am in trouble. As you can see me, this body of mine, since my childhood up to the very way you see me today, my body is like this.'

maria.41_281'

vatákúlu va ámáambaál' ága, kańddífuná: , ámáambaál' ága kańddífuná: sabw' éélá míyó ddiinyákúwá ddiǹkál' óobulélávi.

va-tákúlu	va	ámáambaálága	ka-ní-ddí-funá	sabwa	wíílá	míyó
16-9a.house	16.CON	2.parent.POSS.1SG	NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want	because	CMP	1SG.PRO

ddi-hi-nyákúwá	ddi-ni-kálá	obulélá = vi
1SG-PFV.DJ-be.dirty	1SG-IPFV.CJ-be	15.suffer.PL = RESTR

'At my parents' house, they do not want me because I am ugly and I keep falling sick.'

maria.42_288.5'

ápá ddiḿvédá vógo v'ookála ddivúme góyi."

ápá	ddi-ní-védá	vógo	va	okála	ddi-vúm-e	góyi
16.DEM.I	1SG-IPFV.CJ-look.for	16.place	16.CON	15.stay	1SG-rest-SBJ	9a.suffering

'Then I am looking for a place to stay to rest from suffering.'

maria.43_293'

íyééne múnddímúw' óóĺle oóḿvuúza :

íyééne	múnddímúwá	ólle	o-hí-mú-vuúza
3SG.PRO	1.old.man	1.DEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask

'That old man asked her.'

maria.44_295.5'

"ók' óodhíle wéyo na kurúmáanj' oóddú, íyééne waámwérel' ólóbo dhaáyí y'oobúrúnga: vamúríní:, owaápa?"

ókó	[o-dh-íle	wéyo	na	kurúmáanje	óddú]REL	íyééne	o-a-hí-mwérela
17.DEM.II	17-come-PFV.REL	2SG.PRO	with	1a.bee.sp	1.DEM.I	3SG.PRO	1-PST-PFV.DJ-land

ó-lóbo	dhaáyí	ya	obúlrúnga	va-múrí = ní	o-hi-ápa
17-(9.)thing	like.this .I	9.CON	15.make.round	16-3.tree = LOC	2SG-PFV.DJ-pluck

'There where you came from with this bee.sp, he (had) landed on a round fruit in a tree. Did you pluck it?'

maria.45_303.5'

íyééné balogá : "ddiyaápá j' iíji". Balogá: "ǹdde, wéy' óokáána gárí vaddíddi.

íyééné	ba-logá	ddi-hi-ápá	ji	éji	íyééne	ba-logá
3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	1SG-PFV.DJ-pluck	9.COP	9.DEM.I	3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say

ǹdde	wéyó	o-hi-káána	gárí	vaddíddi
yes	2SG.PRO	2SG-PFV.DJ-have	9a.luck	much

'She said : I did, here it is. He said : Yes, you are very lucky.'

maria.46_309'

dhááwo dhootédhéne ddabunó, māsóóso^w ááw' ootééné ddabunó aamála. m̀bony' aápo, oneelá wíiyéla na kurúmáanj' aáwo.

dhááwo	dhi-oté = dhéne	ddabunó	māsóóso	ááwo	a-oté = éné	ddabunó	a-hi-mála
10.POSS.2SG	10-all = 10.INT	today	6.suffering	6.POSS.2SG	6-all = INT	today	6-PFV.DJ-finish

m̀bonye	ápo	o-naa-ilá	wíiyéla	na	kurúmáanje	wáawo
but	16.DEM.II	2SG-FUT.DJ-AUX	15.go.back.PL	with	1a.bee.sp	1.POSS.2SG

'Everthing you have today, all your suffering today is over. But in this way, you will go back with your bee.sp.'

maria.47_320'

oméyélél' oók' uum̀fúnéény' uúvírá: , kurúmáanj' ooneelóómwerela vań́lúgúni.

oméyélélo	óku	[o-ní-fúná = ínyu	óvírá]REL
17.way.back	17.DEM.I	17-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO	15.go.by

kurúmáanje	o-naa-ilá-ómwerela	va-ń́lúgú = ni
1a.bee.sp	1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL	16-5.stone = LOC

'On the way back that you will go by, the bee.sp will land on a stone.'

maria.48_326'

aamwerela vań́lúgún' aápó: , wéyô: ottukúle éjí yaapíléew' éénééwúna m̀mádaní: , ovádéna vań́lúgúní véén' aápo.

a-a-mwerela	va-ń́lúgú = ni	ápó	wéyo	o-ttukúl-e	éjí	[e-ap-ílé = ewe]REL
1-SIT-land	16-5.stone = LOC	16.DEM.II	2SG.PRO	2SG-take-SBJ	9.DEM.I	9-pluck-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO

[e-ná = éwé = na	mu-máda = ní]REL	o-vád-é = na	va-ń́lúgú = ní	vééne	ápo
9-have = 2SG.PRO = COM	18-6.hand = LOC	2SG-hit-SBJ = INSTR	16-5.stone = LOC	16.INT	16.DEM.II

'When he lands on that stone, take what (the fruit) you plucked and now have in your hands, and beat it on the stone.'

maria.49_335'

enótwê:ya. egaatweyá: , em̀fún' óóbúddúwaamó mwaárí mwa m̀púlé wóy' óoddódd' eejú wééne.

e-ni-ótw-êy-a	e-gaa-tw-ey-á	[e-ní-fúna	óbúddúwa = mó
9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi	9-SIT-break-NTR-Fi	9-IPFV.CJ-want	15.go.out = 18.LOC

mwaárí	mwa	m̀púlé]REL	wéyó	o-ddódd-e	ejó	wééne
18.into	18.in	18.DEM.III	2SG.PRO	2SG-snatch-SBJ	9.DEM.II	INT

'It is going to break. Once broken, what will come out from inside, snatch it.'

maria.50_340.8'

waaddoddá: , dhim̀fúnééwó ologélége vélêvo.

o-a-ddoddá	[dhi-ní-fúná = íwé]REL	o-log-él-ég-e	vélêvo
2SG-SIT-snatch	10-IPFV.CJ-want = 2SG.PRO	2SG-speak-APPL-HAB-SBJ	16.EDEM.II

'Once snatched, whatever you want, tell him.'

maria.51_344'

muneelóóbuddúwá súpééyo. sūpééy' eéjó: , eḿfúnééw' óologélége vélêvo. owííwá Maríyá?" Maríya :
"ddiwííwa".

mu-na-naa-ilá-óbuddúwá	súpééyo	sūpééyo	éjó	[e-ní-fúná = íwé]_{REL}
18-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.go.out.PL	9a.mirror	9a.mirror	9.DEM.II	9-IPFV.CJ-want = 2SG.PRO

o-log-él-ég-e	vélêvo	o-hí-íwá	maríyá	maríya	ddi-hí-íwa
2SG-speak-APPL-HAB-SBJ	16.EDEM.II	2SG-PFV.DJ-hear	maria	maria	1SG-PFV.DJ-hear

'A mirror will go out of it. To this mirror, whatever you want, tell him. Did you hear, Maria? Maria : I did.'

maria.52_352'

alóóvénya na kurúmáanj' aayé alóówííyéla. omééyéléló: aáfwányá ńlúgu ñttó ǹlóguwě: , kurúmáanj'
oomwérélavo.

a-ló-óvénya	na	kurúmáanje	wáaye	a-ló-wííyéla	omééyéléló	a-hí-fwányá
2-CE-15.leave	with	1a.bee.sp	1.POSS.1	2-CE-15.go.back	17.way.back	2-PFV.DJ-meet

ńlúgu	ñttó	[ni-lóg-uw-é]_{REL}	kurúmáanje	o-hi-mwéréla = vo
5.stone	5.DEM.II	5-tell-PASS-PFV.REL	1a.bee.sp	1-PFV.DJ-land = 16.LOC

'They left with her bee.sp, and went back. On the way back, they met the stone they were told about. The bee.sp landed on it.'

maria.53_359'

ǹmwerélelévó kurúmáánjé: , Maríy' óottúkúla élóbw' eéjíl' aapíléeyé: , oóvádáná vańlúguni.

[mu-mwerél-el-é = vó	kurúmáánjé]_{REL}	maríya	o-hi-ttúkúla	élóbo	éjíle
18-land-APPL-PFV.REL = 16.LOC	1a.bee.sp	maria	1-PFV.DJ-take	9.thing	9.DEM.III

[e-a-ap-ílé = iyé]_{REL}	o-hí-vádá = na	va-ńlúgú = ni
9-PST-pluck-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	1-PFV.DJ-hit = INSTR	16-5.stone = LOC

'When the bee.sp landed on it, Maria took that thing she had plucked, and hit at the stone.'

maria.54_366'

ǹvádelííyína vańlúgúní: , eétwéya. cibarééne muúbúddúwa śpééyo.

[ni-vád-el-é = íyé = na	va-ńlúgú = ní]_{REL}	e-hí-tw-éy-a
5-hit-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO = INSTR	16-5.stone = LOC	9-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi

cibarééne	mu-hí-búddúwa	súpééyo
really.INT	18-PFV.DJ-go.out	9a.mirror

'When she hit the stone, it broke. And indeed a mirror went out of it.'

maria.55_371'

Maríy' óottúkúla súpééyo éjîle, owááñgána. agaañgána' nááñgána kovaaye, agaañgán' óonóoná kóvaaye.

maríyá	o-hi-ttúkúla	súpééyo	éjîle	o-hí-áñgána	a-gaa-añgána
maria	1-PFV.DJ-take	9a.mirror	9.DEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-look	1-SIT-look

o-ní-áñgána	kove = aye	a-gaa-añgáná	o-ní-oná	kóve = aye
1-IPFV.CJ-look	9a.face = POSS.3SG.PL	1-SIT-look	1-IPFV.CJ-see	9a.face.PL = POSS.3SG

'Maria took that mirror and looked at it. When she looks, she sees her face, when she looks, she sees her face.'

maria.56_378'

"ddikósé dhaavi ? eloguwé: sūpééy' eéji ddilogélémo dhiḿfúnéemi.

ddi-kós-é	dhaavi	e-log-uw-é	sūpééyo	éji	ddi-log-él-é = mo
1SG-do-SBJ	how	9-say-PASS-PFV.CJ	9a.mirror	9.DEM.I	1SG-say-APPL-SBJ = 18.LOC

[dhi-ní-fúná = imi]_{REL}
10-IPFV.CJ-want = 1SG.PRO

'What shall I do? They said (lit. 'it was said') I can ask this mirror whatever I want.'

maria.57_382.5'

baahito ddidhów' úuvi ? míyó vatákúlu va ábáabáni kaǹnííyélélávo. ddińdhówá ddávéde váágavéné v' ookála."

baahi = to	ddi-dhów-e	uuvi	míyó	va-tákúlu	va	ábáabáni
enough = then	1SG-go-SBJ	where	1SG.PRO	16-9a.house	16.CON	2.my.parents

ka-ni-ní-íyél-él-á = vo		ddi-ní-dhówá	ddi-á-véd-e
NEG-1PL-IPFV-go.back-APPL-Fi = 16.LOC		1SG-IPFV.CJ-go	1SG-IT-look.for-SBJ

váága = véné	va	okála
16.POSS.1SG = 16.INT	16.CON	15.live

'But then, where shall I go? I am not going back to my parents' house. I will look for a place of mine to stay.'

maria.58_389'

Maríy' óolóódhówááá: m̀páká nikómé na bára. ǹfíyedhííye nikómé na bárá: , vénéval' óólogá :

maríya	o-ló-ódhówá	m̀páká	nikómé	na	bára	[mu-fíy-edh-é = íye
maria	1-CE-15.go	until	5.limit	5.CON	9a.sea	18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

nikómé	na	bárá]_{REL}	vénévalé	ó-hí-logá
5.limit	5.CON	9a.sea	16.EDEM.III	1.PFV.DJ-say

'Maria went to the seaside. When she reached the seaside, there she said:'

maria.59_397'

"supeéyó supeéyo míyó ddiḿfúná nyumb' eénddímúwa vaddíddí, y' oókóddéla na dhootédhêne."

supeéyó	supeéyo	míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	nyumba	é-nddímúwa	vaddíddí
9a.mirror.PL	9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	9a.house.PL	9-big	much

ya	ókóddéla	na	dhi-oté = dhêne
9.CON	15.be.beautiful	with	10-all = 10.INT

'Mirror, mirror, I want a very big and beautiful house, with everything in it.'

maria.60_403.5'

elóópáddúwa nyúmba, nyúmb' eénddímúwa vaddíddí, y'oókóddélá: na dhoóbó dheetédhéne dhaáfúnééye ꜝḿba.

e-ló-ópáddúwa	nyúmba	nyúmba	é-nddímúwa	vaddíddí	ya	ókóddéla
9-CE-15.happen	9a.house	9a.house	9-big	much	9.CON	15.be.beautiful

na	dhoóbó	dhi-eté = dhéne	[dhi-á-fúná = íye		ḿba]_{REL}
with	10.implement	10-all = 10.INT	10-PST.IPFV.CJ-want = 3SG.PRO		18.inside

'The house appeared, a very big and beautiful house, with every implement she wanted in it.'

maria.61_412.5'

Maríya : "ńddéka! ddiíróm' óókáána. supeéyó supeéyo, míyó ddiḿfúná ddikálé w' oocéna." Maríy' óolóósáddúwa, ddabun' óókala muzugu, okala w' oocéna.

M.	ńddéka	ddi-hí-rómá	óókáána	supeéyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-kál-é	wa
M.	INTER	1SG-PFV.DJ-start	15.have	9a.mirror.PL	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-be-SBJ	1.CON

océna	M.	o-lá-ósáddúwa	ddabunó	ó-kala	muzugu	o-kala	wa	océna
15.be.white	M.	1-CE-15.change	now	NAR-be	1.European.PL	NAR-be	1.CON	15.be.white

 'Maria : Yes, it's true! I have begun to receive (have). Mirror, mirror, I want to be white. Maria changed, she was now a white person, she was white.'

maria.62_425'

"supeéyó supeéyo, míyó niḿfúná mulobwana." olóódha múlóbwana w' oorééla, viíná w' oolába vógó vadéréétú, wa koóbíri gwe. odh' ookala mwamuné:.

supeéyo	míyó	ni-ní-fúná	mulobwana	o-ló-ódha	múlóbwana	wa	orééla
9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.CJ-want	1.man.PL	1-CE-15.go	1.man	1.CON	15.be.rich

viíná	wa	olába	vógó	va-déréétú	wa	koóbílri	gwe	o-dha	o-kala
too	1.CON	15.work	16.place	16-good	1.CON	9a.money	much	NAR-come	NAR-be

mwamuné
1.husband.POSS.3SG.PL

'Mirror, mirror, I want a man. A rich man came, who also works in a good place, with a lot of money. He became her husband.'

maria.63_436.5'

"supeéyo supeéyo, míyó ǹnááfun' áánamalaba." anámálab' aalóódha.

supeéyo	míyó	ni-ní-á-funá	ánamalaba	anámálaba	a-ló-ódha
9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.CJ-OM2-want	2.worker.PL	2.worker	2-CE-15.come

'Mirror, mirror, I want employees. Employees came.'

maria.64_442.5'

ddabunó Maríya nikómé ńttíle na bárá noot' ónólímíhá:

ddabunó	maríya	nikómé	ńttíle	na	bárá	ni-oté	ó-ni-olím-íh-á
then	maria	5.bank	5.DEM.III	5.CON	9a.sea	5-all	1-PFV.DJ-15.cultivate-CAUS-Fi

'Then along the whole sea bank, Maria has people cultivating.'

maria.65_445.5'

ddabunó Maríya vatákúlú váaye muttu w'ookálá vaddíddí: , ddabunó ónólábúwa.

ddabunó	maríya	va-tákúlú	váaye	muttu	wa	okálá	vaddíddí
today	maria	16-9a.house	16.POSS.3SG	1.person.PL	1.CON	15.be	much

ddabunó	ó-ni-oláb-úw-a
today	1-IPFV.DJ-work-PASS-Fi

'Today maria, in her house, is a self-made person, today she is a boss.' (people work for her)

maria.66_450.5'

anámálaba anokálá fwa! áttw' áanóódha ókósá mádá márônddá, 'gányó-gányo' : bagálábá bagádhôwa, bagálábá bagádhôwa.

anámálaba	a-ni-okálá	fwa	áttú	a-ni-ódha	ókósá	mádá	márônddá
2.worker	2-IPFV.DJ-15.be	many	2.people	2-IPFV.DJ-15.come	15.do	6.hand	6.business.sp

gányó-gányo	ba-gá-lábá	ba-gá-dhôwa
I.earn-RED	SEQ.2-SIT-work	SEQ.2-SIT-go

'Working men are numerous! People come and do casual work: working, leaving, working, leaving.'

maria.67_456.8'

āttw' áábale kaázíwa wíílá óddú ddi maríya óĺle waanyakúwîlé waánága péle, aámóona ńnga múzúgu muzugúví baáhi.

āttú	ábale	ka-á-zíwa	wíílá	óddú	ddi	M.	óĺle	[o-a-nyakúw-îlé]REL
2.people	2.DEM.III	NEG.2-PST.IPFV.CJ-know	CMP	1.DEM.I	1.COP	M.	1.DEM.I	1-PST-be.dirty-PFV.REL

[o-á-nága	péle]REL	a-a-hí-mú-ona	nínga	múzúgu
1-PST.IPFV.CJ-have.HAB	10a.scabies	2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see	like	1.European

muzugú = ví	baáhi
1.European.PL = RESTR	only

'Those people did not know that she was Maria, that one who was ugly, who had scabies. They had seen her as a white person, and only as a white person.'

maria.68_464.5'

síkú nimodhá: eefíya yááká ya kafílíli níng' ééjí: , dál' éettídda móóttó, áttú ddabunó ańja burebúré: , dhińjáan' áánólábéla mádá maronddá:.

síkú	ni-modhá	e-hi-fîya	yááká	ya	kafílíli	níngá	éjí
5.day	5.one	9-PFV.DJ-arrive	9.year	9.CON	9a.hunger	like	9.DEM.I

dálá	e-hi-ttídda	móóttó	áttú	ddabunó	a-ní-ja	burebúré
9a.hunger	9-PRS.PFV.DJ-catch	3.fire	2.people	then	2-IPFV.CJ-eat	at.random

[dhi-ní-já = aní]REL	á-ni-óláb-él-a	mádá	maronddá
10-IPFV.CJ-eat = 3PL.PRO	2-IPFV.DJ-15.work-APPL-Fi	6.hand	6.business.sp

'One day came a year of hunger as this one, hunger had spread like fire. People eat poorly, what they eat, they get it from casual work.'

maria.69_475.5'

ábáal' aa Maríy' aábalé: aatelúwêé: , aateléyilé aáligi vadéréétú: , aádha. aadhél' óólimela.

ábáale	a	maríya	ábale	[a-a-tel-úw-é]REL	[a-a-tel-éy-ilé]REL
2.sister	2.CON	maria	2.DEM.III	2-PST-marry-PASS-PFV.CJ	2-PST-marry-NTR-PFV.CJ

[a-á-lígi	va-déréétú]REL	a-hí-dha	a-a-dh-él-é	ólim-el-a
2-PST.IPFV-be.HAB	16-good	2-PFV.DJ-come	2-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ	15.cultivate-APPL-Fi.PL

'Maria's sisters, those who were married and well married, who were in a comfortable place, came. They had come to work.'

maria.70_483.5'

Maríy' óowááwoná : "ábá k' aabaaláága !?" waajeedhilé báalimááaː , (baava) baavahíwá ddimááwa éjíle baalimá.

maríyá	o-hí-á-oná	ábá	ki	abaaláága	o-a-jeedh-ilé	bá-a-limá
maria	1-PFV.DJ-OM2-see	2.DEM.I	EMPH	2.sister = POSS.1SG.PL	1-OM2-wait-PFV.CJ	SEQ-2-work

ba-a-vah-íw-á	ddimá = áwa	éjíle	ba-a-limá
SEQ-2-give-PASS-Fi	9a.plot = POSS.3PL	9.DEM.III	SEQ-2-cultivate

'Maria saw them : Are these not my sisters!? She waited for them to work, they were given their piece of land and they cultivated it.'

maria.71_493'

íyééne múdhídh' uubúl' óottámbílra baáttámbílríha máágáddá:

íyééne	múdhídhi	obúle	wa	otámbílra	ba-á-ttámbílr-íh-a	máágáddá
3SG.PRO	3.time	3.DEM.III	3.CON	15.obtain	SEQ-1-OM2-obtain-CAUS-Fi	6.dry.cassava

'When the moment to get paid came, she had them receive dry cassava.'

maria.72_497'

ábálé (baapwaddí) baapwattélá máágáddáawa. bagapwáttélá bagádhowá íyééne (wa) waawiméca : "nyúwó karómáni wííméláani !

ábálé	ba-a-pwattélá	máágáddá = awa	ba-ga-pwáttélá	ba-gá-dhowá
2.DEM.III	SEQ-2-carry.sp	6.dry.cassava = POSS.3PL	SEQ.2-SIT-carry.sp	SEQ.1-SIT-go

íyééne	o-a-iméca	nyúwó	ka-rómá = ni	wíímélá = ni
3SG.PRO	NAR-OM2-rigidify	2PL.PRO	IMP-start = PLA	15.stand = PLA

'Those carried the dry cassava on top of the head. While they were loading and going, she made them stop : You, stand up first!'

maria.73_504.5'

míyô:... muumál' óolábá ńdde múnódhówá muuttámbílra máágáddíinyu ába kadhówání, míyó ddimfúná: saábúddú: mudhé: wéyó: na mbáal' oóddú, mamáyínyú papáyînyu.

míyô	mu-hi-málá	olábá	ńdde	mú-ni-ódhówá	mu-hi-ttámbílra
1SG.PRO	2PL-PFV.DJ-finish	15.work	yes	2PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go	2PL-PFV.DJ-obtain

máágáddá = enyu	ába	ka-dhówá = ní	ddi-ní-fúná	saábúddú	mu-dh-é
6.dry.cassava = POSS.2PL	6.DEM.I	IMP-go = PLA	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	saturday	2PL-go-SBJ

wéyó	na	mbáali	óddú	mamáyínyú	papáyînyu
2SG.PRO	and	1a.sister	1.DEM.I	1a.mother.POSS.2PL	1a.father.POSS.2PL

'I... you have just stopped working yes, you are now going, you have already received this dry cassava of yours, you can go, (but) I want you to come on Saturday with this sister of yours, your mother and your father.'

maria.74_517.5'

mudhé ! ókûno. muwííwá: ?" ayí' : "niwííwa". awaákúla "niwííwá" bagóôva.

mu-dh-é	ókû = no	mu-hí-íwá	ayíma	ni-hí-íwa
2PL-go-SBJ	17.DEM.I = INT	2PL-PFV.DJ-hear	2.child	1PL-PFV.DJ-hear

a-a-hí-akúla	ni-hí-íwá	ba-gá-ôva
2-PST-PFV.DJ-answer	1PL-PFV.DJ.hear	SEQ.2-SIT-be.afraid

'Come! Right here. Did you hear? The girls : Yes, we did. They had answered "we understood", but were feeling fear.'

maria.75_523.8'

múzúg' uúdd' uunímfuná papa na m̀ma cíín' íím̀páddûwa ?

múzúgu	óddu	[o-ní-mú-funá	papa	na	m̀ma]_{REL}	cííní	[e-ni-páddûwa]_{REL}
1.European	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-want	1a.dad	and	1a.mum	7.COP.what	9-IPFV.CJ-happen

'This white person who wants dad and mum, what is happening?'

maria.76_526'

áwééné kaázîwá ddí m̀báaláwa óĺlé waánága péle.

áwééné	ka-á-zîwá	ddi	m̀báaláwa	óĺle	[o-á-nága	péle]_{REL}
3PL.PRO	NEG.2-PST.IPFV-know	1.COP	1.sister.POSS.3PL	1.DEM.III	1-PST.IPFV-have.HAB	1a.scabies

'They did not know she was their sister, the one who had scabies.'

maria.77_529.5'

ábál' aaádhówa. mudhóweláán' áafíyána máágádd' aábálé: aattábélúwá aapíyá aájá: dereétú

ábále	a-hí-dhówa	[mu-dhów-el-é = ání]_{REL}		a-hi-fíyá = na		máágádda
2.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-go	18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 2PL.PRO		2-PFV.DJ-arrive = COM		6.dry.cassava

ábálé	a-hi-ttábél-úw-á	a-hi-píyá	a-hí-já	dereétú
6.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-rejoice-PASS-Fi	2-PFV.DJ-cook	2-PFV.DJ-eat	well

'They went. When they went, they arrived with that dry cassava, they were well received, they cooked (it) and they ate well.'

maria.78_535.5'

aafíyána músél' uúbúle : "ōk' úúk' waadhowílííh' úulíma olába, múzúgw' ééhuy' oologilé wíí saábúddu n̄dhówé papá: , nyúwó mama, íyó, ndhówe wéénowo.

a-hi-fíyá = na	músélu	óbúle	ōkú = wa	óku	[o-a-dhow-ílé = íhú
2-PFV.DJ-arrive = COM	3.report	3.DEM.III	17.DEM.I = 17.DEF	17.DEM.I	17-PST-go-PFV.REL = 1PL.PRO

olíma	olába]_{REL}	múzúgu	wééhu = ya	o-log-ilé	wíí	saábúddu	ni-dhów-é
15.cultivate	15.work	1.boss	1.POSS.1PL = DEF	1-say-PFV.CJ	CMP	saturday	1PL-go-SBJ

papa	nyúwó	mama	íyó	ni-dhów-e	wééne = wo
1a.dad.PL	2RESP.PRO	1a.mum.PL	1PL.PRO	1PL-go-SBJ	17.INT = 17.LOC

'They came with that report : There where we have been cultivating, working, our boss asked for us to go on Saturday, father, you mother, us, to go there.'

maria.79_546'

elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwéla bááhi." saábúddu n̄ttíle niifíyá: ábále kapaámbíhile, aavénya aádhôwa.

elóbó = yá	ka-lóg-íle	so	ó-ni-ó-ní-kuwéla	bááhi	saábúddu	n̄ttíle
9.thing = DEF	NEG.1-say-PFV	but	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call	only	saturday	5.DEM.III

ni-hi-fíyá	ábále	ka-paámbíh-ile	a-hi-vénya	a-hí-dhôwa
5-PFV.DJ-arrive	2.DEM.III	NEG.2-deny-PFV	2-PFV.DJ-leave	2-PFV.DJ-go

'She did not say why, she only called us. That Saturday came, and those ones did not refuse, they left and went there.

maria.80_556'

mudhóweláaní: aagíláatī. "hãã, ddi nyúwó muufíya ?" "niifíyá see."

[mu-dhów-el-é = aní]_{REL}	a-hi-gíláatī	hãã	ddi	nyúwó	mu-hi-fíya
18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO	2-PFV.DJ-sit	INTER	1.COP	2PL.PRO	2PL-PFV.DJ-arrive

ni-hi-fíyá	see
1PL-PFV.DJ-arrive	yes

'When they arrived, they sat : Humm, here you are, you came? Yes, we did.'

maria.81_561.3'

"babínyú dd' uúddú máyínyú dd' uúddú, m̀bonye nyúwó kagíláatíni." ábál' aagíláati.

babínyú	ddi	óddú	máyínyú	ddi	óddú	m̀bonye
1a.father.POSS.2PL	1.COP	1.DEM.I	1a.mother.POSS.2PL	1.COP	1.DEM.I	but

nyúwó	ka-gíláatí=ni	ábále	a-hi-gíláati
2PL.PRO	IMP-sit=PLA	2.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-sit

'This is your father, this is your mother, but you too (the sisters), sit down (too). They sat.

maria.82_567'

owaápíyela dhílóbó, aája dhílóbo dha déréétu vénévalé dh'oómwa owaávahá dheetédhéné:.

o-hi-á-píy-el-a	dhílóbó	a-hí-ja	dhílóbo	dha	déréétu	vénévalé
1-PFV.DJ-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi	10.thing	2-PFV.DJ-eat	10.thing	10.CON	well	16.EDEM.III

dha	ómwa	o-hi-á-vahá	dhi-eté=dhéné
10.CON	15.drink	1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give	10-all=10.INT

'She prepared them food, they ate good things, she gave drinks, she gave them everything.'

maria.83_573'

áwééne : "múzúgúy' oódd' úńníkosá íyo dhaáyi, ba aani?

áwééne	múzúgú=ya	óddú	[o-ní-ní-kosá	íyo	dhaáyi]REL	ba	aani
they	1.European=DEF	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1PL-do	1PL.PRO	like.this.I	2.COP	who

'They : "this white person who treats us like this, who is she?

maria.84_577'

ākwííhu anoódh' ókún' óolábá bagádhôwa. kanákósiwaga ńng' eesééné; k' ííyó ddabunó gári gan' iíji?

ākwé=íhu	a-ni-ódha	ókú=nó	olábá	ba-gá-dhôwa
2.friend=POSS.1PL	2-IPFV.DJ-15.go	17.DEM.I=PROX	15.work	SEQ.2-SIT-go

ka-ná-kós-iw-ag-a	nínga	esí=éné	kí	íyó	ddabunó	gári	gaani	éji
NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi	as	10.DEM.I=INT	EMPH	1PL.PRO	today	9a.luck	which	9.DEM.I

'Our friends come here, work and go. Things like this have never been done before, which luck on earth is it that we're having today?

maria.85_582'

m̀máĺlááń' oója múdhúdhu w' oófúmúdha, aagíláatí vamodháavi góddógoddo.

[mu-mál-ilé=áni	ója]REL	múdhídhi	wa	ófúmúdha	a-hi-gíláatí
18-finish-PFV.REL=3PL.PRO	15.eat	3.time	3.CON	15.rest	2-PFV.DJ-sit

va-modhá=vi	góddó-goddo
16-one=RESTR	IDEO-RED

'After eating came the time to rest, they sat all together.'

maria.86_585.5'

íyééne Maríy' óowáávuúza : "míyó munóddíziwá: ? áwééne : "yiíí ! kanuwíídhi." "míyó kamuddíídhí: ?" belá: "kánuwíídhi."

íyééne	maríyá	o-hí-á-vuúza	míyó	mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwá	áwééne	yiíí
3SG.PRO	maria	1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask	1SG.PRO	2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know	3PL.PRO	INTER

ka-ni-ú-ídhi	míyó	ka-mu-ddí-ídhí	ba-ilá	ká-ni-ú-ídhi
NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know	1SG.PRO	NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know	SEQ.1-say	NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know

'She, Maria, asked them: Do you know who I am? They: no, we don't. You don't know me? We don't know you.'

maria.87_597'

"míyó ddili mwánînyu, míyó ddili ńbáalíínyu, míyó ddili Maríya."

míyó	ddi-li	mwánînyu	míyó	ddi-li	ńbáalíínyu	míyó	ddi-li	maríya
1SG.PRO	1SG-be	1.child.POSS.2PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	1.sister.POSS.2PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	maria

'I am your daugther, I am your sister, I am Maria.'

maria.88_603'

āwééne : "iii ! Maríyá ! Maríy' óĺl' waána péle ? umm, wéyó kulí máriya, kúzívale, Maríyá káyí' wéyo.
belogá: "míyó ddili maríyá, ddili mwánínyu."

āwééne	iii	M.	óĺle	[o-á-na	péle]REL	umm	wéyó	ku-lí		máriya
3PL.PRO	INTER	M.	1.DEM.III	1-PST-have	10a.scabies	INTER	2SG.PRO	NEG.2SG-be		maria.PL

kú-zíval-e		M.	kayíye	wéyo	ba-logá	míyó	ddi-li	M.	ddi-li	mwánínyu
NEG.2SG-lie-PROH		M.	NEG.COP	2SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	M.	1SG-be	1.child.POSS.2PL

'They: iii ! Maria? That Maria who had scabies? umm, you cannot be Maria, do not lie, Maria is not you. She said : I am Maria, I am your daughter.'

maria.89_614'

áwééne bagáńpaambíyá, bagańváanya. kaárúmeela sabw' éélá Maríya mikálélo dhaálíiyé: kayíyó dh' oorúméelo wíĺl' áálígi Mariyeen' oóĺle.

áwééne	ba-gá-mú-paambíyá	ba-ga-mú-váanya	ka-á-rúmeela		sabwa	wííla	maríya
3PL.PRO	SEQ.2-SIT-OM1-deny	SEQ.2-SIT-OM1-deny	NEG.2-PST.IPFV.CJ-believe		because	CMP	maria

mikálélo	[dhi-á-lí = iye]REL		kayíyó	dha	orúméela	wíílá	o-á-lígí
4.way	4-PST.IPFV-be = 3SG.PRO		NEG.COP	4.CON	15.believe	CMP	1-PST.IPFV-be.HAB

mariya = ene	óĺle
maria.PL = INT	1.DEM.III

'They were denying it. They did not believe it because the way Maria was could not make one believe that she was that very Maria.'

maria.90_621'

íyééne belá : "káddíjeedheni. míyó ddińfúná ddikálé ńng' aáligíímí vatákúlúvênyu." olódhówóla supeéyáaye.

ba-ilá	ká-ddí-jeedh-e = ni		míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-kál-é	nínga
SEQ.1-say	IMP-OM1SG-wait-Fi = PLA		1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-be-SBJ	as

[e-á-ligí = ímí		va-tákúlú = vênyu]REL		o-lé-ódhów-él-a	supeéyó = aye
9-PST.IPFV-be.HAB = 1SG.PRO		16-9a.house = 16.POSS.2PL		1-CE-15.go-APPL-Fi	9a.mirror = POSS.3SG

'Wait for me. I am going to be the way I used to be in your house. She went and fetched her mirror.'

maria.91_628'

balogá : "supeéyó supeéyo, míyó ddińfúná ddikálé ńng' aáligíímí vatákúlu v'aábábaani.

SEQ.1-logá	supeéyo	míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-kál-é	níngá
SEQ.1-say	9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-be-SBJ	as

[e-á-ligí = ímí		va-tákúlu	va	ábábaani]REL
9-PST.IPFV-be.HAB = 1SG.PRO		16-9a.house	16.CON	2.my.parents

'She said : mirror, mirror, I want to be the way I used to be in my parents' house.'

maria.92_632.5'

maríy' óosadduwá okala na pēlé dháayeeéé nínga yaáligííyé vatákúlu v'aábáabe.

maríyá	o-sadduwa	o-kala	na	pēlé	dháayi	nínga
maria	NAR-change	NAR-stay	with	10.scabies	like.this.I	as

[e-á-ligí = íyé	va-tákúlu	va	ábáabe]REL
9-PST.IPFV-be.HAB = 3SG.PRO	16-9a.house	16.CON	2.parent

'Maria changed, she remained with scabies the way she was in her parents' house.'

maria.93_635.6'

áwééne: "ñddéká! ddi mwáníhu. ca! kí dhaáyí dháavi ?" alóótíkína vélévalé.

áwééne	ñddéká	ddi	mwáníhu	ca	kí	dhaáyí	dháavi
3PL.PRO	yes	1.COP	1.child.POSS.1PL	INTER	EMPH	like.this.I	how

a-lé-ótíkína	vélévalé
2-CE-15.admire	16.EDEM.III

'They: Yes, it is our daughter! xiii ! But how it this possible? They admired there.'

maria.94_645'

Maríyá olówíyéĺl' oólógá dílá bili : supeéyó supeéyo, ddiḿfúná ddikálé ńngá múzúgu mwaakaĺlíimi. olówííyéĺl' oózúgw' áaye.

M.	o-lé-wíyél-él-a	ólógá	dílá	bili	supeéyo	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-kál-é
M.	1-CE-15.go.back-APPL-Fi	15.say	10a.time	two	9a.mirror.PL	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-be-SBJ

níngá	múzúgu	[mu-a-kal-ílé = imi]REL	o-lé-wííyél-él-a	ózúgu	wáaye
as	1.European	1-PST-be-PFV.CJ = 1sg.PRO	1-CE-15.go.back-APPL-Fi	14.whiteness	14.POSS.3SG

'Maria went back to say again : Mirror, mirror, I want to be like the white person I was. She became white again'

maria.95_652'

ábále ddabunó otéén' aajíbúluwa. "kí nináákósé dháavi ?"

ábále	ddabunó	a-oté = éne	a-hi-jíbúluwa	kí	ni-náá-kós-é	dháavi
2.DEM.III	then	2-all = INT	2-PFV.DJ-change	EMPH	1PL-FUT.CJ-do-IRR	how

'All those around remained upset : What are we going to do?'

maria.96_656.5'

agoobuwéla dhimukósíláaní Maríyá:. Maríyá balogá : "néeé, apa kávalí mwáha."

a-ga-ubuwéla	[dhi-mu-kós-ílé = aní	M.]REL	M.	ba-logá	née	apa	ká-va-lí	mwáha
2-SIT-think	10-OM1-do-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO	M.	M.	SEQ.1-say	no	16.DEM.I	NEG-16-be	3.reason.PL

'They were thinking about what they did to Maria. Maria said : No, here there is no problem.'

maria.97_661.5'

s' eetédhéne dhikósiléényu, kayíy' éélóbwéene. vatákúluvaga pa ápá : (dhiḿfúnéényú: kadhéélaganí:) mwaasegedhéyá dhiḿfúnéényú kadhéélaganí. míyó kaddiná mwáha."

ésó	dhi-oté = dhéne	[dhi-kós-ílé = ényu]REL	kayíyo	élóbó = ene
10.DEM.II	10-all = 10.INT	10-do-PFV.REL = 2PL.PRO	NEG.COP	9.thing = INT

vatákúlu = vaga	pa	ápá	mu-a-segedh-éy-á
16-9a.house = 16.POSS.1SG	16.COP	16.DEM.I	2PL-SIT-cause.trouble-NTR-Fi

[dhi-ní-fúná = ínyú]REL	ka-dh-éél-ag-a = ní	míyó	ka-ddi-ná	mwáha
10-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO	IMP-come-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA	1SG.PRO	NEG-1SG-have	3.reason.PL

'All you did, it is nothing really. My house is this one here: when you are in trouble, anything you want, come and collect. I have no problem.'

maria.98_673'

ábále alóóvényá, Maríy'oolówávahá dhílóbo gwe vaddíddí, alóóvénya alóódhôwa.

ábále	a-lé-óvényá	M.	o-lé-ó-á-vahá	dhílóbo	gwe	vaddíddí	a-lé-óvénya	a-lé-ódhôwa
2.DEM.III	2-CE-15.stand	M.	1-CE-15-OM2-give	10.thing	IDEO	much	2-CE-15.leave	2-CE-15.go

'Those ones stood up, Maria gave them many things, they left.'

maria.99_677.5'

Maríy' oolówáála vatákúlu váaye. mwaalélíiyé vatakulu vaayé: , Maríyá baáhi waákáana m̀páddó dháaye dh' oogíláatí dhâ dereetu.

M	o-lé-wáála	va-tákúlu	váaye	[mu-al-él-é = iyé		va-takulu
M.	1-CE-15.stay	16-9a.house	16.POSS.3SG	18-stay-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		16-9a.house.PL

vaaye]REL	M.	baáhi	o-á-káana	m̀páddó	dháaye	dha	ogíláatí	dhâ	dereetu
16.POSS.3SG	M.	only	1-PST.IPFV-have	4.chair	4.POSS.3SG	4.CON	15.sit	4.CON	well.PL

'Maria stayed at home. When she stayed at home, Maria only had her confortable chairs.'

maria.100_686'

ologá : "supeéyó supeéyo, míyó ddim̀fún' óósalu w' oolúwága ésíle dhim̀fúnéyá dhísángusángu dha vatákûlu, osásányaga dhílóbo dh' oókóddélíhana vatákûlu."

o-logá	supeéyo	míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	ósalu	wa	olúw-ág-a	ésíle
NAR-say	9a.mirror.PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	14.thread	14.CON	15.weave-HAB-Fi	10.DEM.III

[dhi-ní-fún-éy-á	dhísángusángu	dha	va-tákûlu]REL	osásány-ag-a	dhílóbo	dha
10-IPFV.CJ-want-NTR-Fi	10.show	10.CON	16-9a.house	15.make-HAB-Fi	10.thing	10.CON

ókóddél-íh-a = na	va-tákûlu
15.be.beautiful-CAUS-Fi = INSTR	16-9a.house

'She said : Mirror, mirror, I want a thread to weave those things that decorate houses to make beautiful things used to decorate the house. To make things to embellish the house with.'

maria.101_692.9'

olóódh' oósálu, singáno dhootédhéen' eésîle.

o-lé-ódha	ósálu	singáno	dhi-oté = dhéne	ésîle
14-CE-15.come	14.thread	10a.needle	10-all = 10.INT	10.DEM.III

'There came the thread, the needle and everything.'

maria.102_696.5'

Maríyá na maámbéesí ᵞ agaamala waábá: , odhow' óója dhim̀fúnééy' oottúkúla bwenddénáye peénó m̀páddwáayé:

M.	na	maámbéesí	a-gaa-mala	waábá	o-dhowá	o-ja	[dhi-ní-fúná = íye]REL
M.	by	6.morning	1-SIT-finish	15.bathe	NAR-go	NAR-eat	10-IPFV.CJ-want = 3SG.PRO

o-hi-ttúkúla	bwenddé = náye	peénó	m̀páddó = aye
1-PFV.DJ-take	5.mat = 5.POSS.3SG	WOND	3.bank = POSS.1

'In the morning, Maria, after bathing, went and ate whatever she wanted, then she took a mat or any thing to sit on.'

maria.103_703.3'

ogilaatí vatákúlúváyé: , oluwag' éésílé dhiṁfúnééyé n' oósálu, aluwág' áaluwága, nikómé na bára.

o-gilaatí	va-tákúlú = váyé	o-luw-ag-á	ésílé	[dhi-ní-fúná = íyé]REL	na
NAR-sit	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.1	NAR-weave-HAB-Fi	10.DEM.III	10-IPFV.CJ-want = 3SG.PRO	with

ósálu	a-luw-ág-á	a-luw-ág-a	nikómé	na	bára
14.thread	1-weave-HAB-Fi.ṢEQ	1-weave-HAB-Fi.ṢEQ	5.bank	5.CON	9a.sea

'She sat at home, and weaved what she wants with the thread, weaving, weaving, on the seaside.'

maria.104_709.5'

ṁpúlé ṁbara, muukálá mwánéenámá oṁkúwélíwa nikúrábedha.

ṁpúle	mu-bara	mu-hi-kálá	mwáná-enámá	[o-ní-kúwél-íw-a	nikúrábedha]REL
18.DEM.III	18-9a.sea.PL	18-PFV.DJ-be	1.child-9.animal	1-IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi	5.dugong

'There in the sea, there is an animal called dugong.'

maria.105_713.5'

Nikúrábedha síkúnéne ṁttó oódha. mudhéélííye, oódha nikóme.

N.	síkú = néne	ṁttó	o-hí-dha	[mu-dh-éél-é = íye]REL	o-hí-dha	nikóme
D.	5.day = 5.INT	5.DEM.II	1-PFV.DJ-come	18-come-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	1-PFV.DJ-go	5.seaside

'Mr.Dugong came on that very day. When he came, he came up to the seaside.'

maria.106_719'

mudhéélííyé kamáh' áaañgán' ootákúlú, onímóoná múyaná w' oókóddéla vaddíddí w' oókúmá vatákúlúvâye.

[mu-dh-éél-é = íyé]REL	kamáhíni	a-añgán-e	o-tákúlú	o-ní-mú-oná
18-come-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	barely	1-look-SBJ	17-outside	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see

múyaná	wa	ókóddéla	vaddíddi	wa	ókúmá	va-tákúlú = vâye
1.woman.PL	1.CON	15.be.beautiful	much	1.CON	15.be.fat	16-house = 16.POSS.I

'When he arrived, barely had he looked outside when he sees a very beautiful and fat woman at home.'

maria.107_723.8'

"ce!" Nikúrábedha. Nikúrábedha mwaneenám' óoṅkála ṁbára mucíddô vatí va máánje.

ce	N.	N.	mwana-enámá	[o-ni-kála	mu-bára	mucíddô	vatí	va	máánje]REL
INTER	D.	D.	1.child-9.animal.PL	1-IPFV.CJ-be	18-9a.sea	18.bottom	16.ground	16.CON	6.water

'Mr.Dugong is an animal which lives in the bottom of the sea.'

maria.108_729.5'

mwaneenámá múnddímúwá vaddíddi. Nikúrábedha omwaañgáná : "céé! míyó múyán' óĺle kannímúceeléla, míyó múyán' óóĺle nnómútela."

mwana-enámá	múnddímúwá	vaddíddi	N.	o-mu-añgáná	cee	míyó	múyáná	óĺle
1.child-9.animal.PL	1.big	much	D.	NAR-OM1-see	INTER	1SG.PRO	1.woman	1.DEM.III

ka-ni-ní-mú-ceeléla	míyó	múyáná	óĺle	ni-ni-ó-mú-tela
NEG-1PL-IPFV-OM1-give.up	1SG.PRO	1.woman	1.DEM.III	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-marry

'It is a big animal. Mr.Dugong looked at her : Me, that woman, I cannot give her up! Me, that woman, I am going to marry her!'

maria.109_737.5'

Nikúrábedh' oottamág' oódhowá ḿpúle mwaári vatákúlu vâye. odhow' óómfwanyá mwáádhíiye omwaddela :

N.	o-ttamága	o-dhowá	ḿpúle	mwaári	va-tákúlu	váaye	o-dhowá	o-mu-fwanyá
D.	NAR-run	NAR-go	18.DEM.III	18.inside	16-9a.house	16.POSS.I	NAR-go	NAR-OM1-meet

mwáádhí-iye	o-mu-add-el-a
1.wife-POSS.3SG	NAR-OM1-inform-APPL-Fi

'Mr.Dugong ran, and went back inside, at home. he went, met his wife and informed her :

maria.110_741.8'

"mwaadhagá, míyó ddínótél' oók' úutákúlu." "ónótelá dháav' oó kudhówíl' oók' óováneéne ?" "ummm ddínótélá ddiikáánáwo múyâna."

mwaadhaga	míyó	ddí-ni-ótéla	ókú	o-tákúlu
1.wife.POSS.1SG.PL	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.marry	17.DEM.I	17-outside

ó-ni-ótelá	dháavi	wéyo	ku-dhów-íle	ókú	ováno=éne
2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.marry	how	2SG.PRO	NEG.2SG-go-PFV	17.DEM.I	now=INT

ummm	ddí-ni-ótélá	ddi-hi-kááná=wo	múyâna
INTER	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.marry	1SG-PFV.DJ-have=17.LOC	1.woman

"My wife, I am marrying up there." "How are you possibly marrying? Have you not just left right now?" (=too soon to get married) "No, I am marrying, I have a woman there."

maria.111_749'

mwáádhíye belá : "kayíyó mwáha! míyóto ddiḿfúná ddimúzíwé múnánddaágâya."

mwáádhíye	ba-ilá	kayíyó	mwáha	míyó=to	ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-mú-zíw-é
1.wife.POSS.1	SEQ.1-say	NEG.COP	3.problem	1SG.PRO=then	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-OM1-know-SBJ

múnánddi=ágâ=ya
1.co-wife=POSS.1SG=DEF

'His wife said : No problem! Then I want to know my co-wife.'

maria.112_753'

íyééne belá: "mangwááná mangwááná mangwááná mángwââna! míyó ǹnódhána múnânddo.

íyééne	ba-ilá	mangwááná	míyó	ni-ni-ódhá=na	múnânddo
3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	tomorrow	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come=COM	1.co-wife.POSS.2SG

'He said : Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow! I will bring your co-wife.'

maria.113_757.5'

Nikúrábedh' oodhow' óógónā. ǹmángwánáním' oottamágúw' óódha.

N.	o-dhow'	óógónā	mú-mángwááná=ní=mwa	o-ttamágá	o-dha
D.	NAR-go	15.sleep	18-tomorrow=LOC=18.DEF	NAR-run	NAR-come

'Mr.Dugong went to bed. The next day, he went (to the seaside) running.' (lit. he ran and went)

maria.114_762'

íyéén' áagadha kaḿfíyedha vali Maríya wééloómúturumél' áagaamútúrúméla baáhí ddi mwáádhíye.

íyééné	a-gaa-dha	ka-ní-fíy-edh-a	va-li	M.	o-á-íla-ó-mú-turumélá
3SG.PRO	1-SIT-come	NEG.1-IPFV-arrive-APPL-Fi	16-be	M.	1-PST.IPFV.AUX-15-OM1-spy.on

a-ga-mú-túrúméla	baáhí	ddi	mwáádhí=ye
1-SIT-OM1-spy.on	enough	1.COP	1.wife=POSS.1

'When he reached the bank, he did not go where Maria was. He was watching her. While watching her, (he saw) it was his wife.'

maria.115_765.5'

omuturumélá turíííí agamwááñgána baáhi : "cá! Míyó múyán' óólle kanním**ú**ceella." otamágá wiiyéla.

o-mu-turumélá	turíííí	a-ga-mú-áñgána	baáhi	cá	míyó	múyáná	ólle
NAR-OM1-watch	INTER	1-SIT-OM1-see	only	INTER	1SG.PRO	1.woman	1.DEM.III

ka-ni-ní-mú-ceeléla	o-tamágá	o-iyéla
NEG-1PL-IPFV-OM1-give.up	NAR-run	NAR-go.back

'He watched her and saw her : Ohh! That woman, I am not going to lose her. He ran back.'

maria.116_770.5'

"mwaadhagá míyó **ń**nótélâ ddiikáána múyáná mwíína. **ǹ**nódhâna."

mwaadhaga	míyó	ní-ni-ótélâ	ddi-hi-káána	múyáná	mú-ína
1.wife.POSS.1SG.PL	1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.marry	1SG-PFV.DJ-have	1.woman	1-other

ni-ni-ódhâ = na
1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go = COM

'My wife! I am marrying! I have another woman. I will bring (her).'

maria.117_774'

vélévó Nikúrábedha woóóbuwela maare. dílá ttaaru bagádhōwá bagééyéla, bagádhówá bagééyéla.

vélévó	N.	o-á-úbuwela	maare	dílá	ttaaru	ba-gá-dhówá	ba-gá-íyééla
16.EDEM.I	D.	1-PST.CJ-think	6.idea.PL	10a.time	three	SEQ.1-SIT-go	SEQ.1-SIT-go.back

'There, Mr.Dugong was thinking of an idea. He went back and forth three times.'

maria.118_778.3'

ókúle múyan' óólle máámúńddímúwá bagéelá : "kadhánáto **m̄**kwáágáaya óddo, (mwáádhi) mwáádhíy' oóddó **ǹ**dhé nimóône." Nikúrábedha belá : "kajéêdha."

ókúle	múyáná	ólle	máámúńddímúwá	ba-gá-elá	ka-dhá = ná = to
17.DEM.III	1.woman	1.DEM.III	1a.first.wife	SEQ.1-SIT-say	IMP-go = COM = then

mukwé = ágá = ya	óddo	mwáádhí = ya	óddó	ni-dh-é	ni-mú-ôn-e
1.friend = POSS.1SG = DEF	1.DEM.II	1.wife = DEF	1.DEM.II	1PL-come-SBJ	1PL-OM1-see-SBJ

N.	ba-elá	ka-jéêdha
D.	SEQ.1-say	IMP-wait

'Here, that woman, the first wife, said : Bring then that friend of mine, that wife, so that we see her. Mr.Dugong said : Wait.'

maria.119_785.5'

Nikúrábedh' oodhow' óóvikomá:. síkú na nóónay' uudhow' óóvikomá m̄púle mwaári. odhana máánjé na néébe nínddímúwá vaddíddi.

N.	o-dhowá	o-vi-komá	síkú	na	ná-ó-nayi	o-dhowá	o-vi-komá
D.	NAR-go	NAR-REFL-position	5.day	5.CON	PFX-14-four	NAR-go	NAR-REFL-position

m̄púle	mwaári	o-dha = na	máánjé	na	néébe	ní-nddímúwá	vaddíddi
18.DEM.III	18.inside	NAR-go = COM	6.water	with	5.wave	5-big	much

'Mr.Dugong went and placed himself (to come with a big wave), the fourth day, he went and placed himself there in the sea. He came through the water with a very big wave.'

maria.120_796.3'

mudhéélííy' óolówííla kúpáááa: vatákúl' aápále va Maríyâ. nyúmb' ééjíl' eelóóttwéy' ééy' oolóómúsáanguravo Maríyâya. o:ttamagélána m̀máánjêni, omuttukula Maríy' óodhowána.

[mu-dh-éél-é = íyé]REL		o-lé-wííla	kúpááá	va-tákúlu	ápále	va	M.
18-come-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		1-CE-15.do	IDEO	16-9a.house	16.DEM.III	16.CON	M.

nyúmbá	éjíle	e-lé-óttwéyá	íyééne	o-lé-ó-mú-sáangura = vo	maríyâ = ya
9a.house	9.DEM.III	9-CE-15.break	3SG.PRO	1-CE-15-OM1-steal = 16.LOC	maria = DEF

o-ttamag-él-á = na	mu-máánjê = ni	o-mu-ttukula	M.	o-dhowá = na
NAR-run-APPL-Fi = COM	18-6.water = LOC	NAR-OM1-take	M.	NAR-go = COM

'While coming, he threw water (lit. did kupaaa) on Maria's house. That house broke, and he seized Maria. He slided with her through the water. He did take Maria, and went with her.'

maria.121_807.5'

āpw' ééjúwééne (mwáádhá) mwámúna Maríya, ol' úumabásâni, kańzíwá dhim̀páddúwa vatákúlúvaye. Nikúrábedh' oóttámágáná, oódhôwa.

āpó	éjí = éne	mwámúna	M.	o-lí	o-mabásâ = ni	ka-ní-zíwá
16.DEM.II	9.DEM.II = INT	1.husband	M.	1-be	17-6.work = LOC	NEG.1-IPFV-know

[dhi-ni-páddúwa	va-tákúlú = vaye]REL	N.	o-hí-ttámágá = ná	o-hí-dhôwa
10-IPFV.CJ-happen	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.1	D.	1-PFV.DJ-run = COM	1-PFV.DJ-go

'At this very moment, Maria's husband is at work, he does not know what is happening at home. Mr.Dugong ran with her, he left.'

maria.122_815.5'

mudhówelííyé: , oomútóonyedha mwáádhíí' wí : "mwádhâga waámúlogíímí dd' uúddu."

[mu-dhów-el-é = íyé]REL		o-hi-mú-tóony-edh-a	mwáádhí = ye	wí
18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO		1-IPFV.DJ-OM1-show-APPL-Fi	1.wife = POSS.3SG	CMP

mwádhâga	[o-á-mú-logá = ímí]REL	ddi	óddu
1.wife.POSS.1SG	1-PST.CJ-OM1-speak = 1SG.PRO	1.COP	1.DEM.I

'When he arrived, he showed his wife that : This is the wife I talked about.'

maria.123_818.8'

mwáádhíye bamwáángáná, belá : "cá! ndde múyaná w' oókóddélá vaddí' wa múzúgu ńng' óóddo. ogilaat' óókûle.

mwáádhíye	ba-mú-ángáná	ba-ilá	cá	ndde	múyaná	wa	ókóddélá	vaddíddí
1.wife.POSS.1	SEQ.1-OM1-see	SEQ.1-say	INTER	yes	1.woman	1.CON	15.be.beautiful	much

wa	múzúgu	níngá	óddo	o-gilaatí	ókûle
1.CON	1.European	like	1.DEM.II	NAR-sit	17.DEM.III

'His wife looked at her and said : Oh yes! A very beautiful woman and white like this! They sat there.'

maria.124_823.5'

Maríyá agaañgáná : "mééyá ddilú ?" onóón' óolí tákúl' iína.

M.	a-gaa-áñgáná	míyó = yá	ddi-lí	uuvi	o-ní-óná	o-lí	tákúlu	e-ína
M.	1-SIT-look	1SG.PRO = DEF	1SG-be	where	1-IPFV.CJ-look	1-be	9a.house	9-other

'Maria, when she looked : Where am I ? She notices she is in another house.'

maria.125_827'

ddabunó vénévalé: , baáh' óolóógíláatí na múnáanddé vatakulú vááwá: , íyééne kaáná maare mééna oókósa.

ddabunó	vénévalé	baáhí	o-lé-ógíláatí	na	múnándde	va-takulú	vááwá
now	16.EDEM.III	only	1-CE-15.sit	with	1.co-wife.POSS.1	16-9a.house	16.POSS.2

íyééne	ka-á-ná		maare	má-ína	a	ókósa
3SG.PRO	NEG.1-PST.IPFV-have		6.idea.PL	6-other	6.CON	15.do

'Then she sat with her co-wife in their house. She had nothing else to do.'

maria.126_836'

mámúna Maríyá owúbúwa, noódha noowórúw' oókúl' oomabásáni oódhá vatákúlúváyé, omfwá' nyúmb' eētwéyá: , mwáádhíye kaávó, dhoóbó kadhívó:

mámúna	M.	o-hí-búwa	na-ódha	na-owórúwa	ókúle	o-mabásá=ni
1.husband	M.	1-PFV.DJ-appear	RES-15.come	RES-15.stop.work	17.DEM.III	17-6.work=LOC

o-hí-dhá	va-tákúlú=váye	o-ní-fwányá	nyúmba	e-hī-twéya
1-PFV.DJ-come	16-9a.house=16.POSS.3SG	1-IPFV.CJ-meet	9a.house	9-PFV.DJ-burst

mwáádhí=ye	kaá=vó	dhoóbó	kadhí=vó
1.wife=POSS.3SG	NEG.COP.1=16.LOC	10.furniture	NEG.COP.10=16.LOC

'Maria's husband showed up. After he finished working, he went back home, and he met the house broken, his wife was not there, nor the furniture either.'

maria.127_843'

"haaaa: ! vatákúlúva ápá waálívo ba aani ?"

haaaa	va-tákúlú=va	ápá	[o-á-lí=vo]REL	ba	aani
INTER	16-9a.house=16.DEF	16.DEM.I	1-PST.IPFV-be=16.LOC	2.COP	who

'Oooh! Who was in this house?'

maria.128_848'

ottamága, odhowá wéédda m̄pó m̄pó belogúwá : "yiíí: , mwáádhíw' óottúkúluw' oomuttúkúl̀lé ddi nukúrábedha.

o-ttamága	o-dhowá	wéédda	m̄pó	m̄pó	ba-log-úw-á
NAR-run	NAR-go	15.walk	18.DEM.II	18.DEM.II	SEQ.1-say-PASS-Fi

yiíí	mwáádhí=wó	o-hi-ttúkúl-uw-a	[o-mu-ttúkúl-ilé]REL	ddi	N.
INTER	1.wife=POSS.2SG	1-PFV.DJ-take-PASS-Fi	1-OM1-take-PFV.REL	1.COP	D.

'He ran, walked around and was told : Hey, your wife was abducted, the one who took her is Mr.Dugong."

maria.129_854'

Nikúrábedha mwaneenám' óoli m̀bára, vati vá máánje. mwanenámá múnddímúw' óóváddá vaddíddi, wéyó kunímvodhā."

nikúrábedha	mwana-enámá	[o-li	mu-bára	vati	vá	máánje]REL
5.dugong	1.child-9.animal.PL	1-be	18-9a.sea	16.floor	16.CON	6.water

mwana-enámá	mú-nddímúwá	wa	óváddá	vaddíddi	wéyó	ku-ní-mú-vodhá
1.child-9.animal.PL	1-big	1.CON	15.be.strong	much	2SG.PRO	NEG.2SG-IPFV-OM1-defeat

'The dugong is an animal which lives in the sea, in the deep waters. It is a very strong animal, you are not going to defeat him.'

maria.130_860.5'

íyééné balogá : "hee: míyó ddinómwodhá nikúrábedha, ddinómdhoóláwo mwádhâga." "na míkálelo
gaani?" belá : "míyó ddinómúdhoólâwo."

íyééné	ba-logá	hee	míyó	ddi-ni-ó-mú-wodhá	N.	ddi-ni-ó-mú-dhoólá = wo
3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	INTER	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-defeat	D.	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC

mwádhâga	na	míkálelo	gaani	ba-ilá	míyó	ddi-ni-ó-mú-dhoólâ = wo
1.wife.POSS.1SG	with	4.way	which	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC

'He said : I will defeat Mr.Dugong, and I will fetch my wife. How? He said : I will fetch her.'

maria.131_866'

múlóbwan' oóll' uubuweléê: [▸ uubuwelééni] ? odhowil' óókúl' oonsásányuwa: māpápoóro, mabáárku.
odhowá balogá :

múlóbwana	ólle	o-ubuwel-é = ni	o-dhow-ilé	ókúle
1.man	1.DEM.III	1-think.APPL-PFV.CJ = what	1-go-PFV.CJ	17.DEM.III

[o-ni-sásány-uw-a	mápápoóro	mabáárku]REL	o-dhowá	ba-logá
17-IPFV.CJ-build-PASS-Fi	6.boat	6.boat	NAR-go	SEQ.1-say

'What did that man think about? He went there where boats are built. He went and said'

maria.132_874.8'

"míyó ddimfúná muúsásanyedhe: papóóro w' oóttámágá vaddííddi."

míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	muú-sásany-edh-e	papóóro	wa	óttámágá	vaddíddi
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	2PL.OM1SG-build-APPL-SBJ	1a.boat	1.CON	15.run	much

'I want you to build me a very fast boat.'

maria.133_879.5'

ábále balogá: : "ookááná koóbíri dh' oopícá ?" íyééné belá : "aaáh ! ddinopíca".

ábále	ba-logá	o-hi-kááná	koóbílri	dha	opícá	íyééné	ba-ilá
2.DEM.III	SEQ.2-say	2SG-PFV.DJ-have	10.money	10.CON	15.pay	3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say

aah	ddi-ni-opíca
INTER	1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.pay

'They said : Do you have money to pay? He said : Ah, I will pay.'

maria.134_884'

osasanyuwa pápóóro, w' oóttámágá vaddííddi: w' oompítta Nikúrábedha. belúw' óódd' uusasanyuw'
óóvahedhelúwa, ńdde.

o-sasany-uw-a	pápóóro	wa	óttámágá	vaddíddi	wa	o-mú-pítta	N.
NAR-build-PASS-Fi	1a.boat	1.CON	15.run	much	1.CON	15-OM1-surpass	D.

ba-il-úw-a	óddu	o-sasany-uw-á	ó-vah-edh-el-úw-a	ńdde
SEQ.2-say-PASS-Fi	1.DEM.I	NAR-build-PASS-Fi	NAR-give-APPL-APPL-PASS-Fi	yes

'The boat was built, a very fast one, faster than Mr.Dugong. He was told : This is it. It was built and given to
him.'

maria.135_894'

odhowá, (balogá:) okuwá ńpúle m̀múrúddani, belagá : "míyó nim̀ḿvedá mútt' uuńzíw' óómúttamagíya baáŕkú vaddíííddi, pápóóro, ońzíw' óómwééddíya pápóóro."

o-dhowá	o-kuwá	ńpúle	mu-múrúdda = ni	ba-il-ag-á	míyó
NAR-go	NAR-shout	18.DEM.III	18-3.village = LOC	SEQ.1-say-HAB-Fi	1SG.PRO

ni-ní-mú-vedá	múttu	[o-ní-zíwá	ó-mú-ttamag-íh-a	baáŕkú	vaddíddi
1PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look.for	1.person.PL	1-IPFV.CJ-know	15-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi	1a.boat	much

pápóóro]REL	[o-ní-zíwá	o-mú-édd-íh-á	pápóóro]REL
1a.boat	1-IPFV.CJ-know	15-OM1-walk-CAUS-Fi	1a.boat

'He went and shouted there in the village. He said : "I want someone who can make a boat go fast, someone who can use a boat." '

maria.136_903'

odha múttu. balogá : "míyo. ńdde." balogá : "ddiním̀funá mútt' uuńzíwá wííyá vaddíííddi, wa m̀báva. odha múttu mwíína.

o-dha	múttu	ba-logá	míyo	ńdde	ba-logá	ddi-ní-mú-funá	múttu
NAR-come	1.person	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	yes	SEQ.1-say	1SG-IPFV.CJ-OM1-want	1.person.PL

[o-ní-zíwá	wííyá	vaddíddi]REL	wa	m̀báva	o-dha	múttu	mú-ína
1-IPFV.CJ-know	15.steal	much	1.CON	1.thief	NAR-go	1.person	1-other

'A man came and said : I can. He (the husband) said : I want someone who steals a lot, who is a thief. Another man came.'

maria.137_912.5'

balogá : "míyó ddiním̀vedá mútt' uuńzíw' óópóńtáary' oǹtóóny' aápále baatoónyá", balogá : "míy' áápa vańdhówíími pa vélévo baanyaálíhedha vélévale." baadhá múttú. araarú.

ba-logá	míyó	ddi-ní-mú-vedá	múttu	[o-ní-zíwá	ópóńtáari]REL
SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look.for	1.person.PL	1-IPFV.CJ-know	15.track

[o-ni-tóónya]REL	ápále	ba-a-toónyá	ba-logá	míyó	ápá	[va-ní-dhówá = ími]REL
1-IPFV.CJ-point	2.DEM.III	SEQ-1-point	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	16.DEM.I	16-IPFV.CJ-go = 1SG.PRO

pa	vélévo	baa-nyaál-íh-edh-a	vélévale	ba-a-dhá	múttú	a-raarú
1.COP	16.EDEM.II	SEQ-be.straight-CAUS-APPL-Fi	16.EDEM.III	SEQ-1-come	1.person	2-three

'He (the husband) said : I am looking for someone who can track well. He said : Where I go is where I go, straight to the point. One person came, then three.'

maria.138_922.5'

balogá : "nim̀funá múttu w' oosága vaddíddi wa máttápittápi ońkósa dhílóbo dh'ooságásaga."

ba-logá	ni-ní-funá	múttu	wa	osága	vaddíddi	wa	máttápittápi
SEQ.1-say	1PL-IPFV.CJ-want	1.person.PL	1.CON	15.be.smart	much	1.CON	6.nice.things

[o-ní-kósa	dhílóbo	dha	oságásaga]REL
1-IPFV.CJ-do	10.thing	10.CON	15.be.amazing

'He said : I want someone very smart, a showman, who can do spectacular things.'

maria.139_928.5'

odha múttu. namáságw' oóĺle balogá : "míyó ddiḿfúná oddígúlele bóla." ogulelúwa bóla.

o-dha	múttu	namásága	ólle	ba-logá	ddi-ní-fúná	o-ddí-gúl-el-e
NAR-came	1.person	1a.smart	1.DEM.III	SEQ.1-say	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	2SG-OM1SG-buy-APPL-SBJ

bóla	o-gul-el-úw-a	bóla
9a.ball	NAR-buy-APPL-PASS-Fi	9a.ball

'A man came. That smart person said : I want you to buy me a ball. He was bought a ball.'

maria.140_934.8'

íyééné balogá : "míyó ddiikáána mabása, ddiḿfúná muúdhóolle mwáádhaga , mwáádhag' oolí ná nikúrábedha mwaári.

íyééné	ba-logá	míyó	ddi-hi-káána	mabása	ddi-ní-fúná	muú-dhóol-él-e
3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1SG-PFV.DJ-have	6.work	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	2PL.1SG-fetch-APPL-SBJ

mwáádhaga	mwáádhaga	o-lí	ná	N.	mwaári
1.wife.POSS.1SG	1.wife.POSS.1SG	1-be	with	D.	18.inside

'He said : I have work : I want you to fetch my wife. My wife is with Mr.Dugong in the sea.'

maria.141_942'

míyó ddiḿfúná muúdhóolle mwáádhágá muúdhéeléna. mugaddíkóséla mabáséen' aábó, eḿfúnéényu kalógáni míyó ǹnowúttámbirihani."

míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	muú-dhóol-el-e	mwáádhágá	muú-dh-éel-é=na
1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	2PL.OM1SG-fetch-APPL-SBJ	1.wife.POSS.1SG	2PL.OM1SG-come-APPL-SBJ=COM

mu-ga-ddí-kós-él-a	mabásá=ene	ábó	[e-ní-fúná=ínyu]REL	ka-lógá=ni
2PL-SIT-OM1SG-do-APPL-Fi	6.work=INT	6.DEM.II	9-IPFV.CJ-want=2PL.PRO	IMP-say=PLA

míyó	ni-ni-o-ú-ttámbir-ih-a=ni
1SG.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-receive-CAUS-Fi=PLA

'I want you to fetch my wife and bring her back to me, when you achieve that task for me, tell whatever you want, and I will grant you.'

maria.142_947.5'

ábále belã : "haaa! ejú wéene baáhí, íyó ninódhôwa."

ábále	ba-ilá	haaa	ejí	wéene	baáhí	íyó	ni-ni-ódhôwa
2.DEM.III	SEQ.2-say	INTER	9.DEM.I	INT	only	1PL.PRO	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go

'Those said : If these are the conditions, we will go.'

maria.143_951.5'

alóófĩyá síkúna ńtĩl' aalóbágá: , álóbwana baayá ḿpapóóroni ḿpúle, aábáale.

a-lé-ófĩyá	síkú=na	ńttíle	a-lé-óbágá	álóbwana	ba-a-yá
1-CE-15.arrive	5.day=5.DEF	5.DEM.III	2-CE-15.leave	2.man	SEQ-2-go

mú-papóóro=ni	ḿpúle	aábáale
18-1a.boat=LOC	18.DEM.III	they.went

'They reached that day, they left, the men entered the boat and went.'

maria.144_957.5'

aadhowága amallé súmaána m̀pák' óóm̀fwanyá nikúrábedha valííye. na baáŕku bagáttamága bagáttamág' aadhowága.

a-a-dhow-ág-a	a-maal-ilé	súmaána	m̀páká ó-mú-fwanyá	N.	[va-lí = íye]REL
2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi	2-finish-PFV.CJ	9a.week.PL	until 15-OM1-meet	D.	16-be = 3SG.PRO

na	baáŕku	ba-gá-ttamága	ba-gá-ttamága	a-a-dhow-ág-a
with	1a.boat	SEQ.2-SIT-run	SEQ.2-SIT-run	2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi

'While going, they spent a week until they found Mr.Dugong, the place where he lives. By boat, hurrying and hurrying.'

maria.145_966.5'

óĺle namáváviya baaŕk' úkúl' agaadhow' óófffff, óttámágíha pāpóór' oóĺle bagáttamága bagádhôwa.

óĺle	namáváviya	baaŕkú	ókúle	a-gaa-dhowá	ufffff	óttámág-íh-a	pāpóóro
1.DEM.III	1a.pilot	1a.boat.PL	17.DEM.III	1-SIT-go	IDEO	15.run-CAUS-Fi	1a.boat

óĺle	ba-gá-ttamága	ba-gá-dhôwa
1.DEM.III	SEQ.2-SIT-run	SEQ.2-SIT-go

'That pilot, going in there 'fffff', making that boat run, running and going.'

maria.146_974'

óĺle m̀póǹtáárí: wéélootóónya : "va Nikúrábedh' áápálé:" ddi íyééne woóónaávó baáhi. woóónaávó ddi íyééné baáhi

óĺle	m̀póǹtáárí	o-á-íla-otóónya	va	N.	ápálé	ddi	íyééne
1.DEM.III	1.tracker	1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.indicate	16.CON	D.	16.DEM.III	1.COP	3SG.PRO

[o-á-óná = vó	baáhi]REL	[o-á-óná = vó]REL	ddi	íyééné	baáhi
1-PST.IPFV.CJ-see = 16.LOC	only	1-PST.IPFV.CJ-see = 16.LOC	1.COP	3SG.PRO	only

'That tracker was indicating : Mr.Dugong is over there! He was the only one to see. He was the only one to see'

maria.147_983.5'

"ápálée: ǹdhówén" ' aadhowága, ápálée: ǹdhówén" ' aadhowága , ápáléé: ǹdhówén" ' aadhowága. m̀pák' óofíya, balogá : "va Nikúrábedha pa ápa."

ápálé	ni-dhów-é = ni	a-a-dhow-ág-a	m̀páká ofíya	ba-logá	va	N.	pa	ápa
16.DEM.III	1PL-go-SBJ = PLA	2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi	until 15.arrive	SEQ.1-say	16.CON	D.	16.COP	16.DEM.I

Over there, let's go!, and they went. Over there, let's go!, and they went. Over there, let's go!, and they went. Until they arrived. He said : Here is Mr.Dugong's.'

maria.148_994'

Nikúrábedh' oóĺle: , mwáádhíyé Maríy' óódd' uním̀vedííhu dd' uúĺle ánááyé:. óĺleeká Nikúrábedha, olí vatákúlúvâye. "nikóséní dháaví ?"

N.	óĺle	mwáádhí = yé	M.	óddú	o-ní-mú-vedá = íhu	ddi	óĺle
D.	1.DEM.III	1.wife = POSS.3SG	M.	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look.for = 1PL.PRO	1.COP	1.DEM.III

ánááyé	óĺle-eká	N.	o-lí	va-tákúlú = vâye	ni-kós-é = ní	dháaví
2.child.POSS.1	1.DEM.III-alone	D.	1-be	16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG	1PL-do-SBJ = PLA	how

'Here is Mr.Dugong, here are his wife Maria, this one we are looking for, (and) his children. There is Mr.Dugong, he is in his house. What shall we do?'

maria.149_1004'

baáhi, m̀fíyedháán' oókulé: m̀póǹtáárí: ááye mabás' áalógôma. ókúle om̀fún' óolábáawó: ddi sagám̀pirá na m̀báva.

baáhi	[mu-fíy-edh-é = áni		ókulé]ᵣₑₗ	m̀póǹtáári	ááye	mabásá	a-lé-ógôma
only	18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO		17.DEM.III	1.tracker	6.POSS.3SG	6.work	6-CE-15.finish

ókúle	[o-ní-fúná	olábá = wo]ᵣₑₗ	ddi	sagám̀pira	na	m̀báva
17.DEM.III	1-IPFV.CJ-want	15.work = 17.LOC	1.COP	1a.artist	and	1.thief

'Once they arrived there, the tracker's work was done. There the one who is going to work is (are) the artist and the thief.'

maria.150_1013'

óddú m̀vávíha baaȑkú ol' úwénéwal' óókúl' ooǹjéédhel' áákwááy' aageelá: "em̀málâ [▸ am̀málâ] mabásâ ǹdhówén' ǹttamágêni", attamágíhege abuddúwe.

óddú	m̀vávíha	baaȑkú	o-lí	wénéwale	ókúle	o-ni-jéédh-el-a
1.DEM.I	1.pilot	1a.boat.PL	1-be	17.EDEM.III	17.DEM.III	1-IPFV.CJ-wait-APPL-Fi

ákwé = áye	a-ga-ilá	a-hi-málâ	mabásâ	ni-dhów-é = ni	ni-ttamág-ê = ni
2.friend = POSS.3SG	2-SIT-say	6-PFV.DJ-finish	6.work	1PL-go-SBJ = PLA	1PL-run-SBJ = PLA

a-ttamág-íh-eg-e	a-buddúw-e
2-run-CAUS-HAB-SBJ	2-go.out-SBJ

'The pilot is here, he is waiting for his friends to say : The work is done, let's go, let's run!, so that they run fast and leave.'

maria.151_1021'

sagám̀pir' oobuddúwa, ottukula bolááye orom' óójúgáári.

sagám̀pira	o-buddúwa	o-ttukula	bolá = áye	o-romá	ójúgáári
1a.artist	NAR-go.out	NAR-take	9a.ball = POSS.3SG	NAR-start	15.play

'The artist went out, took his ball, started to play.'

maria.152_1027.5'

ból' ééjíle wááǹjugaári na músóró: wááǹjugaár' na máráwó: , wááǹjugaári n' iíttúúdhí: [>ǹttúúdhí], wááǹjugaári ni méénó: , wááǹjugaári na púnó: , wááǹjugaári na méńtó: , wááǹjugaá…

bólá	éjíle	ó-á-ni-jugáári		na	músólro	... na	máráwó	... na	ńttúúdhí
9a.ball	9.DEM.III	1-PST-IPFV.DJ-play		with	3.head		with	6.buttocks	with	5.shoulder

...	ni	méénó	...	na	púnó	...	na	méńtó
	with	6.tooth		with	9a.nose		with	6.eye

'He was playing with that ball with the head, was playing with the buttocks, was playing with the shoulder, was playing with the teeth, was playing with the nose, was playing with the eyes, was playing...'

maria.153_1034.5'

ésíle dhińkósííye [ókúle] dhísángusángu dhińkósííy' aápál' (aafutttúkúwaga ...) aafuttúkúwelag' aápá akosāg' ééjí akosāg' ééjí: , ...

ésíle	[dhi-ní-kósá = íye		ókúle]ᵣₑₗ	dhísángusángu	[dhi-ní-kósá = íye		ápále]ᵣₑₗ
10.DEM.III	10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO		17.DEM.III	10.show	10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO		16.DEM.III

a-futtúkúw-el-ag-a		ápá	a-kos-āg-á	éjí
2-be.bent-APPL-HAB-Fi		16.DEM.I	2-do-HAB-Fi	9.DEM.I

'What he is doing there, the show he is doing there, bent on one side, doing this, doing this, ...'

maria.154_1039.5'

... orómíl' oómóoná ddi mwáádha nikúrábedha. belá : "hiii ! mamunagá m̀móón' óóĺle, m̀móón' óóĺle, m̀móón' óóĺle. m̀móón' óóĺle dhińkósííye. shiíí: !"

[o-róm-íle	ó-mú-oná]REL	ddi	mwáádha	N.	ba-ilá	hiii
1-start-PFV.REL	15-OM1-see	1.COP	1.wife	D.	SEQ.1-say	INTER

mamunaga	mu-mú-ón-é	óĺle	[dhi-ní-kósá = íye]REL	shiíí
1.husband.POSS.1SG.PL	2.RESP-OM1-see-SBJ	1.DEM.III	10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO	INTER

'the one who first saw him is Mr.Dugong's wife. She said : Hiii! My husband, look at that one, look at that one, look at that one! Look at what that one is doing! Hiii!'

maria.155_1049.4'

ddabun' áábál' aagíláatí góddo goddo goddo : Nikúrábedha: , mwáádhíye: , Maríy' óódd' úuḿvédúwá: , ánááye, anímwáangána sagáḿpira ókó dhińkósíìye.

ddabunó	ábále	a-hi-gíláatí	góddo	N.	mwáádhí = ye	M.	óddú	[o-ní-véd-úw-á]REL
then	2.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-sit	IDEO	D.	1.wife = POSS.1	M.	1.DEM.I	1-IPFV.CJ-look.for-PASS-Fi

ánááye	a-ní-mú-angána	sagáḿpira	ókó	[dhi-ní-kósá = iye]REL
2.child.POSS.3SG	2-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look	1.artist	17.DEM.II	10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO

'Then all sat down : Mr.Dugong, his wife, Maria the one being looked for, his (Mr.Dugong) children. They are looking at the artist there, at what he is doing.'

maria.156_1059.5'

sagáḿpir' oókúl' eeńkósííyíína bóla, áám̀vadá n'uuddúní na músólro n' eégúgúnyó na pottókó na dháálá: ...

sagáḿpira	ókúle	[e-ní-kósá = íyé = na	bóla]REL	á-á-ni-vadá	na	éddûni
1.artist	17.DEM.III	9-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO = INSTR	9a.ball	1-PST-IPFV.DJ-hit	with	9.back

na	músólro	na	égúgúnyó	na	pottókó	na	dháálá
with	3.head	with	9.elbow	with	9a.heel	with	10.nail

'What that artist is doing with the ball - he was hitting with the back, with the head, with the elbow, with the heel, with the nails - ...'

maria.157_1065.4'

... ókúle dhińkósííy' aafuttúkúwag' aakoság' ééji, ábál' aakáán' oómwáañgáná : "cíí mmóóne: cíí mmóóne: cíí mmóóne: cíí mmóóne: !"

ókúle	[dhi-ní-kósá = íye]REL	a-futtúkúw-ag-a	a-kos-ága	éji
17.DEM.III	10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO	1-be.bent-HAB-Fi	1-do-HAB-Fi	9.DEM.I

ábále	a-hi-káána	ó-mú-añgáná	cíí	mu-mú-ón-e
2.DEM.III	2-PFV.CJ-have	15-OM1-look	INTER	2.RESP-OM1-see-SBJ

'... there what he is doing, turning, doing this, those have all their attention on him : Oooh, look at him! (×4)'

maria.158_1072'

eetéén' aaazuzúmél' oókúle. m̀báva belá "kádd́jeedheni".

a-eté = éne	a-a-zuzúm-él-e	ókúle	m̀báva	ba-ilá	ká-ddí-jeedh-e = ni
2-all = INT	2-PST-be.confused-APPL-PFV.CJ	17.DEM.III	1.thief	SEQ.1-say	IMP-OM1SG-wait-Fi = PLA

'All were busy over there. The thief said : Wait for me.'

maria.159_1075'

m̀báv' óókúl' oonówííyávo dhee:tédhéne bagattúkúlela m̀púle m̀pápóóro.

m̀bává	ókúle	o-ni-ó-íyá=vo	dhi-eté=dhéne	ba-ga-ttúkúl-el-a
1.thief	17.DEM.III	1-IPFV.DJ-15-steal=16.LOC	10-all=10.INT	SEQ.1-SIT-take-APPL-Fi

m̀púle	mu-pápóóro
18.DEM.III	18-1a.boat

'The thief there was stealing everything, taking it to the boat.'

maria.160_1079.3'

bagattúkúla baattukúla, baattukúla dhoóbó dhetédhéne dha Nikúrábédhá: , baamúttúkula mwáádhí Nikúrábédhá: , baamúttúkula Maríyá: , (baamúttúkula) baaáttúkula ááná á Nikúrábedh' ootêêne, baawééka m̀púle. Nikúrábedh' oonááñgánávi wénéwal' oókúl' oodhúlu.

ba-ga-ttúkúla	ba-a-ttukúla	ba-a-ttukúla	dhoóbó	dhi-eté=dhéne	dha	N.
SEQ.1-SIT-take	SEQ-1-take	SEQ-1-take	10.furniture	10-all=10.INT	10.CON	D.

ba-a-mú-ttúkula	mwáádhí	N.	ba-a-mú-ttúkula	M.	ba-a-á-ttúkula	ááná	á	N.	a-oté=êne
SEQ-1-OM1-take	1.wife	D.	SEQ-1-OM1-take	M.	SEQ-1-OM2-take	2.child	2.CON	D.	2-all=INT

ba-a-á-éka	m̀púle	N.	o-ní-áñgáná=vi	wénéwale	ókúle	odhúlu
SEQ-1-OM2-put	18.DEM.III	D.	1-IPFV.CJ-look=RESTR	1.EDEM.III	17.DEM.III	17.top

'Taking, he took. He took all Mr.Dugong's furniture, he took Mr.Dugong's wife, he took Maria, he took all his children, and put them there (in the boat). Mr.Dugong is still (and only) looking right above.'

maria.161_1092.7'

m̀málelííy' óókósá mabásáy' eéíle m̀bává: , odhow' óómwaaddela múkwááye sagám̀pira.

[mu-mál-el-é=íye	ókósá	mabásá=ye	óíle]REL
18-finish-APPL-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO	15.do	6.work=POSS.3SG	1.DEM.III

m̀bává	o-dhowá	ó-mu-add-el-a	múkwé=áye	sagám̀pira
1.thief	NAR-go	NAR-OM1-say-APPL-Fi	1.friend=POSS.3SG	1.artist

'When the thief completed his task, he informed his friend the artist.'

maria.162_1096.6'

belá : "míyó ddiimál' óókósá mabásâya." ókúle namáttékenyá ommál' ówííréya.

ba-ilá	míyó	ddi-hi-málá	ókósá	mabásâ=ya
SEQ.1-say	1SG.PRO	1SG-PFV.DJ-finish	15.do	6.work=DEF

ókúle	namáttékenyá	o-hi-málá	wííréya
17.DEM.III	1.pilot	1-PFV.DJ-finish	15.prepare.oneself

'He said : I've just done the work. There, the pilot prepared himself, got ready.'

maria.163_1101'

ōrúméél' óorumééíl' oóíl' oókúle odhúlú waákósííy' ésíle dha sagám̀pirayé: amottélá m̀baárúkuní: , aábál' aalóróm' oóttámága ānówíyéla.

ōrúméélá	[o-ruméél-ile	óíle]REL	ókúle	odhúlú	[o-á-kósá=íye
15.disappear	15-disappear-PFV.REL	1.DEM.III	17.DEM.III	17.top	17-PST.IPFV.CJ-do=3SG.PRO

ésíle	dha	sagám̀pira=yé]REL	a-mott-él-á	mu-baárúku=ní
9.DEM.III	9.CON	1.artist=POSS.1	2-fall-APPL-Fi.SEQ	18-1a.boat=LOC

aábále	a-lé-óróma	óttámága	á-ni-ó-íyéla
they.went	2-CE-15.start	15.run	2-IPFV.DJ-15-go.back

'Once that one above disappeared (lit. the disappearing which that one disappeared) from that place above where he was doing his show, he fell into the boat. They went and started to run back.'

maria.164_1108.5'

Nikúrábedh' ookáán' oónórhvedávi, ónórhvedávi, ónórhvedávi kanímóonā.

N.	o-hi-kááne	ó-ni-ó-mú-vedá = vi		ka-ní-mú-oná
D.	1-PFV-DJ-have	1-IPFV-DJ-15-OM1-look.for = RESTR		NEG.1-IPFV-OM1.see

'Mr.Dugong keeps looking for him, but he does not see him.'

maria.165_1112.8'

"ca! óddú waásága áp' óol' úúvi ?" ónórhvedá na ménto, kanímóoná.

ca	óddú	[o-á-sága	ápa]REL	o-lí	úuvi	ó-ni-ó-mú-vedá
INTER	1.DEM.I	1-PST.IPFV.CJ-be.smart	16.DEM.I	1-be	where	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-look.for

na	ménto	ka-ní-mú-oná
with	6.eye	NEG.1-IPFV-1.see

'Ca ! Where is this one who was showing off? He is looking for him with his eyes, but does not see him.'

maria.166_1115.8'

ókw' áálóbwana ánókúkúma ánóttámág' aánówíyélawo.

ókú	álóbwana	á-ni-ókúkúma	á-ni-óttámága	á-ni-ó-íyéla = wo
17.DEM.I	2.man	2-IPFV.DJ-15.flee	2-IPFV.DJ-15.run	2-IPFV.DJ-15-go.back = 17.LOC

'At this point, the men are going back, fleeing, running.'

maria.167_1119.5'

ór' éerurúmúwile Nikúrábedh' aadh' ááñgáná vatí wáángáná vatákúlúváyéê:

órá	[e-rurúmúw-ile	N.]REL	a-dhá	wááñgáná	vatí	wáángáná
9a.hour	9-wake.up-PFV.REL	D.	1-come.SEQ	15.look	16.floor	15.look

va-tákúlú = váye
16-9a.house = 16.POSS.1

'At that moment Mr.Dugong woke up, he came to look at the floor, to look at his house.'

maria.168_1123.5'

mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóbódhaye kadhíívo : "ci! haaaa! cííni? agaakuwá dhaáyi kanímóonávó muttu.

mwáádhí = ye	kaá = vo	ánááye	kaá = vo
1.wife = POSS.3SG	NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC	2.child.POSS.3SG	NEG.COP.2 = 16.LOC

dhoóbó = dhaye	kadhí = vo	ci	haa	cííni	a-gaa-kuwá	dhaáyi
10.furniture = 10.POSS.3SG	NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC	INTER	INTER	7.COP.what	1-SIT-shout	like.this.I

ka-ní-mú-oná = vó	muttu
NEG.1-IPFV-OM1.see = 16.LOC	1.person.PL

'His wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here. '[excl.] What is it?' While he is shouting, he does not see anyone.'

maria.169_1133.5'

Nikúrábedh' oovényíhá nikótti, onímóoná baárúk' uúnóttámága. belá : "cíí! ba ábálééé: áddikósíl' eési."

N.	o-hi-vény-íh-á	nikótti	o-ní-mú-oná	baárúku	ó-ni-óttámága
D.	1-PFV.DJ-rise-CAUS-Fi	5.neck	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see	1a.boat	1-IPFV.DJ-15.run

ba-ilá	cíí	ba	ábále	[á-ddi-kós-íle	ési]REL
SEQ.1.say	INTER	2.COP	2.DEM.III	2-OM1SG-do-PFV.REL	10.DEM.I

'Mr.Dugong raised his neck. He saw the boat running, and said : [excl.] These are the ones who did this to me.'

maria.170_1144.5'

munddúni ómúttamagíha. ómúttamagíh' oómúttamagíh' oómúttamagíha, kaṁfwányîle.

munddúni	ó-mú-ttamag-íh-a	ó-mú-ttamag-íh-a	ka-mu-fwány-íle
18.behind	15-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi	15-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi	NEG.1-OM1-meet-PFV

'Running after. Running, running, running…, he did not meet him.'

maria.171_1150'

ókúl' oodhówúwe súmáána, oṁméyélélo síkú (kavi) kamaríhîle

ókúle	[o-dhów-úw-e	súmáána]_REL	oṁméyélélo	síkú	ka-maríh-île
17.DEM.III	17-go-PASS-PFV.REL	9a.week	14.way.back	5.day	NEG.2-complete-PFV

'While a week was needed to go there, they didn't complete one day for the way back.'

maria.172_1155'

mwa síkú nimodhá alóófíyá, ofíy' óofí[yi]láání: , alóóttúkúlamo dhootédhén' eési dhidhíláańná ṁbaáŕkuṅ' na áyímaya ába na áyanááya áb' aaténé: , adhowiléná voolápélána na ńbâra.

mwa	síkú	ni-modhá	a-lé-ófíyá	ofíyá	[o-fíy-ilé = áni]_REL
18.in	5.day	5-one	2-CE-15.arrive	15.arrive	15-arrive-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO

a-lé-óttúkúla = mo	dhi-oté = dhéne	ési	[dhi-dh-ílé = aní = ná
2-CE-15.take = 18.LOC	10-all = 10.INT	10.DEM.I	10-come-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO = COM

mu-baáŕku = ni]_REL	na	áyíma = ya	ába	na	áyaná = ya	ába	a-eté = éne
18-1a.boat = LOC	with	2.child = DEF	2.DEM.I	with	2.wife = DEF	2.DEM.I	2-all = INT

a-dhow-ilé = ná	va-olápélána	na	níbâra
2-go-PFV.CJ = COM	16-14.distance	with	5.sea

'They arrived in one day. Hardly had they arrived (lit. 'the arriving that they arrived'), they took everything they brought in the boat with all these children and these women, and they went away at some distance from the beach.'

maria.173_1166'

Nikúrábedha ofíy' óofíyilééye oṁfwanyilé baáŕkuvi.

N.	ofíyá	[o-fiy-ilé = íye]_REL	o-mu-fwany-ilé	baáŕku = vi
D.	15.arrive	15-arrive-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO	1-OM1-meet-PFV.CJ	1a.boat = RESTR

'Mr.Dugong, hardly had he arrived (lit. 'the arriving that he arrived'), met the boat, only.'

maria.174_1170'

olóóṁpóndda baáŕk' uúĺlé na músóro wooténe baṁpónddá, baṁpónddá, baṁpónddá: ,

o-lé-ó-mú-póndda	baáŕku	óĺlé	na	músólro	o-oté = ene	ba-mú-póndda
1-CE-15-OM1-knead	1a.boat	1.DEM.III	with	3.head	3-all = INT	SEQ.1-OM1-knead

'He destroyed that boat with his whole head, he destroyed it, destroyed it, destroyed it.'

maria.175_1173.7'

mwáádhíye n'oóĺle waamwiíyilééye na ánáːy' eeténe. ábále aáttáwúwana. Nikúrábedha olóówíyéla puwá.

mwáádhí = ye	na	óĺle	[o-a-mu-íy-ilé = íye]_REL	na	ánáye
1.wife = POSS.3SG	with	1.DEM.III	1-PST-OM1-steal-PFV.CJ = 3SG.PRO	with	2.child.POSS.3SG

a-eté = ene	ábále	a-hí-ttáw-úw-a = na	N.	o-lé-ó-íyéla	puwá
2-all = INT	2.DEM.III	2-PFV.DJ-escape-PASS-Fi = COM	D.	1-CE-15-go.back	vainly

'His wife, the one he had stolen, and all his sons. They escaped with them. Mr.Dugong went back with nothing.'

maria.176_1182'

véléval' áápálé múyan' óóĺle Maríyá olóówíyéléla vatákúl' úúlóókálá na mwámúné: , mwáádhá nikúrábedha viíná ddabun' óólóótélúwá viína na mulobwan' oóddu (mwaadha) mwámúna Maríya.

vélévalé	ápálé	múyaná	óĺle	M.	o-lé-ó-íyél-él-a	va-tákúlú
16.EDEM.III	16.DEM.III	1.woman	1.DEM.III	M.	1-CE-15-go.back-APPL-Fi	16-9a.house

ó-lé-ókála	na	mwámúné	mwáádhá	N.	viíná	ddabunó	ó-lé-ótél-úw-a
1-CE-15.stay	with	1.husband.POSS.3SG	1.wife	D.	too	then	1-CE-15.marry-PASS-Fi

viína	na	mulobwana	óddu	mwámúna	maríya
too	with	1.man.PL	1.DEM.I	1.husband	maria

'There Mary went back home, she remained with her husband. Mr.Dugong's wife too got married with that man, Maria's husband.'

maria.177_1192'

ddabunó: múlóbwan' oóĺle: olódhówá olówááttuvá ábál' aadhóhílé ókósá mabásá: . baávúúza : "nyúwó mumfúnáani ?"

ddabunó	múlóbwana	óĺle	o-lé-ódhówá	o-lé-ó-á-ttuvá	ábále	[a-a-dhów-ílé
then	1.man	1.DEM.III	1-CE-15.go	1-CE-15-OM2-award	2.DEM.III	2-PST-go-PFV.CJ

ókósá	mabásá]REL	ba-á-vúúza	nyúwó	mu-ní-fúná=ni
15.do	6.work	SEQ.1-OM2-ask	2PL.PRO	2PL-IPFV.CJ-want=what

'Then that man went to pay those who did the job. He asked them : What do you want?'

maria.178_1199.5'

óĺle náámeyá m̀bává balogá : "yiíí, míyó ddimfúná oddíváhe ǹjáángará: niḿlógá' lá : 'míyó ddili m̀bava, elábw' ééjí yooténe kaāvó m̀bava w' oopítta míyo.' "

óĺle	náámeyá	m̀bává	ba-logá	yiíí	míyó	ddi-ní-fúná	o-ddí-váh-e
1.DEM.III	1a.thief	1.thief	SEQ.1-say	INTER	1SG.PRO	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	2SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ

ǹjáángara	[ni-ní-lógá	wíílá	míyó	ddi-li	m̀bava	elábó	éjí	e-oté=éne
5.card	5-IPFV.CJ-say	CMP	1SG.PRO	1SG-be	1.thief.PL	9.country	9.DEM.I	9-all=INT

kaā=vó	m̀bava	wa	opítta	míyo]REL
NEG.COP.1=16.LOC	1.thief.PL	1.CON	15.surpass	1SG.PRO

'That one, the thief, said : I want a certificate that says that I am a thief, and in this whole place, there is no thief better than me.'

maria.179_1209'

sagámpirá viíná balogá : "míyó ddimfúná ǹjaangara niḿlógá' lá kaavw' ááp' ona dhísángusángú baaddípíttá míyo."

sagámpira	viíná	ba-logá	ddi-ní-fúná	ǹjaangara	[ni-ní-lógá	wíílá
1a.artist	too	SEQ.1-say	1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	5.card.PL	5-IPFV.CJ-say	CMP

kaa=vó	ápá	[o-na	dhísángusángú	ba-a-ddí-píttá	míyo]REL]REL
NEG.COP.1=16.LOC	16.DEM.I	15-have	10.show	SEQ-1-OM1SG-surpass	1SG.PRO

'The artist said too : I want a card that says there is no artist better than me.'

maria.180_1215'

ḿpóǹtárí balogá : "oddíváhe viíná ǹjáángara nińlógélá kaāvó muttú: (om) oǹtóónyá: baaddípíttá míyo."

ḿpóǹtáárí	ba-logá	o-ddí-váh-e	viíná	ǹjáángara	[ni-ní-lóg-él-á
1.tracker	SEQ.1-say	2SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ	too	5.card	5-IPFV.CJ-say-APPL-Fi

kaá=vó	muttu	o-ni-tóónyá	ba-a-ddí-píttá	míyo
NEG.COP.1=16.LOC	1.people.PL	1-IPFV.CJ-show	SEQ-1-OM1SG-surpass	1SG.PRO

'The tracker said : Give me too a card that says there is no one who is better at tracking the way than I.'

maria.181_1222'

kadda múttú nibásá nikósilééye, balog' óóddíváhe ǹjáángará niǹtóónyedha : "míyó ddiízíwá opítt' ááttu ᵂéena, míyó ddiízíwá opítt' ááttu éena."

kadda	múttú	nibásá	[ni-kós-ilé=íye]ᵣₑₗ	ba-logá	ó-ddí-váh-e	ǹjáángara
each	1.person	5.work	5-do-PFV.REL=3SG.PRO	SEQ.1-say	2SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ	5.card

[ni-ni-tóóny-edh-a	míyó	ddi-hí-zíwá	opíttá	áttu	á-ina]ᵣₑₗ
5-IPFV.CJ-show-APPL-Fi	1SG.PRO	1SG-PFV.DJ-know	15.surpass	2.people	2-other

'Each one, for the work done, said : Give me a card that shows that I know more than the other people.'

maria.182_1228'

véléval' ééyéén' oolówávahá majáángar'aábálé: , olóhálá na mwáádhîye.

vélévalé	íyééne	o-lé-ó-á-vahá	majáángara	ábálé	o-lé-óhálá	na	mwáádhî=ye
16.EDEM.III	3SG.PRO	1-CE-15-OM2-give	6.card	6.DEM.III	1-CE-stay	with	1.wife=POSS.1

'There he gave them the certificates and stayed with his wife.

maria.183_1231.7'

vélévo, tutútú j' eéflege.

vélévo	tutútú	ji	e-ér-ílege
16.EDEM.II	IDEO	9.COP	9-say-PFV.REL.HAB

Text 7: The cat and the dog (by Helena)

páaká.1

oṁfún' óólógá ddi míy' éeleena. ddiṁfúná ìtágíyó omáálro Pááká na Mwánâbwa.

[o-ní-fúná	ólógá]_{REL}	ddi	míyó	Heleena
1-IPFV.CJ-want	15.speak	1.COP	1SG.PRO	Helena

ddi-ní-fúná	ddi-tágíy-é	omáálro	pááká	na	mwánâbwa
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want	1SG-tell-SBJ	14.friendship	1a.cat	and	1.dog

'Who wants to speak is me Helena. I want to tell about Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog's friendship.'

páaká.2_8'

ddiǹtágíy' eéji : Pááká na Mwánábw' ookung' oomáálro.

ddi-ni-tágíya	éji	pááká	na	mwánábwa	o-kunga	omáálro
1SG-IPFV.CJ-tell	9.DEM.I	1a.cat	and	1.dog	NAR-build	14.friendship

'Here it is (lit. 'I am telling this') : Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog built a friendship.'

páaká.3_11.5'

osasanya mátáánj' áawa sókóóraaw' oopiya dhoójádhawa [sókóóra ▸ sokéla]

o-sasanya	mátáánjé=awa	sokélá=awa	o-piya	dhoójá=dhawa
NAR-make	6.picnic=POSS.3PL	9a.contribution=POSS.3PL	NAR-cook	10.food=10.POSS.3PL

'They made their picnic, their contribution, they cooked their own food.'

páaká.4_16'

omwal' oopiya jáṅtáár' ééjílé: , ofugela belá : "ńdówe nááredhe." Pááká na Mwánâbwa odhowá wáárédha wa ákwáawa.

o-mala	opíya	jáṅtáárí	éjílé	o-fugela	ba-ilá	ní-dhów-e	ni-á-áredh-e
NAR-finish	15.cook	9a.dinner	9.DEM.III	NAR-shut	SEQ.2.say	1PL-go-SBJ	1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ

pááká	na	mwánâbwa	o-dhowá	wáárédha	wa	ákwé=awa
1a.cat	and	1.dog	NAR-go	15.have.fun	17.CON	2.friend=POSS.3PL

''They finished to prepare the dinner, shut (the house) and said : Let's go and have fun. Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog went to play in some friends' house.'

páaká.5_23'

eǹtawu wénéwalêé: , (mwánâbwaá: pa) páákā ottukwana sháv' ééjîle. [ottukwana: mix of ottukula & okaana?]

eǹtawu	wénéwalé	páákā	o-ttukula	shávi	éjîle
então	17.EDEM.III	1a.cat	NAR-take	9a.key	9.DEM.III

'Then, Mr.Cat remained with that key.'

páaká.6_32.5'

ddabunó pááká oromá: : "hó:!" waakula. "shá:! ǹng' óddíy' ooṅddúkuwélá ba aaníí:?"

ddabunó	pááká	o-romá	hó	o-akula	shá	ningá	óddú=ya
then	1a.cat	NAR-start	INTER	NAR-answer	INTER	VOC	1.DEM.I=DEF

[o-ní-ddí-kuwélá]_{REL}	ba	aani
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call	2.COP	who

'Then Mr.Cat started : Ye! (sound for answering a call) he answered. But who is this one calling me?'

páaká.7_41.5'

odhowá vátákúlu 'pálé vattíyíláaní kómííd' eésîle.

o-dhowá	vá-tákúlu	apálé	[va-ttíy-ílé = ani		kómíída	ésîle]REL
NAR-go	16-9a.house	16.DEM.III	16-leave-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO		9a.food	9.DEM.III

'He went back to that house where they left that food.'

páaká.8_46'

odhow' (óóku) okunuúlámo ǹdhoójáni ḿpúl' ofugula ḿbá: , ottukula kómííd' éésílé: , oja.

o-dhowá	o-kunuúlá = mo	mu-dhoójá = ni	ḿpúle	o-fugula	ḿbá
NAR-go	NAR-uncover = 18.LOC	18-food = LOC	18.DEM.III	NAR-open	18.house

o-ttukula	kómíídá	ésíle	o-ja
NAR-take	9a.food	9.DEM.III	NAR-eat

'He went, uncovered that food, opened the house, took that food, and ate it.'

páaká.9_52.7'

wiiyéla ókúl' oolú múkwáaye. mwiiyélelííyé: , múkwááy' oomvuúza : "k' wéyó waadhowílewó: , hã̌?"

o-iyéla	ókúle	[o-li	múkwé = aye]REL	[mu-iyél-el-é = íyé]REL
NAR-go.back	17.DEM.III	17-be	1.friend = POSS.3SG	18-go.back-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

múkwé = áye	o-mu-vuúza	kí	wéyó	[o-a-dhow-íle = wó]REL	hã
1.friend = POSS.3SG	NAR-OM1-ask	EMPH	2SG.PRO	2SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ = 17.LOC	INTER

He went back where his friend is. After he went back, the friend asked him : What about you, going up there? (lit. 'who had been there')'

páaká.10_60.5'

"waaddukúwèllé, ddi cívéevē. ta a véŕ, waaddikúwéllé, ddi cívéevē." "ííŋ!" "waaddikúwélle oná mwánayé: , bel' óódh' óóḿváhe ǹzína."

[o-a-ddi-kúwél-ilé]REL	ddi	cívéevé	ta a véŕ	ííŋ	o-a-ddi-kúwél-el-e	o-ná
1-PST-OM1SG-call-PFV.CJ	1.COP	9a.swallow	you.see	INTER	1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ	1-have

mwánayé	ba-ilá	o-dh-é	o-mú-váh-e	ǹzína
1.child.POSS.3SG	SEQ.1.say	2SG-come-SBJ	2SG-OM1-give-SBJ	5.noun

'It is Mr.Swallow who called me, you see, it is Mr.Swallow who called me.' "Umm?" "He called me because he has a son, he asked me to come and give him a name."

páaka.11_71'

"agóra k' áápó ǹzínán' uúḿvahá? " belá "sí: ddiíḿvahá ǹzínáne 'ddiírómámo."

agóra	kí	ápó	ǹzíná = na	o-hí-mú-vahá	ba-ilá	sí
then	EMPH	16.DEM.I	5.noun = 5.DEF	2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give	SEQ.1-say	yes

ddi-hí-mú-vahá	ǹzíná = ne	ddi-hí-rómá = mo
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give	5.noun = 5.POSS.3SG	1SG-PFV.DJ-start = 18.LOC

'And then, the name, did you give him? He said : Yes I gave him the (his) name 'I began'.'

páaká.12_77.5'

ogilaatí, wiiyéla w' aakáwêne. "hó:!", ējíwén' engíláatííy' oonámárogol' oónówáákúla viína, "hó:!", yeeká vénêvo. "cííni?"

o-gilaatí	o-iyéla	wa	aká=wêne	hó	éjí=wéne	e-ni-gíláatí=íye
NAR-sit	NAR-go.back	17.CON	same=INT	INTER	9.DEM.I=INT	9-IPFV.CJ-sit=3SG.PRO

onámárogolo	ó-ni-ó-ákúla	viína	hó	yeeká	vénêvo	cííni
14.smartness	1-IPFV.DJ-15-answer	too	INTER	1.alone	16.EDEM.II	7.COP.what

'He sat, went back there to the same place. "Ho!" Right at the time he was sitting, out of smartness, he was replying : "Ho!", there alone, "What is it?" '

páaká.13_88.3'

"cá! apa dd' uúddúwén' óońddíkuweléćá peéno", odhowá mwá ákámwêne ḿba.

cá	apa	ddi	óddú=wéné	[o-ní-ddí-kuwel-éc-á]REL	peéno
INTER	16.DEM.I	1.COP	1.DEM.I=INT	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-DUR-Fi	WOND

o-dhowá	mwa	aká=mwêne	ḿba
NAR-go	18.CON	same=18.INT	18.home

'Oh, this one calling me like this, I do not know (who he is). He went back inside the house.'

páaká.14_93'

ottukul' aajé (ottu) kómííd' éésîle. oja. wiiyéla, na múkwááyé óĺle. múkwááye oóḿvuúza :

o-ttukula	a-j-é	kómíídá	ésîle	o-ja	o-iyéla	na	múkwé=áye
NAR-take	1-eat-SBJ	9a.food	9.DEM.III	NAR-eat	NAR-go.back	with	1.friend=POSS.1

óĺle	múkwé=áye	o-hí-mú-vuúza
1.DEM.III	1.friend=POSS.3SG	1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask

'He took that food to eat, ate it, and went back to his friend. His friend asked him :'

páaká.15_ 100.5'

"wéyo, kú waagéle [uuvi]?" "epa(wi), cívéev' eepá" "ííñg?" "ddaadhowíĺ' óoṁvahá mwán[áy]e ńzíná viínágúwa" "ba aani ?" "ddihííléyamo."

wéyo	kí	o-a-g-él-e	epá	cívéevé	epá	ííñg	ddi-a-dhow-ílé
2SG.PRO	EMPH	2-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ	INTER	9a.swallow	INTER	INTER	1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ

o-mu-vahá	mwánáye	ńzíná	viíná-gúwa	ba	aani	ddi-hí-íléya=mo
15-OM1-give.PL	1.child.POSS.3SG	5.name	too-again	2.COP	who	1SG-PFV.DJ-repeat=18.LOC

'(Dog) You, where did you go? (Cat) It is the swallow. (Dog) What is it? (Cat) I went and gave his child a name again. (Dog) Which one? (Cat) I repeated.'

páaká.16_110'

"afinááli" "ííñg", aagíláatí, múkwé kańdíśkóbíríír' iilobwééne, kaṁnónélelamw' iilobw' ééne, dhińlógá [eńlógá] múkwááye so paakā.

afinááli	nnn	a-hi-gíláatí	múkwé	ka-ní-díśkóbírííri	elobó=éne
finally	yes	2-PFV.DJ-sit	1.friend	NEG.1-IPFV-find.out	9.thing.PL=INT

ka-ni-nón-él-a=mo	elobó=éne	[e-ní-lógá	múkwé=áye	so	paaká]REL
NEG.1-IPFV-know-APPL-Fi=18.LOC	9.thing.PL=INT	9-IPFV.CJ-speak	1.friend=POSS.3SG	mr.	1a.cat.PL

'(Dog) Really? (Cat) Yes. They sat. The friend does not find out anything, he does not understand anything that his friend Mr.Cat is saying.'

páaká.17_120'

owííyéléla : "kó:!" "sháá! mas óddú míyó ddadhowá ddíya ddámúruwaneé: , mas ońddíkuw…
shatiyaarilécéené [mix of ońddíkuwelelécéene & ońddíshatiyaaréÍecéené] dhayééne, ońbáálá dháaví?

o-hí-íyél-él-a		kó	sháá	mas	óddú	míyó	ddi-a-dhowá	ddí-ya
1-PFV.DJ-come.back-APPL-Fi	INTER	INTER	but	1.DEM.I	1SG.PRO	1SG-SIT-go	1SG-go

ddi-á-mú-ruwan-e		mas	[o-ní-ddí-shatiyaari-el-éc-a = êné		dhaayí = éne]REL
1SG-IT-OM1-insult-SBJ	but	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-annoy-APPL-DUR-Fi = INT		like.this.I = INT

o-ní-báálá		dháavi
1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth	how

'He came back (and said) : [excl.], but this one, when I go, I am going to insult him. But this one annoying me like this, how does it give birth?'

páaká.18_127'

ttíttítt' uúnóddúkuwéla ttíttítt' (uunodd') uńddúkuweÌlécéeni ?"

ttíttíttí	ó-ní-ó-ddí-kuwéla		ttíttíttí	o-ní-ddí-kuwel-el-éc-á = éni
IDEO	1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-call	IDEO	1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-APPL-HAB-Fi = what

'Again and again he is calling me, but why is he calling me?'

páaká.19_131'

odhow' óókúle. oja. omala. woombélrâmo. kómííd' eésíl' oomáríhamo woombélrâmo.

o-dhowá	ókúle	o-ja	o-mala	o-ombélrâ = mo		kómíída	ésíle
NAR-go	17.DEM.III	NAR-eat	NAR-finish	NAR-lick = 18.LOC		9a.food	9.DEM.III

o-hi-máríha = mo		o-ombélrâ = mo
1-PFV.DJ-finish = 18.LOC	NAR-lick = 18.LOC

'He went there, ate, finished, licked. That food, he finished it, and licked it all.'

páaká.20_138'

m̀málélááni vénévalêê: , owííyélél' aakááne m̀kwááye oóm̀vuúza : "ííñg?"

[mu-mál-el-é = áni]REL		vénévalé	o-hí-íyéléla		wa	aká = wéene
18-finish-APPL-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO	16.EDEM.III	1-PFV.DJ-come.back	17.CON	same = INT

múkwé = áye		o-hí-mú-vuúza		ííñg
1.friend = POSS.3SG	1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask	IDEO

After that, he went back again… the friend asked him : "what is it?"

páaká.21_142'

"'pa ddaagél' óokúl' úwa cívéev' éepa eǹshátíyáarííye" "ííñg ?" ddaagél' (óomvedh') ám̀vahe viína
mwánáayé ńzína. "oóm̀vahá ?" "ddiím̀vahá" "bá aani ?" "ddiyóómbélrâmo", oǹmáríhamo.

epa	ddi-a-g-él-e		ókúle	wa	cívéevé	epa	[e-ni-shátíyáarí = íye]REL		ííñg
INTER	1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ	17.DEM.III	17.CON	9a.swallow	INTER	9-IPFV.CJ-annoy = 3SG.PRO	IDEO

ddi-a-g-él-é		ddi-á-mú-vah-e		viiná	mwánááye	ńzína	o-hí-mú-vahá
1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ	1SG-IT-OM1-give-SBJ	too	1.child.POSS.3SG	5.name	2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give

ddi-hí-mú-vahá		bá	aani	ddi-hí-ómbélrâ = mo		o-hi-máríha = mo
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give	2.COP	who	1SG-PFV.DJ-lick = 18.LOC	1-PFV.DJ-finish = 18.LOC

"I was there at Mr.Swallow's, he is very annoying." "What is it?" 'I went to give a name again to his son.'
'Did you give him? / I did / Who is it? / I licked, he finished.'

páaká.22_153'

ya:, eefíya fáázi aḿfúná: adhówe vatákûlu, adhówa ájáǹtaari komídádha dhittíyíláani ḿba.

ya	e-hi-fíya	fáázi	a-ní-fúná	a-dhów-e	va-tákûlu	a-dhów-e
yes	9-PFV.DJ-arrive	9a.fase	2-IPFV.CJ-want	2-go-SBJ	16-9a.house	2-go-SBJ

a-á-jàntaari	komíídá=dha	[dhi-ttíy-ílé=áni	ḿba]REL
2-IT-have.dinner.SBJ	10a.food=10.DEF	10-leave-PFV.REL=3PL.PRO	18.inside

'Here we are. The moment came to (want to) go home, to go and eat the food that they left inside.'

páaká.23_164.5'

eǹtáwu, bagádhá, bagádhá, bagádhá, bagádha, bag… já vííná pááká bagádhá bagádha oǹnóna wííl' óoḿfún' óofiya ńngá ápálé:

eǹtáwu	ba-gá-dhá	já	vííná	pááká	ba-gá-dhá	o-hi-nóna
then	SEQ.1-SIT-come	already	too	1a.cat	SEQ.1-SIT-come	1-PFV.DJ-know

wíílá	o-ní-fúná	ofiya	níngá	ápálé
CMP	1-IPFV.DJ-want	15.arrive	like	2.DEM.III

'Then, coming, coming, the cat too coming, coming ; he knows that he has almost arrived (lit. 'like there' = which can be seen).

páaká.24_170.5'

oórómá pááká "epá: kattúkúla sháv' íísi." "aá?" "kattúkúla shávi míyó (ddiíyá ddákóse) ddíya ddárûdde."

o-hí-rómá	pááká	epá	ka-ttúkúla	shávi	ési	aá	ka-ttúkúla	shávi
1-PFV.DJ-start	1a.cat	INTER	IMP-take	10a.key	10.DEM.I	INTER	IMP-take	10a.key

míyó	ddí-ya	ddi-á-rûdd-e
1SG.PRO	1SG-go	1SG-IT-urinate-SBJ

'The cat said (started) : Take that key. / What? / Take the key, I am going to pee.'

páaká.25_177.5'

"óke" mwánábwa oottúkúla shávi, oóvólówa ḿba, oofúgúlaamo ńngá de koṣtúmi. oódhówa.

óke	mwánábwa	o-hi-ttúkúla	shávi	o-hí-vólówa	ḿba
ok	1.dog	1-PFV.DJ-take	9a.key	1-PFV.DJ-enter	18.inside

o-hi-fúgúla=mo	níngá	de koṣtúmi	o-hí-dhówa
1-PFV.DJ-open=18.LOC	as	always	1-PFV.DJ-go

'Ok. The dog took the key, entered the house, opened as always. He went.'

páaká.26_186.5'

oottámágél' ookómídan' ttúkúla páráát' oḿfún' áágáwe kómíd' eésîle.

o-hi-ttámág-él-a	o-kómíída=ni	o-hi-ttúkúla	párááto
1-PFV.DJ-run-APPL-Fi	17-9a.food=LOC	1-PFV.DJ-take	9a.plate

o-ní-fúná	a-gáw-e	kómíída	ésîle
1-IPFV.CJ-want	1-serve-SBJ	9a.food	9.DEM.III

'He ran towards the food, took the plate, he wanted to serve that food.'

páaká.27_191'

kakúnúulani kómíídá: , ofwanyilémó dhayéêne, "shíí! afinááli!

ka-kúnúula=ni	kómíídá	o-fwany-ilé=mó	dhaayí=êne	shíí	afinááli
IMP-uncover=PLA	9a.food	1-meet-PFV.CJ=18.LOC	like.this.I=INT	INTER	finally

'When he uncovered the food, he found it like this : [excl.]'

páaká.28_197'

éjí yaálóga múkwáág' agééli "góó:! ddíya ddáṁvahe ńzíná cívéevéê:.

éjí	[e-á-lóga	múkwé = ága]_{REL}	a-gá-él-i	góó
9.DEM.I	9-PST.IPFV.CJ-say	1.friend = POSS.1SG	1-SIT-say-Fi	INTER

ddi-ya	ddi-á-mú-vah-e	ńzíná	cívéevé
1SG-go	1SG-IT-OM1-give-SBJ	5.name	9a.swallow

'What my friend was telling, saying : "wo, I am going to give the swallow a name.'

páaká.29_202.3'

ddabunó ddígaamvuúz' ońílá "ddiíṙómámo", ddigaamvuúz' óońlógá "ddiíléyamo", ddigaamvuúz' ońílá "ddiyóómbélrâmo".

ddabunó	ddí-gaa-mu-vuúza	o-ní-ílá	ddi-hí-rómá = mo	…	o-ní-lógá
today	1SG-SIT-OM1-ask	1-IPFV.CJ-say	1SG-PFV.DJ-start = 18.LOC		1-IPFV.CJ-say

ddi-hí-íléya = mo	…	o-ní-ílá	ddi-hí-ómbélrâ = mo
1SG-PFV.DJ-repeat = 18.LOC		1-IPFV.CJ-say	1SG-PFV.DJ-lick = 18.LOC

'Now, when I ask him, he says "I began", when I ask him, he says "I repeated", when I ask him, he says "I licked".

páaká.30_209.5'

ápá múkwáága waadheél' ója komiíd' ếếsilế: !"

ápá	múkwé = ága	o-a-dh-eél-é	oja	komiídá	ésilé
16.DEM.I	1.friend = POSS.1SG	1-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ	15.eat.PL	9a.food.PL	9.DEM.III

this way my friend was coming to eat that food !"

páaká.31_214'

eǹtãwu mūkwááy' ónóbúddúwa : "ǹngá múkwáágaya ol' úúv' uugáákoodd' oódha kunámál' oōsíńtínáárí: ?"

eǹtáwu	mūkwé = áye	ó-ni-óbúddúwa	ningá	múkwé = ága = ya	o-lí	úuvi
then	1.friend = POSS.3SG	1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.out	VOC	1.friend = POSS.1SG = DEF	1-be	where

o-gá-koodda	ódha	ku-ná-mála	ōsíńtínáárí
2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-refuse	15.come	NEG.2SG-CE-finish	15.defecate

'Then his friend went out. But this friend of mine, where is he? Are you not coming, are you not done yet with your necessities?

páaká.32_220.5'

kádháanóto [= kádháwunóto]!" "ǹnódha" mūk' óónósúsa mwánâbwa, íyéén' oónósúsa

ká-dhá-wo = nó = to	ni-ni-ódha	múkwé	ó-ni-ósúsa
IMP-come-17.LOC = PROX = then	1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come	1.friend	1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.forward

mwánâbwa	íyééne	ó-ni-ósúsa
1.dog	3SG.PRO	1-IPFV.DJ-15.move.away

Come then!" "I am coming." While the friend is moving forward, the dog, he (the cat) is moving away.

páaká.33_226'

"ǹngá kádháanóto odhé ('éno… nddé) ǹjańtáari." ónósúsa.

ningá	ká-dhá = wo = nó = to	o-dh-é	ni-jańtáari	ó-ni-ósúsa
VOC	IMP-come-17.LOC = PROX = then	2SG-come-SBJ	1PL-have.dinner-SBJ	1-IPFV.DJ-15.move.away

"Come here then! Let's have dinner." He is moving away.

páaká.34_231.5'

eǹtãwu vénévalêé: mwánábwa (ottu') ookáána ráyív' ootótéya ráyíva. (avúń…) ónómúttamagíha pááka.

eǹtáwu	vénévalé	mwánábwa	o-hi-káána	ráyíva	o-hi-tót-éy-a	ráyíva
then	16.EDEM.III	1.dog	1-PFV.DJ-have	9a.rage	1-PFV.DJ-provoke-NTR-Fi	9a.rage

ó-ni-ó-mú-ttamag-íh-a	pááka
1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi	1a.cat

'At that moment, the dog got nervous. He ran (is running) after the cat.

páaká.35_238.5'

j' iíjílé: eňkósa mwánábwá: ni pááká (agáńttamagihii:), mwánábwá: agáńttamagihíí pááka

ji	éjílé	[e-nī-kósa	mwánábwa	ni	pááká	mwánábwa	a-gá-mú-ttamag-ih-a	pááka
9.COP	9.DEM.III	9-IPFV.CJ-do	1.dog	and	1a.cat	1.dog	1-SIT-OM1-run-CAUS-Fi	1a.cat

This is what the dog and the cat are doing : the dog making the cat run.

páaká.36_245'

eeddelãǽ: omáálro waakungíláaní: , azugúnúwá: adh' áámálríha dhoója ajá eeká.

a-edd-el-án-é	omáálro	[o-a-kung-ílé＝ani]REL	a-zugúnúwá	a-dhá
2-hate-APPL-REC-PFV.CJ	14.friendship	14-PST-build-PFV.CJ＝3PL.PRO	2-turn.round.SEQ	2-come.SEQ

a-malríha	dhoója	a-já	a-eká
2-finish.SEQ	10a.food	2.eat.SEQ	2-alone

They came to hate each other for the friendship they had built, (the cat) turned round, came to finish the food alone.

páaká.37_251.5'

míyó tutútú ddeéflegé ddigomelé vénêvo.

míyó	tutútú	ddi	[o-ér-ílegé]REL	ddi-gom-el-é	vénêvo
3SG.PRO	IDEO	1.COP	1-say-PFV.REL.HAB	1SG-finish-APPL-PFV.CJ	16.EDEM.I

I, who told, I stopped here.